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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD:

A Monthly Journal,

CONDUCTED BY A SOCIETY OF CLERGYMEN,
UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

VOL. V.

“Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

DUBLIN:

WILLIAM B. KELLY, 8, GRAFTON-STREET.

LONDON: BURNS & OATES, 17, PORTMAN-STREET, W.

NEW YORK, UNITED STATES: P. M. HAVERTY, 1, BARCLAY-ST.

Imprimatur,

✠ PAULUS CARDINALIS CULLEN,
Archiepiscopus Dublinensis.

DUBLINI, 31 AUGUSTI, 1869.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1868.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ST. ÆNGUSIUS HAGIO- GRAPHUS, OR ST. ÆNGUS THE CULDEE,

BISHOP AND ABBOT AT CLONENAGH AND DYSARTENOS, QUEEN'S
COUNTY.

I.—Introduction.—Sources of biography to illustrate the acts of St. Ængus.—His pedigree and early life.—He studies at the monastery of Clonenagh.—Monastic training and learning.

IF the life of every good man can be presented “to point a moral and adorn a tale”, some account regarding the labours, learning, and life of a holy Irish monk, who flourished in the eighth and ninth centuries, may claim attention and interest, when brought before Irish readers. They serve to illustrate the habits and usages of our early monasticism. Our regards cannot be lessened towards the subject of this biographical notice, because he has deserved to rank among the host of Irish saints. As a poet, too, his life abounds in the romance of reality. Much could we desire to glean fuller particulars respecting him, and to render his name and works more popularly known and appreciated, than they have hitherto been. We can only offer some brief biographical statements, and a necessarily imperfect analysis regarding his valuable writings. The time must soon arrive, when more satisfactory and learned efforts will make the venerable name of Ængus the Culdee be remembered and invoked, by every pious and enlightened Irish Catholic.

The acts of this illustrious saint, known generally to Irish scholars as Ængus the Hagiologist, have been published by

Colgan, at the 11th of March.¹ This latter researchful writer doubted not, that the life of Saint Ængus had been written at full length, and had been accessible, at a more remote period. But Colgan complains that this life was not available, at the time he had been engaged in publishing the acts of our Irish saints. However, the virtues of Ængus have been specially recorded, by some old writer, who prefixes an argument or an introduction to this saint's existing writings. Another Irish poet, likewise bearing the name of Ængus, has celebrated the Culdee's praises in certain verses, sufficiently indicative of great antiquity.²

Ængus the Culdee, sometimes named Ængusius Hagiographus, or Æneas, is said to have been descended from Coelbach, king of Ireland.³ The name of his father was Ængavan, called in Harris' Ware⁴ Oengobhan, the son of Oblein, the son of Fidhraus, according to a genealogy made out for him in our Martyrologies.⁵ He was sprung from the royal race of the Dalara-

¹ See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita Ængussii*, pp. 579 to 583.

² Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Ængussii*, cap. ii. p. 579. In note 5, p. 582, Colgan remarks, the author of this metrical life, in the penultimate verse of his panegyric on the saint, prays that he may enjoy with his namesake the bliss of eternal life. He extols St. Ængus with surpassing encomiums, stating that the saint was often engaged in colloquies with celestial spirits. He styles St. Ængus the Sun of Western Europe. On account of those things related regarding the studies of our saint in his youthful days, his daily and wonderful exercises, his rare humility and austerity, the day of his death, being *feria sexta*, the place of his burial, and such like notices, Colgan is under an impression, that the writer must have been a friend of St. Ængus, and have lived contemporaneously with him. Wherefore, owing to the concurrences of time, neighbourhood, and great erudition, it is supposed, that the writer had been no other than Ængus, Abbot of Cluain-fearta-Molua, who died in the year 858. See O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 492, 493. Colgan says, from the metrical panegyric, and the scholiast who wrote a preface to the Festilogium of Ængus, he derived all his materials for the life of this saint. A few particulars only are excepted, and these were drawn from other sources. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii, n. 5, p. 582.

³ The following is St. Ængus' pedigree, as contained in a preface to his *Féilire*, in the *Leabhar Breac*, R. I. A., Dublin: "Aengus, the son of Oengoba, son of Oblen, son of Fidru, son of Diarmuit, son of Ainmire, son of Cellar, son of Oengus, son of Natsluagh, son of Caelbad [of the Rudrician or Ultonian race, who was monarch of Erin, and was slain, A.D. 357], son of Crumbadrai, son of Eochaidh Caba". See Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. p. 363, and Appendix, No. cxi. p. 609.

⁴ Vol. ii. *The Writers of Ireland*. Book i. p. 51.

⁵ Such is an account left us by the anonymous scholiast on the Festilogium of Aengus, and to whom allusion has been made, as also in the *Sanctilogium Genealogicum*, cap. 23, where his genealogy is given in these words: "S. Ængusius filius Ængavani, F. Hoblenii, F. Fidrai, F. Diarmitii, F. Annirechi, F. Cellarii, F. Ængussii, F. Natsluagii, F. Coelbadii, F. Crummi Badhrai, F. Eochadii Colhae, F. Lugadii, F. Rossii, F. Imchadii, F. Fethlemidii, F. Cassii, F. Fiach Aradii, a quo Dalaradiorum familia nominatur". See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Ængussii*, nn. 1 et 3 p. 582.

dians in Ulster,¹ and he was born in Ireland, about the middle of the eighth century. Almost from infancy, he deserved the appellation *Culdee*,² or worshipper of God, which surname he afterwards bore. From the dawning perceptions of childhood, he felt an earnest desire of devoting himself to a religious life. He practised mortification to an extraordinary degree, even in his youth; and he conceived most exalted ideas of Christian perfection, the attainment of which was an object, ever uppermost in his mind.

About this time, the great monastery of Clonenagh, in Ossory, under direction of the saintly Abbot Malathgenius,³ enjoyed a high reputation, both for the number and sanctity of its inmates. Ængus preferred his suit for admission within its enclosure, and his request was favourably received. But his early noviciate, in the exercise of all virtues, had preceded the care bestowed by that holy abbot, on his youthful disciple. His daily progress in the paths of Christian sanctity, and his advancement in sacred learning, were aided by application and capacity, to such an extraordinary degree, that in a short time he bore the reputation of being one among the most sanctified and erudite men, of whom Ireland could then boast.

An ingenious and a distinguished French writer,⁴ capable from his peculiar line of study to pronounce opinions on this subject, has ably vindicated the progress made in sacred learning

¹ Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. "Vita S. Ængussii, cap. i. p. 579.

² "Toland pretends (*Nazarenus*, Letter ii. sect. 3) that the surname *Ceile De* given to Ængus indicated an office or particular sort of profession, and that he was one of that sort of clergymen, who have been afterwards called *Culdees*. But Ængus was a monk; whereas the *Culdees*, as will be seen elsewhere, were the secular canons of cathedral or collegiate churches, such as we call prebendaries. It is a palpable mistake to suppose, that they were a monastic order. The title, *Ceile De*, as applied to Ængus, had nothing to do with them; and it is more than probable that in his time there was not as yet any such institution as that of those so much talked of *Culdees*. Ængus's surname was peculiar to himself, unless it should be supposed that all that is said of his having been a monk, etc., is false. Many Irish names began with *Ceile*, *Cele*, or with the corresponding word *Gilta*, followed by that of our Saviour or some Saint"—Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. c. xx. § x. n. 96, p. 248.

³ The death of "Maelaithgen, Abbot of Cluain-Eidhneach", occurred in the year 767. See O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 370, 371. The feast of St. Malathgenius is observed on the 21st of October, and St. Ængus must have been his disciple before the year 767. For as that other Ængus, who wrote the eulogy of our Saint in elegant metre, has told us that Ængus the Culdee studied from boyhood in the monastery of Clonenagh, and afterwards, when he had been celebrated for his miracles, he lived in the monastery of Tallagh, before St. Melruan's death, A.D. 787. It is supposed; therefore, to follow, that he studied in the monastery of Clonenagh under the aforesaid abbot. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii, n. 4, p. 582.

⁴ M. de la Villemarque, of the French Institute, has published a most interesting article on the Poetry of the Celtic Cloisters. It appeared in the November number of *Le Correspondant* for 1863.

and science among the pupils of our early schools. When the Celt became a Christian and a monk, his love of numbers still remained, and his conceptions becoming spiritualised by the aspirations after perfection, which he daily breathed heavenward, poetic inspiration was the happy result. Study, with manual labour, divided cloistral occupations, and through study this inspiration became fruitful. The saints of Ireland, intent only on making their disciples spiritual men, one day found to their surprise they had created poets. The genius of these poets was varied, as the crowd of strangers that thronged the schools. Their compositions may be reduced under the heads of didactic poetry, lyrical poetry, Amras or panegyrics, legends strictly so called, Felires or Festologies, visions, and navigations or voyages. All these have their special features of interest and edification. However, owing to various causes, facts were now and then changed into fictions. But M. de la Villemarque is far from agreeing with those, who consider romances regarding the saints as worthless. According to him, the portraits of saints simply underwent the fate of all heroes belonging to early ages; and yet, between the sacred and profane legends there exists a great difference. In what profane legend do we ever find an express caution to the reader, that, beside the literal and historical sense, there is also a spiritual meaning to be drawn from the narrative?¹ That delicate and sound morality which marks the legends of the Breton and Irish saints, has been specially dwelt on by a modern critic. For freshness, richness of invention, and national characteristics, no church has aught to compare with them. And all Celtic scholars will acknowledge this high degree of praise to be fully deserved.

Accounts which are given respecting the miracles and sanctity of Ængus, and the evidences of his learning that yet remain, are more than equalled by that profound humility which led him to form a most abject opinion regarding his own deserts. The manner in which he renounced this world and the applause of mankind, must deserve unbounded admiration, although it may fail to induce the imitation of all professing Christians. His mind was replenished with heavenly graces, and he was favoured with celestial visions. He combined the rare gifts of profound wisdom and singular zeal, in all his

¹ M. de la Villemarque shows that Dante fully realized this double nature of the ancient legends.

“Ye of intellect,
Sound and entire, mark well the lore conceal’d
Under close texture of the mystic strain”.

Inferno, IX., 62.—*Cary's Transl.*

actions and affections; while it would be a difficult question to decide, whether his virtues were greater than his miracles in sight of God and man. One thing, however, is certain, that the nobility of his descent was more than surpassed by the lustre of his virtues.

II.—*St. Ængus retires to Dysart Enos.—His austerities.—Reputation for sanctity.—He visits the Church of Coolbanagher.—A vision of angels.—The purpose it evoked.*

Some six or seven miles from Clonenagh, Ængus had built a cell¹ for himself. Thither he frequently retired, to put in practice, unknown and unnoticed, those rigorous observances which he followed. The locality of this cell hence derived its name, Dysartenos, or the desert of Ængus,² which it yet retains. A broken range of limestone hills, of romantic and rugged outline, probably suggested to him the idea of its suitableness as a place for seclusion and retreat. At the present day, the scenes of his retirement present an aspect of solitude and grandeur, the effect of which must have been considerably heightened in that early age.³ An extensive tract of morass and bog now intervenes between the ruins of Clonenagh's old monastery and Dysart-

¹ That he built a cell for himself at Dysart Enos may be inferred, not only from the expression of Colgan, "coluit eremum", but also from a statement that he recited the first fifty psalms "in oratorio", and the second fifty, "sub diu juxta proceram arborem oratorio adjacentem". See *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae, xi. Martii, Vita S. Aengussii*, cap. iii. p. 579.

² The anonymous scholiast, already mentioned, calls it *Disert Ænguis*: and the other Ængus, who wrote our saint's eulogy, writes it down as *Disert-Bethech*. He likewise indicates that it lay very near to Clonenagh. Colgan adds, "vel forte ab ipso non esse diversum, in quatenus ait in S. Ængussium esse in jam memorato deserto (et non addit quod non in Cluain-edhneach), et educatum et sepultum". Wherefore, Colgan thinks the Desert in question was identical with Cluain-edneach, or at least that Ængus perchance died and had been buried in the place first named. Our annals certainly show that a *Desertum Ængussii* differed from Cluain-edhneach. These record that Conn, son of Maelpadraig, Archinnech of Disert-Oenghusa and of Mungairit, died A.D. 1033. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae, xi. Martii*, n. 6, p. 582; and O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. ii. pp. 826, 827. In a note (y) *ibid.*, I am certain, Dr. O'Donovan fell into an error, by identifying the latter Disert-Aengusa with Dysart-Enos, in the Queen's county. I feel satisfied the Disert-Aengussa and Mungairit, already named, were both situated within the present county of Limerick. The former lay near Ballingarry, and the latter near Limerick city.

³ Near the Dysart Hills, lies a beautiful demesne called Lamberton Park. Here, during the Wizard of the North's tour through Ireland in 1825, he was hospitably entertained by a former proprietor, the Right Hon. Judge Moore, as may be seen, by consulting Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, chap. lxiii. What Lockhart forgets to state, however, is yet traditionally remembered in this neighbourhood. Sir Walter is said to have expressed himself, as being highly gratified by the scenic beauty of all this surrounding locality; and it must be allowed, few persons had truer perceptions of taste and judgment, in reference to such matters.

enos. This moorland must have rendered access between both places, a matter of some difficulty to our saint. In this favourite retreat, we are told by his biographers, he was in the habit of making three hundred genuflections each day, and of reciting the entire Psalter. This latter office he divided into three separate portions: the first was said within the cell; the second under a spreading tree of large growth, that cast its branches over his rude habitation; and the third he repeated whilst tied by the neck to a stake, with half of his body plunged in a tub of cold water. Besides these extraordinary practices, he was continually employed in singing the praises of God, and in acquiring such an ascendancy over his passions, that to all save himself, Ængus seemed to be an angel concealed in human form.

Another and a learned authority has stated, that after leaving Clonenagh, St. Ængus travelled into Munster, and that he founded the church of Disert Aengusa, at a place situated near Ballingarry, in the present county of Limerick.¹ We are told also that the primitive belfry, or round tower of this church, yet remains. There are good reasons for believing, however, that the latter church must have had its name from some other saint, or person, named Ængus; for our saint is known to have settled not far from Clonenagh—in fact, so very near, that the localities Clonenagh and Dysartenos have been confounded by ancient scholiasts on his works.² Other circumstances, relating to his acts and incidents of his life, confirm our conclusions, that he lived, for some short time at least, in Dysartenos, a parish so denominated, near the celebrated Rock of Dunamase, and a few miles from Maryborough.

The fame of his sanctity diffused itself, to most distant parts of the country. Numbers flocked towards his retreat, to enjoy the pious conversation and exhortations of this holy anchorite, and to derive from his example and instructions those lessons of virtue which he could so well inculcate. Fearing the sugges-

¹ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Lect xvii. p. 364.

² "All the country about *Chuainnach* for many miles, was, in the memory of men yet living, a great forest. * * * * *Desert Ængus* (though the name be now lost) was some part of this great wood".—Harris' *Ware*, vol. iii. *Writers of Ireland*, book i. pp. 51, 52, note D. Harris lived in the earlier part of the last century, when his principal works were published. He intimates, likewise, that the place of his birth was at or near Brittas, where his father, Captain Lieutenant Hopton Harris of the Militia, took part in an engagement, during the Jacobite and Williamite wars in 1691. See Walter Harris' *History of the Life and Reign of William the Third*, book ix. pp. 316, 317. Hence, we may take it for granted, this writer had a good local knowledge respecting Clonenagh and Disart Enos. But, because he did not advert to the possible identity of the later denomination with Desert Ængus, he thought this place where St. Ængus resided could not then be identified.

tions of vain-glory, and finding it a matter of utter impossibility to enjoy, in his present abode, that perfect seclusion desired, in the practice of his austerities and devotions, *Ængus* took the resolution of departing in a secret manner, towards some other place of retirement.

Before his departure, however, and on the route to his selected retreat, it was his intention to visit the church of Coolbanagher,¹ for the purpose of offering up prayers to that God, whom he so faithfully served. Whilst engaged in this exercise, a vision of angels appeared to him. These blessed spirits seemed to surround a particular tomb. Celestial songs were heard by him, at the same time, the ravishing harmony of which gave him a foretaste of canticles, entoned by the beatified in heaven. He noted the tomb thus distinguished, and immediately directed his steps to a priest serving the church. *Ængus* made inquiries regarding the name and character of the deceased. He soon learned that the occupant of the tomb in question had been in early life a warrior, who retired from the profession of arms and devoted himself to a life of penance. This soldier of Christ had closed a long life of holy and spiritual warfare, a few days before such event. *Ængus* was still more desirous to learn the practices, devotions, and penitential exercises of the soldier. His curiosity being gratified, he was unable to discover anything very unusual, in these his religious observances, with the exception of a practice he followed each morning and night, which was that of invoking the prayers of all saints, whose names occurred to his memory. From this relation given by the priest, the idea of composing a metrical hymn, in honour of

¹ The old church of Coolbanagher yet remains in a ruinous state, and its surrounding graveyard is now used as a place of burial. Tradition assigns to the building an early date of erection. There are two divisions in this church yet visible—most probably the nave and choir. A wall appears to have separated both, but a large pointed doorway afforded a communication. The nave, on the outside, measures thirty-two feet in length by twenty-two feet in breadth. The outside wall of the choir measures twenty-eight feet, in length, by sixteen feet, in breadth. The inside of the building is filled with loose stones and rubbish. A narrow low door, now stopped up with masonry, appears beneath an overshadowing mass of ivy, on the western gable; and a door seems to have been subsequently opened, on the southern side wall, probably, when the former one had been closed. A splayed window opened on either side of the nave. A splayed and ruinous east window formerly lighted the choir, the side walls of which are now nearly level with the ground. These are some descriptive particulars noticed during a visit to the spot, on the 10th of December, 1853. On that occasion, the writer took a pencil sketch of the old church ruins, as they appeared from the south-east side of the building. There are no tombs, at present, in the graveyard or church, but such as bear modern inscriptions. The old building is apparently of very great antiquity. It adjoins the ruins of Coolbanagher Castle, near the great Heath of Maryborough. In Sir Charles Coote's *Statistical Survey of the Queen's County*, we are simply informed that "at Coolbanagher are the ruins of a church and also of a castle". Chap. xi. § 4. p. 136.

all the saints, took possession of his mind.¹ This hymn he intended to repeat to his death, although his sincere humility deterred him from the immediate prosecution of his project. Ængus, we are told, judged himself unfitted for such a task, and feared that the praises of the saints might be commemorated in a manner, hardly suited to the dignity and importance of his subject.

III.—*St. Ængus proceeds to the Monastery of Tallagh.—Seeks admission there in guise of a servant.—Manual labour at agricultural operations.—His humility and mortifications.—An accident which befel him, and his miraculous cure.*

At this time St. Molruan presided over a great monastery on Tallagh Hill, in the present county of Dublin. Towards this religious house, our saint proceeded.² He appeared at the gate

¹ To this incident, allusion has been made by Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee, in that beautiful dirge, composed on the lamented death of his friend Eugene O'Curry:—

“Let those who love and lose him most,
In their great sorrow comfort find,
Remembering how heaven's mighty host
Were ever present to his mind;
Descending on his grave at even,
May they a radiant phalanx see—
Such wondrous sight as once was given
In vision to the rapt Culdee”.

Instead of the buried person being called a “soldier”, according to an account found in Professor O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, he is said to have been “a poor old man, who formerly lived at the place. What good did he do? said Aengus. I saw no particular good by him, said the priest, but that his customary practice was to recount and invoke the saints of the world, as far as he could remember them, at his going to bed and getting up, in accordance with the custom of the old devotees. Ah! my God, said Aengus, he who would make a poetical composition in praise of the saints should doubtless have a high reward, when so much has been vouchsafed to the efforts of this old devotee! And Aengus then commenced his poem on the spot. He subsequently continued it gradually, and finished it as we have already seen”. Lect. xvii. p. 365. According to the same learned authority, our saint commenced this poem, known as the *Festology*, at Cuil Bannchair in Offaly, continued it at Cluain Eidhnech, and finished it during his servitude at Tallagh. *Ibid.* If such be the case, it is probable St. Ængus left Dysartenos, and spent some time in his *alma mater* at Clonenagh, before he proceeded to Tallagh.

² In this *Report of the Census Commissioners of Ireland for the year 1851*, part v. vol. i., we find a most valuable annalistic reference to diseases and pestilences in this country from the earliest times to the present. In this able report, which does so much credit to the learning and research of Sir William Wilde, we find various accounts, which serve to furnish a derivation for *Tallaght* or *Tamlacht*. The *Annals* commence with the first recorded pestilence, or *Tamh*—namely, that which destroyed Parthalon's colony, and which is referred by the *Four Masters* to A.M. 2820, according to the long chronology of the *Septuagint*. The entry by those annalists is, “Nine thousand of Parthalon's people died in one week on Sean-Mhagh-Ealta-Edair—namely, five thou-

of this monastery, and begged admission amongst the members of its religious fraternity, in quality of lay brother, according to Colgan and Harris;¹ although Dr. Lanigan tells us, that such a title was unknown in religious houses before the eleventh century.² He studiously concealed both his name and that of the monastery, in which he had hitherto lived; for Ængus was well aware, that his fame had already extended to the institute of Tallaght, which was then in its infancy. Wherefore, he assumed a habit, calculated most effectually to disguise his real condition. He concealed the fact of his enrolment in the ecclesiastical order,

sand men and four thousand women. Whence is (named) Tamlacht Muintire Parthaloin—"the place", adds Dr. Wilde, in his notice of the event, "now called Tallaght, near Dublin; and the tumuli of these early colonists, who died from sudden epidemic, can still be seen upon the hills in its vicinity. This is the first recorded pestilence in Ireland. The Irish word *Tamh* means an epidemic pestilence; and the term *Tamhleacht* (the plague monument), which frequently enters into topographical names in Ireland, signifies a place where a number of persons cut off by pestilence were interred together.—See Cormac's *Glossary MSS.* See also note by O'Donovan in his *Translation of the Annals of the Four Masters.* This destruction of the colony of Parthalon, which is said to have occurred in 'the old plain of the valley of the flocks', stretching between Ben Edair (Howth) and Tallaght, on which the city of Dublin now stands, is thus mentioned in the 'Book of Invasions', contained in the *Book of Leinster* (manuscript, Mr. Curry's translation.) 'In Sean-Magh-Etair Parthalon became extinct in a thousand men and four thousand women, of one week's mortality', or *Tamh*. This is the oldest manuscript account of that pestilence that we now possess; and in an ancient bardic poem in the *Book of Leinster*, it is said: 'Parthalon's people, to the number of nine thousand, died of *Tamh* in one week'. Other authorities on the same subject are then cited, and among the rest the *Chronicon Scotorum MSS.*, as translated by Mr. Curry, where the following entry occurs:—"In one thousand five hundred and four (400 according to Eochaidh O'Flinn) from Parthalon's arrival in Ireland till the first mortality (*Duine-bhadh*, i.e., human mortality) that came in Ireland after the Deluge; that is, the death by pestilence (*Tamh*) of Parthalon's people, which happened on Monday, in the calends of May, and continued till the Sunday following. It was from that mortality (*Duine-bhadh*) of Parthalon's people the name of the *Taimleachta* (the death or mortality place) of the men of Ireland is derived".

¹ Colgan says, he applied for admission, "inter conversos". *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae, xi. Martii. Vita S. Ængussii*, cap. v. p. 581. Harris states that he was received "by the Abbot Mælrúan, as a lay brother". Harris' *Ware*, vol. ii. *Writers of Ireland*, book i. p. 52.

² "Harris (*Writers at Ængus*) says that he was received as a lay-brother. Colgan indeed, from whom he took his account of Ængus, seems to have thought so; for he represents him as *conversus*, the term by which a lay brother is usually distinguished from a clerical one. But if this was Colgan's meaning, he was certainly mistaken; for the distinction between clerical and lay monks or brethren, as it is now understood, was not known in Ireland at that period, nor, it seems, any where until the eleventh century. (See Fleury, *Discours septieme sur l'Hist. Eccl.*, and *Instit. an Droit Eccl.*, part i. ch. 25.) In older times some monks, it is true, were raised more or less to the clerical ranks, and the number of such promotions appears to have increased with the course of ages; but there was not as yet any radical distinction of classes in the religious institutions, so as that one of them was perpetually debarred from any ecclesiastical promotion, and destined to toil in the fields and elsewhere as subordinate to the other, and, in fact, as servants of the clerical or higher class". *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. n. 95, p. 247, 248.

and appeared as a serving man, seeking for service. This holy servant of Christ was permitted to prove his vocation for a religious life, by engaging in the most laborious and meanest offices, connected with the monastery. These duties, however, he most cheerfully executed, and he devoted unremitting attention to their most careful performance. He was principally employed at field labour, and in the farm-yard belonging to the monastery; for we are told, that with the sweat of his brow he was found as a reaper of corn during the harvest, that he bore the sheaves on his back to the barn, that he afterwards threshed out the grain, and winnowed chaff therefrom, placing what had been thus prepared in sacks. Like a beast of burden, he carried those sacks on his back, sometimes to the granary, and sometimes to the mill. This mill and a kiln, he had charge of by Melruan's orders.¹ During all these labours, this devout and humble brother found time to raise his heart and thoughts towards heaven. This ark of hidden wisdom considered himself, as only fitted to discharge the mean offices, to which of choice he subjected himself. These daily toils showed his complete self-abnegation, and his contempt for the opinion of worldlings. During his labours this humble monk was scantily clothed. His countenance was often disguised, owing to the combined effects of sweat and dust, which covered his features. But, he had neither the vanity nor inclination to appear well-looking in the presence of his brethren. Nor would he devote any time to the decoration of his person. He allowed the hair on his head to grow long, tangled and uncombed; the chaffy dust and straws of the field and barn, he would not even remove from his clothes. Thus Ængus conceived himself, as putting into practical operation the virtues of his monastic profession; for it was only by these means, he could induce worldlings to believe, that he was the most abject and vile of all creatures, having more the appearance of a monster, than of a human being. An extraordinary love of mortification was united with extatic flames of Divine love, in the soul of this great vessel of election; and hence, he merited the title of Kele-De,² which he obtained, and which may be rendered, "a lover of God". With an humble spirit, in a mortified body, a light radiated the interior of his soul. Yet this light was destined to escape from the close sanctuary, within which it had hitherto beamed.

¹ See, Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Lect. xvii. p. 365. The author of this learned work declares, that he saw the ruins of this mill and kiln, in their primitive dimensions, and that only a few years have passed by, since these venerable relics have yielded to "the improving hand of modern progress".

² "Quae vox latine reddita Deicolam, seu Amadaeum designat". Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hibernia*, xi. Martii. Vita S. Ængussii, cap. v. p. 580.

Meantime, it may be well to relate, that the Almighty was pleased to reward the virtues of his servant, and by the testimony of a surprising miracle. For, at one time, whilst this holy monk was engaged in a neighbouring wood cutting down branches for the use of his monastery, it happened, that he held with the left hand a branch, which he wished to separate from the trunk of a tree, and the axe, grasped in his right hand, glanced from the object against which it had been directed. This incautious stroke resulted in severing the left hand from his body. We are told, the very birds, in the wood, by a sort of preternatural instinct, had formed an attachment towards St. Ængus, on account of his innocent demeanour. Perhaps, the holy man had often lightened his out-door labours, by chaunting the psalmody of the Church,—probably adapted to verses of his own composition. Those feathered warblers, the thrushes or black-birds—so often celebrated in Ossianic song¹—had made the dells and brakes around Glenasmol and Tallagh resound with dulcet melody, while spring and summer breezes loaded the air with agreeable perfume from mountain herbs and shrubs. Their strains were often stilled, when more solemn and pathetic notes, from “a son of song”, agreeably called forth the natural echoes, which resounded through wooded hill-sides and hollows, surrounding St. Melruan’s monastery. Those songsters of the grove and thicket will rest with listening ear, and love to linger near any spot, where the humble field-labourer pours forth the unpremeditated lay, with a clear and modulated voice. If not disturbed, these woodland minstrels even desire human companionship and vocalism of a perfect character. We cannot doubt, the Christian’s heart was naturally gentle and toned with refined feeling, while the poet’s soul and senses were attuned to all the soft and sweet influences of wild scenery and its charming accessories. Sometimes, it is said, even ravens flap their wings with affright, when from a distance they scent human blood. A mysterious sympathy frequently unites irrational to rational creatures. At the moment this accident befel Ængus, birds flocked around, and by their screams and cries, seemed to bewail the pure and angelic man’s misfortune. Full of confidence in the power and goodness of God, without hesitation, Ængus took up the hand which had been lopped off, and at once set it, in its proper place, at the extremity of his mutilated arm. Instantly, it adhered, and recovered its former power, as if no accident whatever had befallen him. Hereupon Ængus poured forth his soul, in praise and thanksgiving, to the great præserver of all creatures.²

¹ See *Laoithe fíannuirtheachta*, edited by John O’Daly, n. 1, p. 4. *Transactions of the Ossianic Society for the year 1856*, vol. iv.

² See Colgan’s *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Aengussii*, cap. vi. p. 580.

Our popular traditions, especially referring to the saints, often savour of exaggeration. The Irish people have loved and admired purity and holiness, while they have implicit faith in the sovereign power of God towards and over his elect. The foregoing miracle—one of the few miracles recorded about our saint, although he is said to have wrought many—may be classed with our *Legenda Sanctorum*. Probably, its rationale would accord better with the fact, that St. Ængus had almost chopped the left hand from his arm, but that he had immediately bandaged and united these members of his body, so nearly dissevered, and yet so fortunately preserved for future use. In the case of wounds, eminent surgeons allow, that very dangerous ones are often healed by prompt attention, and by a recuperative energy found in the human body itself. If a piece of flesh be totally cut away and soon after applied to the place whence taken, both parts will again unite. By the popular rumour, the cure of St. Ængus has been pronounced miraculous. However it had been effected, we cannot fail to recognize the Almighty's bounty towards a favoured servant, who was destined to effect still greater good, and acquire additional merits, before his day of deliverance from earth had arrived.

IV.—*The incident which first discovered St. Ængus to the Holy Abbot St. Melruan.—Friendship thenceforth existing between them.—Literary pursuits of our Saint.—Engages on the Felire or Festology.—Presents a copy of it to Fothadius the Canonist.—Probable date, origin, and object of the Felire.*

St. Ængus continued to exercise his usual austerities, and remained unknown to the monks and to the rest of mankind, for seven whole years. At length, an unusual occurrence betrayed the secret he seemed so anxious to conceal. Whilst Ængus was at work one day in the monastery barn, a scholar who had not thoroughly prepared his lesson, and who was in consequence afraid to appear in school, applied for admission and concealment, at least during that day. When Ængus learned the cause of this boy's uneasiness, he spoke kindly and with cheering assurances: pressing the child to his bosom, he contrived to lull the scholar to sleep. After some time, he was awakened, and desired to repeat his lesson.¹ He proceeded in the task,

¹ Dr. Lanigan undertakes to explain the circumstance of this boy's proficiency in his lesson, owing to the help he derived from Ængus. See, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. p. 246. At note 97 he adds: "It is thus, I think, that the anecdote related in Ængus' *Acts* ought to be understood. The boy's improvement is indeed stated as miraculous, and as a supernatural consequence of his having slept for awhile on the bosom of Ængus. But, it can be well accounted for without recurring to a miracle". *Ibid.*, p. 248.

repeated every word to the end, and this was done without hesitation or difficulty. Ængus exacted from him a promise of silence regarding these circumstances, and recommended him immediately to seek his teacher. The latter, on examination of his disciple, found him very well prepared on this day—an occurrence of rare result in the boy's course of training. His master, no less a personage than the Abbot, St. Melruan himself, insisted on learning the cause of his forwardness, at this particular juncture. Awed by the Abbot's authority and earnest manner, the boy revealed the circumstances of his case, as they had actually occurred. By a sudden inspiration, a belief in the identity of this monk with the missing Ængus of Dysartenos, rushed upon the mind of the superior over the Tallaght community. He ran immediately to the barn, and embraced Ængus with most tender affection, lavishing on him reproaches which love and admiration could alone dictate. He was blamed for the long-borne and humiliating, though willing, services rendered to the community, and for that false humility, which deprived it of the learning and experience possessed by so great a master of the spiritual life. Ængus fell on his knees, at the feet of Abbot Melruan, and he begged and obtained pardon for those faults, which merited loving reproaches. From that time forward, they became bosom friends, and unconscious rivals in that holy ambition, by which a true saint is ever prompted.¹

The literary labours, in which St. Ængus engaged, have given him very great celebrity through after times; but in all probability he had not then formed the most remote idea, regarding this merited renown. His works are of exceeding value, not only as having been composed, at a comparatively remote period; but, because the subjects on which they treat give them a historical value and importance, of which ancient pieces can rarely boast. Fiction is too often blended with fact, in many such tracts, to the great prejudice of their authenticity. Numerous saints, that adorned the early Irish Church, are named in his writings, and are thus preserved, for the veneration of posterity. While his own name has been exalted by his various works, the country that gave him birth derives no small share of renown from accounts he has left, respecting her beatified children. Hence, we are enabled to estimate the services of Ængus to sacred learning and literature, in a new light; for

The affectionate, kind, and patient teacher was probably exemplified in the case of Ængus; and hence, the child might have been encouraged to greater mental exercise by his instructions and the method he took in communicating them.

¹ Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Ængussii*, cap. vii., viii., ix., p. 580.

happily, in him we have found a true saint to record the actions of his sanctified compatriots and predecessors.

No sooner had Ængus been called to fill a different sphere of life in the monastery, from that in which he had been at first exercised, than the unforgotten vision of angels seen in Coolbanagher Church, and the purpose it evoked, came with new force upon his recollection. Inspired by devotional feeling and a poetical genius of no mean order, he took up his pen, and the result was a metrical hymn in the Irish language, known as the "Feilire", or in Latin, as the *Festilogium* of St. Ængus.¹ In this canticle, he enumerates some of the principal saints, whom he calls Princes of the Saints. The *Festilogium* is brief, although saints' festivals are assigned to each day of the week, with some allusions to characteristic virtues or actions of each holy individual therein commemorated. There is a commentary or series of notes found in the copies of this work, yet extant. These comments relate many particulars, regarding saints named in the *Festilogium*. We are at a loss to discover whether these notes are attributable to the saintly author of the poem itself, or to some scholiast belonging to a later age. The latter supposition, however, is more probable. It is recorded, that Ængus, about the year 804, presented a copy of this work to the learned lecturer, Fothadius, the Canonist, who returned this compliment by the bestowal of another work, of which he was author. This latter work is said to have been the famous Remonstrance he drew up, as addressed to King Aidus. It inveighs against the employment of ecclesiastics, in military services.²

¹ "A copy of his poem, called '*Feilire*', is preserved in the Leabhar Breac, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy".—*Tracts Relating to Ireland, Murchheartach MacNeill's Circuit of Ireland*, page 32, *Mr. O'Donovan's Note* 36, *I.A.S.'s Publications*.

² The account regarding the expedition of Aedh Oirdnidhe is thus given at the year 799, [*recte* 804] in *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 408 to 411. "Aedh Oirdnidhe assembled a very great army to proceed into Leinster, and devastated Leinster twice in one month. A full muster of the men of Ireland (except the Leinster-men), both laity and clergy, was again made by him [and he marched] until he reached Dun-Cuair, on the confines of Meath and Leinster. Thither came Connmhach, successor of Patrick, having the clergy of Leath-Chuinn along with him. It was not pleasing to the clergy to go upon any expedition; they complained of their grievance to the king, and the king, i.e., Aedh, said that he would abide by the award of Fothadh na Canoine; on which occasion Fothadh passed the decision by which he exempted the clergy of Ireland for ever from expeditions and hostings, when he said:

"The Church of the living God, let her alone, waste her not,
Let her right be apart, as best it ever was.
Every true monk, who is of a pure conscience;
For the Church to which it is due let him labour like every servant.
Every soldier from that out, who is without [religious] rule or obedience,

The brevity, which characterises the *Feilire*, was a consequence of the object our saint appears to have had in view, whilst engaged in its composition. For, as he had resolved on imitating the practice of God's servant, whose remains were entombed at Coolbanagher, it would be inexpedient to introduce names of all the saints in his Festilogy. He was therefore obliged to confine himself to recording some of the principal ones. A recital of the entire Psalter, with his other daily exercises, left him no more than sufficient time, for the invocation and praises of saints included in his metrical hymn, which, it is said, formed a part of his diurnal devotions. According to a scholiast's account, left us in a preface to the *Feilire*, it would appear, that this poem had not been composed, in its completed form and in the same place. Some time must have elapsed from its first writing, to its final revision.¹ We are told, that the

Is permitted to aid the great Aedh, son of Niall.

This is the true rule, neither more nor less,

Let every one serve in his vocation without murmur or complaint.

The Church, etc.

"Aedh Oirdnidhe afterwards went to the King of Leinster, and obtained his full demand from the Leinster men; and Finsneachta, King of Leinster, gave him hostages and pledges". And at this passage, Mr. O'Donovan remarks, that the decision of Fothadh na Canoine, or Fothad "of the canon", is referred to in a preface to the *Felire-Aengus*, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 32. On this occasion Fothadh wrote a poem by way of precept to the king, in which he advises him to exempt the clergy from the obligation of fighting his battles. There is a copy of the entire poem preserved in a vellum manuscript, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2. 18. It is also quoted in the *Leabhar-gabhala* of the O'Clerys, p. 199. *Ibid. n.* (c) pp. 409, 410. This decision of Fothadh obtained the name of a Canon; and after its issue, the clergy were exempted from attending military expeditions.

¹ The following is the account given of this poem by Mr. O'Reilly in his *Chronological account of nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers*, pp. liii. liv., when treating of *Ængus*. "He wrote a *Felire*, or Hierology, in Irish verse, giving an account of the festivals observed in the Church in his time. The *reimsceul*, or preliminary discourse, prefixed to this performance, gives the pedigree of the author, through several generations, by which it appears he was descended from Caelbach, King of Ulster, who defeated and killed Muiredhach Tireach, monarch of Ireland, at the battle of Port Righ, and succeeded him on the throne. The *Reimsceul* gives the time and place in which the author wrote this poem". After quoting a portion of this *reimsceul* in Irish, the following translation is given: "There are four co-necessaries in every learned treatise, i.e., place, time, person, and cause of writing. Therefore, the place of this piece was first Cúl Banaghar, in the plain of Rechet, in the country of *I Failge*, or O'Faly, and its revisal in Tamhlacht; (now Tallagh near Dublin) or else in Cluain Eidhnach it was begun, and in Cúl Banaghar it was finished, and revised in Tallaght. *Ængus*, moreover, was son of Oiblein, son of Fidrai, son of Dermot, son of Ainmirech, son of Cellair, son of *Ænluagh*, son of Caelbaidh, son of Cruinba-draoi, son of Eochaidh Coba, son of Lughdhach, son of Fiacha Airidh, from whom are the Dal-Araidhe named. It is, moreover, the time of its writing the time of Conor, son of Aodh Oirdnighe, son of Niall *frasaigh*, for it was he who took the government of Ireland after Donagh, the son of Donall of Meath, King of Meath; for *Angus*, in the preface to the *Felire*, mentions the death of Donogh". The *Felire* is written in that kind of verse called by

poem had been commenced, either at Clonenagh or Coolbanagher, and that it had been revised at Tallaght. From the relation already given, we feel inclined rather to suppose, as the stay of Ængus at Coolbanagher appears to have been of no great duration, when about to pursue his way towards Tallaght, that his idea of writing the Feilire had been conceived only at the former place, and matured at the latter, where it would seem to have been solely written. It was most probably composed¹ after the year 797, the date for the death of Donogh, or Donnchadh, son to Donall.² Such conjecture agrees with

the Irish poets *rinn aird*, in which every verse ends with a word of two syllables, contains six syllables in the verse, and the entire *rann* twenty-four. It begins,

“Re rí l dálaí dái-neo
 Tairneo in ní remain
 Ino fo peét náro náráil,
 Críur hi Calen Enáir”.

“Literal translation:

“In the congregation of the seed of man,
 Went the king before us,
 Submitted to the noble law
 Christ, on the Calends of January”.

* * * * *

“A copy of the *Felire*, beautifully written on vellum, is in the collection of the Assistant Secretary [O'Reilly.] From its orthography, and other internal marks of antiquity, it may be concluded that this MS. was written at least as early as the eleventh century, and is, perhaps, the oldest copy of that work now in existence. There is an entire copy in the *Leabhar Breac Mac Aedhagain*, or Speckled book of Mac Egan, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and an imperfect copy on vellum in the same library”.

¹ During the progress of the late Ordnance Survey of Ireland the *Felire* or Festology of Ængus came first to be noticed, as a topographical tract of great value. Under the able superintendence of Sir Thomas Larcom and Dr. George Petrie, Eugene O'Curry brought it to bear, with important results, on our local topography, in every part of Ireland. The Rev. Dr. Todd suggested to the Board of Trinity College the engagement of Eugene O'Curry to make a *fac-simile* copy, for its library, of the *Leabhar Mor Dúna Doighré* or *Leabhar Breac*, in which the Festology is contained. On the Ordnance Survey Archaeological Department being dispensed with, Mr. George Smith, an eminent Dublin publisher, engaged Mr. O'Curry to transcribe the Festology, once more, with a view to its publication. “This, however, was not a *fac-simile* copy, which indeed it would be practically useless to print, even if such a thing were possible, because the tract consists, properly, of three parts; namely, the text of the poem, the interlined gloss, and the interlined marginal, topographical, and other notes”. These three parts were distinctly copied, all the contractions were lengthened out, and the whole disposed and arranged in such a manner as to merit the approval of our most distinguished Irish scholars. This copy was afterwards collated with other MS. in London and Oxford. Yet, the copy thus prepared has not been published; the transcript and translation into English remained in the possession of Mr. Smith, who, we believe, has since transferred this copy to the Royal Irish Academicians.

² O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. n. (r.), p. 399, where we read: “O'Flaherty places the accession of Donnchadh in the year 770, and his death in 797, which is the true chronology. He adds: “Quo rege, Anno 795, Dani Scotiae, et Hiberniae oras infestare coparunt”.—*Ogygia*, p. 433”. The

that of Colgan, that the *scholia* on the Festilogy of Ængus had been composed at Tallagh in the time of Malruan.¹

V.—*Description and analysis of St. Ængus' Festology.—He resided at Dysart Bethach at the period of its completion.—Its first circulation in the reign of Aidus the Sixth.—The Martyrology of Tallagh, and interesting particulars regarding this composition.*

We are indebted to the late distinguished Irish scholar, Professor Eugene O'Curry, for a particular description and analysis of Ængus' metrical Festology or *Féiliré*.² This composition consists of three distinct parts. The *first part*, known as the Invocation, contains five quatrains, which ask grace and sanctification from Christ on the poet's work. It is written in the ancient *Conachlann*, or what modern Gaelic scholars call "chain-verse", in English. By such metrical arrangement, the last words of each quatrain are identical, or nearly so, with the first words of that succeeding.³ The *second part*, as we are told, is

Annals of Ulster, however, assign the death of this monarch to A.D. 796, and the *Four Masters* to A.D. 792. I am unable to discover any notice regarding Conor, Son of Aodh Oirdnighe, mentioned by the scholiast on Ængus' poem, in any of our early Annals.

¹ Of this *Féiliré* or Festology—sometimes called the Martyrology of Aengus Ceilé Dé, six copies, at least, are known to be extant, and four of these are on vellum. Two copies are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; one, if not two, at St. Isidore's College, Rome; one in the Burgundian Library, Brussels; one, a transcript, made for Dr. Todd, by Professor O'Curry; and one, found in the celebrated *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*—commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*—compiled about the year 1400, and now in possession of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. "There is a short history of the author, and the tract prefixed to this copy, which commenced, as such Gaedhlic documents usually do, with giving the name of the author, the time, the place, and the object of the composition. There is, then, a short disquisition on this arrangement, in which the usages of the philosophers and the order of the creation are referred to as precedents". See *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. p. 363.

² In O'Reilly's *Chronological Account of nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers*, p. liii., it receives the designation of a Hierology.

³ An illustration, in the Irish language and character, will be found in *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Appendix No. cxiii. p. 610, and which has been published from the original, contained in the *Leabhar Breac*—a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. The five stanzas in Irish have been thus rendered into English, by Mr. O'Curry:—

"Sanctify, O Christ! my words:—

O Lord of the seven heavens!
Grant me the gift of wisdom,
O Sovereign of the bright sun!

O bright sun, who dost illumine
The heavens with all thy holiness!
O King who governest the angels!
O Lord of all the people!

a poem, by way of preface, and it consists of two hundred and twenty quatrains. But of these only eighty are found prefixed to the main poem, or chief subject matter. The remaining one hundred and forty quatrains are postfixed to the main poem, and these are called the post or second preface, by Mr. O'Curry. We may rather, perhaps, consider them in the light of those verses, which many of our mediæval and modern poets designate the "L'Envoy", as the conclusion of a poem. The verses are in a similar character, and follow the like measure, as they are indeed a continuation of the Invocation. The eighty stanzas, prefixed to the main poem, in very beautiful and forcible language give us a very glowing account regarding the sufferings and tortures of the early Christian martyrs; how their persecutors' names have been forgotten, while those of their victims were remembered with honour, veneration, and affection; how Pilate's wife sinks into oblivion, while the Blessed Virgin Mary has been remembered and venerated from earth's uttermost bounds to its centre. Even in Ireland, the enduring supremacy of Christ's Church had been manifested. Tara had been abandoned and become a desert, because its kings were vain-glorious, while Armagh remains the populous seat of dignity, piety, and learning. Cruachain, a former royal residence of the Connaught kings, is deserted, while Clonmacnois resounds with the dashing of chariots and tramp of multitudes to honour St. Ciaran's shrine. Aillinn's royal palace had passed away, while St. Brigid's church at Kildare retained its dazzling splendour. Ul-

O Lord of the people!
O King all righteous and good!
May I receive the full benefit
Of praising Thy royal hosts.

Thy royal hosts I praise,
Because Thou art my Sovereign;
I have disposed my mind,
To be constantly beseeching Thee.

I beseech a favour from Thee,
That I be purified from my sins
Through the peaceful bright-shining flock,
The royal host whom I celebrate".

We are informed, that General Vallancey and Theophilus O'Flanagan, having met with this poem—which is rather a conspicuous one—in the *Leabhar Breac*, and finding the name of Christ contractedly written CR, with a horizontal dash over these two letters, considered they had found an address to the sun. This was a supposed proof of the former worship of that luminary by the ancient Irish. The letters C R were presumed to have been a contraction for *Creas*, which, from the books of Indian Brahmins and the Sanscrit, Vallancey conjectured to be a name for the sun, common both to Ireland and India. These views of General Vallancey, with a highly poetical translation of Aengus' poem, were embodied in a small printed pamphlet. This was addressed "To the President and Members of the Royal Irish Academy, as a proof of the Ancient History of Ireland", by General Vallancey.

ster's royal palace at Emania had disappeared, while the holy Coemghen's church at Gleann-da-locha remains in full glory. The monarch Leaghair's pomp and pride were extinguished, while St. Patrick's name continues to shine with undiminished lustre. Thus, the poet continues to contrast fleeting and forgotten names and reputations of great men and establishments, belonging to the pagan and secular world, with the stability, freshness, and splendour of Christian Churches, and the ever-flourishing names of their illustrious, although often humble founders. The *third part* is properly the *Féiliré*, or Festological Poem itself, and it is comprised within three hundred and sixty-five quatrains, which, the reader will observe, forms a stanza for each day in the year. The Circumcision of our Lord is placed at the head of the Festivals, and with it the *Féiliré* begins.¹ This poem is not wholly confined to notices of the Irish saints. Our great national Apostle, St. Patrick, is commemorated at the 17th of March.² And again, at the 13th of April, Bishop Tassagh, one of St. Patrick's favourite companions, is recorded.³ Bishop Tassagh was chief manufacturer and ornamenter of croziers, crosses, bells, and shrines, and attended St. Patrick at his death.

The whole of this, which is the chief poem, as also the first preface, is thickly interlined with an ancient gloss and commentary. These explain difficult or obsolete words and passages. Sometimes, notes may be found on the sites of ancient churches, connected with our Irish saints, who lived to the time of our author. Occasional passages from their Lives and Miracles will be seen. These notes are interspersed over the margin, and

¹ In the *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Appendix No. cxiv. p. 611, may be seen the first stanza of this part of the poem in the Irish language and character, as extracted from the original found in the *Leabhar Breac*, R. I. A. It has been thus rendered into English by Mr. O'Curry:—

“At the head of the congregated saints,
Let the King take the first place:
Unto the noble dispensation did submit
Christ—on the calends of January”.

² See *Ibid.*, Appendix, No. cxv., for the Irish stanza, thus rendered into English:—

“The blaze of a splendid sun,
The apostle of stainless Erin,
Patrick—with his countless thousands,
May he shelter our wretchedness”.

³ See *Ibid.*, Appendix, No. cxvi. for the Irish stanza, thus rendered into English:—

“The kingly Bishop Tassagh
Who administered on his arrival,
The body of Christ—the truly powerful King—
And the Communion to Patrick”.

they require close and accurate study to connect them with their appropriate textual passages. The three parts, or cantos, into which the entire poem has been divided, may be treated, indeed, as one continuous composition. The last words of the Invocation are the first words to the first preface of eighty stanzas; while the last words of this preface are the first words of the main poem; and again, the last words of this chief poem are the first words of the post or second preface, which consists of one hundred and forty stanzas.¹

(*To be concluded in our next.*)

THE LATE ABBÉ LE HIR ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF I. JOHN, v. 7.

On the verse TRES SUNT, etc., considered in the context, and with reference to the teaching of St. John.

FIRST PART.²

I REDUCE to three propositions the entire matter of which I undertake to treat in this paper.

I. The seventh verse, which is the subject of the controversy, contains nothing that is not thoroughly in keeping with the ordinary current of St. John's thoughts.

II. Although, absolutely speaking, the sixth verse may be connected with the eighth without the intervention of the seventh verse, such an arrangement would interfere considerably with the harmony of the discourse, the full development of the doctrine, and the depth of the meaning.

III. The seventh verse is necessary to explain the ninth and tenth verses, which, without the seventh, have no support on which to rest.

¹ The Felire or Festologies are closely connected with lives of the saints. That of Aengus especially receives the praise of M. de la Villemarque in the November number of the French periodical, *Le Correspondant*, for 1863.

² We translate from the *Etudes Religieuses*, etc., (Sept. 1863, pag. 378, seq.) this dissertation of the learned Sulpician, Le Hir, on the authenticity of the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, I. John, v. 7. The editors of the periodical to which we are indebted for this valuable paper remark that, although M. Le Hir had composed this dissertation some years ago, he never considered it as a finished production. On the contrary, the MS. exhibits on the margin of each page a great many notes, references, and corrections, which show that the author had it in view to return upon and complete his work. Notwithstanding this drawback, the editors of the *Etudes* consider the dissertation to be of inestimable value. We are of opinion that our readers will concur in the opinion.

The idea which runs through verse 7 is an appeal to the testimony of the Three Divine Persons. Now it is a simple matter of fact that the writings of the beloved disciple frequently present this appeal. I could easily collect a large number of such passages even in the other writers of the New Testament. How often have they not alluded to the solemn words of the Father: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased". This declaration, made on the day the Saviour was baptized, and repeated at His transfiguration on Mount Thabor, is found six times in the New Testament. St. Peter, in his second epistle, dwells intentionally upon it, to confound the very same Gnostics whom St. John was afterwards to oppose. "*For we have not followed cunningly devised fables* (such as those of your teachers) *when we made known to you the power and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, but having been made eye-witness of His majesty. For, He received from God the Father honour and glory; this voice coming down to Him from the excellent glory: 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I have pleased myself: hear ye Him'*" (II. Peter, i. 16-17). St. John, who was with his Master on Thabor as well as on Calvary, must have been full of similar recollections. But let us hear himself.

It is true that, faithful to his scope of completing in his gospel the narrative left by the other evangelists, he contents himself with a simple allusion to facts already well known, but he dwells at greater length upon other facts, which without him would have remained unknown. These words of his exordium contain but a bare allusion, "Vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre". The formal testimony is given in the following: "Si ego testimonium perhibeo de me ipso testimonium meum non est verum. Alius est qui testimonium perhibet de me"—*Joan.* v. 31-32. And in vv. 36-37, "Ego habeo testimonium majus Joanne . . . ipsa opera quae ego facio testimonium perhibent de me, quia Pater misit me; et qui misit me Pater ipse testimonium perhibet de me". And again (*Joan.* viii. 17-18): "In lege vestra scriptum est quia duorum hominum testimonium verum est. Ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me ipso; et testimonium perhibet de me, qui misit me, Pater". In these passages we find the testimony of the Son united to that of the Father, as in the epistle, and in addition we find the formal announcement of an intention of satisfying by this number of witnesses the strict letter of the law.

The testimony of the Holy Ghost is yet to be added. The Saviour appeals to it frequently in the three first Gospels, and He even declares that the sin of the Pharisees, who reject it, is the most irremissible of all. And when He promises (*Joan.* xv. 26) to send it to His apostles, it is as a witness He is to send it: "ille testimonium perhibebit de me".

Now, if the first epistle of the apostle is but an echo of his Gospel—if it follows the same order of thought and of doctrine as his Gospel—if even, according to the conjecture of some moderns, it is the preface to that Gospel, nothing is more natural than that it should make mention of the three heavenly witnesses so frequently cited in the larger work.

Nor would it be difficult to indicate in the epistle itself several corresponding passages where the testimony of the heavenly witnesses is invoked in terms more or less clear. But it is needless to insist on this point, since it is admitted by all. “When we take in at a single glance”, says one of the latest commentators on St. John’s Epistles, “the contents of the *entire* letter, it is not difficult to connect the idea of the three heavenly witnesses with this or that passage of the epistle. But it does not thence follow that it is therein mentioned, and especially it does not follow that its mention is necessary”.¹

We avail ourselves of this admission; nor do we ask more than the writer declares his readiness to grant. We do not aim at drawing from those parallel passages more than the beginning of a proof, or what we may call a *prejudice* favourable to our case.

From this admission, supplied in our favour by a general view of the epistle as a whole, our adversaries summon us to another field where they hope to overcome us more easily. The question, say they, must be reduced to a narrower issue: we must examine the passage itself, and follow the thread of the ideas, and the connection between the verses which immediately precede and follow verse 7; thus we shall find that verse 7 is like an obstacle which stops the way, and breaks violently in upon the order of the ideas. We willingly accept the challenge; but, as the passage is difficult, and its meaning obscure and variously explained, we must premise some historical details without which the text is not to be understood.

Everybody is aware that the beloved disciple was persuaded by the faithful of Asia to take up his pen at an advanced age, and to write his Gospel for the purpose of refuting and confounding the numerous sects which were then springing up to deny the divinity of Jesus Christ. Among these sects ancient writers have named particularly that of Cerinthus and of the Nicholaïtes, warning us at the same time that they were not the only ones, and that there were several others of the same class. What they say of the Gospel is true also of the first epistle of St. John. It is admitted by all that the epistle is

¹ *Handbuch uber die drei Breife des Johannes*, etc., by Dr. J. E. Huther. This commentary, which is highly esteemed in Germany, forms part of the continuation of the commentary on the N. T. by Dr. Henry Aug. Wil. Meyer.

directed against Cerinthus; and in spite of the contrary opinion of some interpreters, I am convinced that it deals quite as much, or even more, with some errors similar to those of the Nicolaïtes. These errors I now proceed to point out.

Cerinthus, an imperfectly converted Pharisee, half-Jew, half-Christian, has left behind him a name very famous among the antagonists of the apostles. We are led to believe that he was a Gnostic before everything, although in the scanty details which have come down to us, we meet with no reproaches directed against his morals or his moral doctrines.¹ We are here chiefly concerned with the conception he had formed of the Man-God. In His opinion Jesus was a virtuous man, upon whom, on the day of his baptism, descended a power which emanated from God, and which he called Christ, which imparted a sort of divine filiation² and the power of working miracles. If, in virtue of this union, Jesus was called Son of God, it was only for a time and metaphorically, since the union was not to be lasting, and had never constituted one person with the two natures. It lasted until the passion, at which time, Christ, abandoning Jesus to His sad lot, departed for on high.

The Nicolaïtes were a branch of the great Gnostic heresy, and, in the absence of more complete details,³ this enables us to form a general idea of their errors concerning our Saviour. The old writers were especially struck with their abominable immorality, already condemned in St. John's Apocalypse, and it is from this point of view that they describe them to us. "Nullam differentiam esse docentes in moechando et idolothytum edere", says St. Irenaeus (*Haer.*, i., 26, 3). *Εδίδασκεν αδιαφοριαν βιον τε και βρώσεως*, says the author of the *Philosophumena* (vii. 36). Such strange excesses followed from their principles on the origin of things, and on the nature of the redemption wrought by Christ. These principles, infected with Pantheism and fatalism, were common to all those branches of Gnosticism.

It would seem that under these two sects, the ancient writers meant to include all the others which were engrafted on the same trunk, whether they belonged to those who theoretically developed the principles and mysticism known as the Gnosis, or to those who were remarkable, on the contrary, for carrying out these principles to their logical consequences, which upset

¹ According to St. Irenaeus, he embraced the speculative errors of the Gnostics (*Marginal note*).

² The *Μονογενης* is the father of the *Λογος*, and the *Χριστος* apparently differs from one and the other, according to St. Irenaeus's account of the doctrine of Cerinthus and of the Nicolaïtes (*Marginal note*).

³ St. Irenaeus tells us that they had taught the same errors before (*multo prius*) Cerinthus (*Marginal note*).

the entire moral order. One point, at all events, is clear, namely, that the antagonists against whom the apostle raises his voice had grievously erred both in dogma and morals. Whatever may have been their special appellation, they are followers of the Gnosis, imbued with all the poison it contained. This will be plain from the following comparisons.

The Gnosis¹ held God to be an inaccessible, ideal being, a sort of abstraction without direct relations with the world. It taught that all beings proceeded from God by emanation, by a sort of radiation, the rays growing weaker in proportion to their distance from the centre, the remoter circles being almost without a share of the divine being, and at last reaching to the night, to exterior darkness, to non-being, or, in other terms, to the world of matter which the Gnostics compared to non-being. This dark and material world possesses nothing good or real, except its form, which, however, does not belong to it, having been stolen from the world of light. The lightsome world, expansive by its own nature, has poured out into the darkness millions of sparks, or rather of reflections and imprints of its own rays. These luminous reflections or imprints are the souls which inform bodies, which give them life, and without which the bodies would be nothing. However, by a contradiction which causes no surprise in the syncretism of the dark dreams of which we are attempting an analysis, this inert matter retains in captivity the souls that have fallen into it. Taken as a whole, it constitutes this visible world, created, fashioned, and governed, or rather tyrannised over, by the demiurge, a kind of Satan, or of fallen angel full of malice or ignorance. Hence the necessity, or at least the propriety, of a restoration of those oppressed souls. The Gnostic theory substitutes for the Christian idea of true redemption through the blood of the Incarnate Word, that of a deliverance of a very different kind. Christ, either so-called, or a heavenly virtue of some kind, holds, it is true, the first place in this scheme of redemption. But he can neither suffer nor die. Either by the very fact of His birth, which resembles that of Pandora, or in the pleroma of the divine Aeons, or, according to other fictions, by the fact of His descent upon the earth through the heavenly spheres; in some one way or other He holds in Himself the superior world; He possesses, either in His own nature, or as an outer garment adhering to Him, some element of the different spheres from which the souls of men are fallen. He descends even to these low places. He contracts with flesh and blood an external and nugatory union. This is but a trick to deceive the Demiurge,

¹ Under its most ancient form, and as it came from the Cabala; for, at a later period, there were Gnostic sects who professed a more decided dualism.

and whilst the latter believes that he is triumphing over Christ in person, he is nailing to the cross only a fleshly body which is his own work. The impassible Christ has ascended to heaven, with the souls which were attached to that portion of Christ in which they recognized their own proper nature. As He ascended thus to heaven, He deposited in each of the ethereal regions all that He had taken thence with Him when He descended, and at the same time left there the souls replaced in the various degrees of the scale which they respectively occupied before their fall into matter. Thus, the deliverance of souls, which is not equal for all, depends upon the origin of each of them, more or less noble, more or less pure as it had been. It is nature and not free will which decides this. The perfect Gnostic, who came down from a higher sphere, will go to reign also in a higher sphere, whatever may have been his conduct here below. He alone is spiritual, alone impeccable, alone illumined with the splendour of science, and consequently he alone is destined to supreme happiness, whatever he may do, and whatever all men may do. This is the abyss which swallowed up all morality, this is the source of that pride amounting almost to delirium, which the apostle smites with his anathemas.

Let us examine what he says of it, and it will be difficult not to see in his words a deliberate intention of condemning the hideous doctrine we have just described. He stigmatizes the children of lies by marking them on the forehead with three marks of shame that all may recognize. They are the men who say that they are without sin, who do not keep the commandments, and who have no brotherly love. Is not this the exact portrait of the Gnostic, who denies the distinction between good and evil deeds, who styles himself perfect, and who, instead of respecting his flesh as the work of God, hates it as the work of the Demiurge, and who vents his hatred upon it by loading it with infamy; of the Gnostic, in a word, who in St. Jude as well as in our epistle of St. John, is compared to Cain, who slew his brother?

The true children of God are known by three opposite characters. They have recourse to the blood of Jesus Christ to cleanse themselves therein, they keep His commandments, and they love one another. By these means they attain the end which the Gnostics promise, and which according to them is exclusively reserved for their own adepts; for, firstly, they receive the pardon of all their sins; secondly, they attain to the knowledge of God the Father; thirdly, they triumph over all the spirits of evil who oppose their progress towards the supreme good, to which they are to be united by an intimate and eternal union.

All these blessings spring from their faith in Jesus Christ, the

true son of God, true God, who was made man and died for the salvation of the world. This faith, therefore, rests upon the eternal truth. The effects of grace and holiness which it produces in the soul are sure pledges of this; and as these effects proceed from the Spirit of God, all must, at length, be referred to his testimony. But besides this indirect testimony, there is another more direct one, which the Three Divine Persons have rendered to Jesus Christ, either in express terms or by miraculous signs. The apostle, naturally, would not omit mention of this, especially when giving a succinct statement of his proofs. But whatever opinion may be formed on this point, to which we shall be obliged to return, our present aim is to establish by this double analysis of the points common to all the Gnostic sects and of St. John's epistle, that this epistle, taken as a whole, is directed against them. Let any one read it again with a mind filled with what we have said, and it will be found that there is hardly a single verse which has not a new light thrown upon it, and which will not remind him of some error. Each blow of our powerful athlete strikes home with such precision and such force, that it leaves in the heart of heresy a deep and deadly wound.

We should be in a better position to see this, if we had a more accurate and fuller knowledge of the numerous branches that, from the days of the apostles themselves, sprang from the great Gnostic tree, and of the various shades special to each of them. I wish to draw attention to two of them in particular, which are undoubtedly very ancient, and which seem to have excited the zeal of the apostle. The first is that of the Naassenians or Ophites, to which I may add other kindred sects in which the worship of the serpent was largely practised, such as that of the Perates and of the Sethians; the second is that of the Docetes.

The antiquity of the Naassenians is proved by the testimony of the author of the *Philosophumena*, who describes them as the genuine parents of Gnosticism. "At a later date", says he, "they called themselves *Gnostics*, pretending that they alone *knew the depths*. To these last words allusion is made in the Apocalypse (verse 24): *Whosoever have not this doctrine, and who have not known the depths of Satan (as they say)*", etc. Now this proves that St. John combated the Naassenians under the name of Nicolaïtes, and that these two sects were one and the same, or at least very closely resembling each other. The figures by which the Naassenians described the Deity, representing Him by the symbol of generation and of life, and all the various speculations in which they indulged on this subject, are quite in keeping with the shocking dissoluteness with which the Nicolaïtes were reproached. I think therefore that I am quite correct in affirming that St. John either included these sectarians under the

generic name of Balaamites, Nicolaïtes, etc., or else fought against them without mentioning their name.

Now we are specially concerned with the doctrines held by these fanatics with respect to blood and water. Condemning the flesh as evil, and rejecting marriage, they could not but feel a repugnance and horror of blood. Hence we find that they explained in an allegorical sense our Saviour's words, "*Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood*", etc., (*Philosoph.* v. 8, p. 152). As to water, they saw therein the greatest mysteries. The recollection of the waters above, mentioned in Genesis; the frequent ablutions prescribed to the Jews from out of whom these fanatics came, inspired them with reverence and respect for this element. In their opinion, water was an intermediate and complex being, barren of itself, but destined to fertilise the superior or inferior beings with whom it was brought into relation. Water, as it rose or fell, aided the generation of gods or of men. They spoke too of a living water and of an ineffable oil of which they alone possessed the secret, with which they alone were baptized and anointed. They knew how to discover and take up into their own substance from the midst even of the waters of the Euphrates and of Babylon, the elements that were homogeneous with themselves, and which opened to them the gate of the kingdom of heaven (*Ibid.*, p. 140, 175). As the Egyptians (from whom they borrowed much) distinguished between the earthly Nile and the heavenly Nile, so they too recognized a heavenly Jordan (p. 151), and in the Garden of Eden a heavenly Euphrates (p. 173).

The Perates, so called from *περαω* (*to pass*), because they believed that they alone had an infallible secret, by aid of which they might pass through all obstacles and hostile powers, and the Sethians, so called from Seth the patriarch, assigned in their mythology a very important place to the serpent. Their opinions concerning water, although apparently opposed to those of the Naassenians, were in reality not so unlike to them. They considered water to be the symbol of death, destruction, and darkness. "Ἔστι δὲ ἡ φθορά, φησὶ, τὸ ὕδωρ (*Phil.*, 190, 210). Water was for them also the principle of generation and of life, but of a mortal life; for, they said, whatever is born must die. Their attention was chiefly fixed upon the lower darksome waters of chaos. They admitted, however, as an allegory, the escape from Egypt through the Red Sea. Egypt was a figure of matter, of the body from which they should depart, passing through the waters to reach repose and happiness. This allegory would go to prove that they did not exclude baptism, and that, like the Naassenians, they made water the principle of psychical or animal life, middle between body and spirit. This proof

is completed by the three terms of their first triad, the Father, the Son, and Matter; the second, intermediate between the first and the last, is identified with the good serpent (ὁκαθολικὸς ὄφις) which in turn, is described as the water issuing from Eden. Τουτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ μυστηριον Ἐδέμ, τουτο ποταμὸς ἐξ Εδέμ (*Philosoph.*, p. 192).¹

Of blood, they said, that it was agreeable only to the Demiurge, the god of this world, who showed how greedy he is of it, when he was pleased with the blood sacrifice of Abel, while he rejected the fruits of the earth offered to him by Cain (*Ibid.*, p. 192).

These are the traits which we have brought together as deserving of special attention in an exegetical study of the text of St. John. They are not all of equal antiquity. On the contrary, it seems as if those fanatics, accustomed to alter whatever they adopted, took from St. John himself some texts which they wrested into a support for their frantic dreams. But, even if they adapted new texts to old ideas and theories, our line of argument is conclusive, because, though the words may be new, the ideas are undoubtedly of a much older date.

We shall say the same of the Docetes, another Gnostic sect, which undoubtedly goes back to the first century, although they afterwards clothed their ideas in phrases perverted from St. John's writings. Ancient writers do not count them among the heretics refuted by St. John, and several of the moderns still refuse to count them among such. But, if it be certain that they existed in his time, as is now admitted; if the apostolic fathers St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp have fought against them with the arguments, and at times with the very words of St. John; if the expressions themselves of the evangelist bear the impress of a most direct contradiction of their doctrines, why should it be denied that St. John wished to reach them and to confute them? As long as we were confined to the imperfect details furnished concerning them by St. Irenaeus and other recent fathers, there was perhaps some excuse for the doubt. All that was known of their doctrines was that according to them Christ had not become incarnate, save in appearance, that He was not really united to flesh and blood, and had not really endured for us torments and death. What, then, was the body which had been crucified under Pontius Pilate? Was it a mere phantom, or the body of Simon the Cyrenean, or of some other

¹ This same serpent, this Word which appeared in human form in the time of Herod, is also, according to the Gnostic dreams, the mark placed upon Cain's forehead that no one should kill him. Does not the predilection thus evinced by these heretics for the first murderer, give a special reason for the designation of children, or imitators of Cain, given them by St. John, St. Jude, St. Peter, etc.?

person? We had a vague knowledge that the Docetes had invented more than one hypothesis to solve this difficulty. The publication of the *Philosophumena* has furnished us with some precise information on these points. I omit all that concerns the divine emanations, the fall of souls, the captivity in the flesh, their final state of restoration—on these points their ideas were those common to all the Gnostics. I limit myself to what they say of our Saviour and of His manifestation in the world. In our Saviour they recognize the only-begotten Son of the Father, who came down to the empire of darkness, and to the Virgin's womb, in which He was clothed with a human and gross body. But this garment was not a personal one, since it was but a device to deceive the prince of this world. The Saviour, at His Baptism, was born again, and put on a more subtle body, formed in the water, if such words can be applied to a purely fantastic form modelled upon that of His earthly body. In the Passion, it was only the body formed in the womb of Mary that was fastened to the cross. The great Archon, or Demiurge, whose handiwork it was, was thus deceived, and led to vent his rage upon his own production. For the soul, or spiritual and heavenly substance which had been enclosed in the Saviour's flesh, cast off that flesh as an inconvenient and hateful garment; and lending its own help to fasten it to the cross, triumphed by aid of that very flesh over the principalities and powers. However, after the separation, it did not remain naked, but was clothed in that subtle shape which it had taken at its second birth in baptism (*Ibid.*, viii. 10).

There are some points in this theory which are remarkable, as bringing it near, partly to the error of Cerinthus, and partly to that of the Ophites. Firstly, the admission that the earthly body formed in the Virgin's womb, and afterwards fixed on the cross, was a real body; they deny only the reality and permanence of the union of this body with the heavenly spirit which dwells therein; and secondly, the importance attached to the Saviour's baptism, and the place assigned to water as an intermediate element between flesh and spirit, in this, as in the systems explained above.

With the help of these historical details, it will be easier for us to undertake the explanation we have promised, of the fifth and following verses.

SAVONAROLA.

A FEW months ago the representatives of the Protestant states of Germany assembled at Worms to inaugurate a national monument to Luther. Not content with commemorating the great father of Protestantism, they wished at the same time to register the names of those who were his precursors and the champions of his tenets in earlier times; and hence, around the pedestal of Luther's statue were grouped the portraits of Wickliffe, Huss, Peter de Vaux, and Savonarola.

It is strange, indeed, that in a country which boasts of its historical research, the name of the Italian religious should be allowed to remain for one hour inscribed on such a monument. However, France, England, and Germany had each a representative among the heroes of Protestantism, and it was deemed important to find a name from the now friendly kingdom of Italy. How different was the honour shown to Savonarola by his contemporaries and fellow-citizens!

Florence has ever been jealous of its Catholic faith, and yet it has never ceased to revere his memory. It cherishes as a sanctuary the dwelling-place of its holy bishop, St. Antoninus. It points with pride to the halls where the great council was celebrated, and to the apartments at San Marco, chosen for his residence by Pope Eugene the Fourth. And with no less reverence does it still guard the humble cell of Savonarola.

It was only a few years after the death of Savonarola when Raffaello received an order from Pope Julius the Second to execute that masterpiece of art which still adorns the Vatican, and in which the Catholic world is represented as grouped around the blessed sacrament of the altar. Now in the capital of holy Church, and under the eyes of the Pontiff, Jerome Savonarola was represented in that wondrous painting, united with St. Thomas of Aquin, as a doctor of the Catholic faith, and an ornament of the order of St. Dominick. Thus the monument of Worms shall be forgotten ere the Catholic fame of the Florentine Dominican shall cease to be proclaimed to the civilized world in this masterpiece of Raffaello.

In later times the memory of Savonarola was honoured by members of the Church remarkable alike for their sanctity and for the earnestness of their zeal in opposing heresy. St. Catherine de Ricci revered him as an apostle and martyr. St. Philip Neri venerated him as one who had achieved great things for holy Church, and had merited to suffer much in that sacred cause. In the year 1558 his eulogy was publicly pronounced in the presence of the then Pontiff, Paul the Fourth; and we may add

that, under this same Pope, the writings of Savonarola were examined by a special congregation of the Index, and yet nothing was found in them to deserve the name of heresy. With such facts before them, the German admirers of Luther would have acted wisely to pause awhile before they inscribed on their national monument to heresy the name of Savonarola.

Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara on September 21st, 1452. In his youth he studied the works of Plato and Aristotle, and his mind was deeply imbued with the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas. At the age of twenty-three he entered, as an humble brother, the Dominican convent in Bologna. Here his talents and his piety won for him the esteem and admiration of all who approached him, and in 1488 he was chosen to fill the important post of prior of the Convent of St. Mark's, in Florence.

Savonarola soon acquired boundless influence, political and religious, in Florence. The city, indeed, was at this time the theatre of political events which have scarcely a parallel in history. When the French monarch, Charles the Eighth, entered Florence with his triumphant army, he demanded from the citizens one hundred and twenty thousand gold crowns, as the price of their being freed from pillage. Twenty-four hours were allowed to collect the sum. The required amount, however, could not be raised, and the city was doomed to destruction. For more than a year the Dominican prior had warned the people that their profligacy and sinful lives would draw down on them the wrath of God: and now it seemed as if his prophecy was to be fulfilled. The terrified inhabitants flocked around his cell at St. Mark's to confess their guilt and to ask his intercession in their behalf. For a while Jerome remained inactive. "I shall go to the king", he at length replied, "and I shall implore his mercy". Savonarola presented himself at the palace gates, but was refused admittance: he persevered, however, in his efforts, and finally was led before the king. Drawing a crucifix from his bosom and holding it up before Charles, he exclaimed: "Prince, do you know this sign? It is the image of Christ, who died on the cross for you, and for me, and for all of us, and who, with His last breath, implored pardon for His murderers. If you will not hear me, you will at least hear Him who speaks by my mouth, the King of Kings, who gives victory to faithful princes and casts down the wicked. Unless you renounce your cruel design of destroying this wretched city, the tears of so many guiltless victims will plead to heaven with a power far different from that of your armies. What are numbers and strength before the Lord? Moses and Joshua triumphed over their enemies by prayers:

we, too, shall use the arms of prayer if you refuse to relent". Whilst he thus spoke, he held up before the king the image of the Crucified Redeemer. Charles was overcome, and from the portico of the palace, Savonarola announced the tidings of peace and mercy to the affrighted citizens.

Another triumph, not less signal, soon awaited the humble religious of San Marco. The Medici family had ruled with an iron sway in Florence, and the most outrageous excesses often marked their tyrannical career. At length, in a moment of popular frenzy, the Medici, with all their adherents, were expelled from the city, a new form of government was resolved upon, and the Dominican prior was chosen to frame it. Retired in his silent cell, he, in a few days, achieved his task, and presented a constitution on the plan of that which was observed in Venice. It was read by him, in the cathedral, before the magistrates and the people; all greeted it with acclamation, and from that day Savonarola was honoured as being at once priest, chief-magistrate, and lawgiver of Florence.

His religious career was not less remarkable. There was, indeed, at this time full scope in Florence for the zeal of an apostle. Its humanists had for a long time laboured to inaugurate in that favoured city a new era of semi-paganism. Not satisfied with rendering almost divine honour to Plato in their schools, his words and those of the pagan poets, were cited as having equal weight with the inspired writings and the Fathers. The arts, too, became a prey to the same evil genius of paganism; statues and paintings no longer presented the types of religious heroism and virtue, and awakened sentiments of Christian piety in the heart, but seemed solely destined to second the viciousness of men, and to offer as models of life the gods and goddesses of pagan times. With such a perversion of ideas, kept pace the corruption of morals among the inhabitants; vice reigned triumphant, and only in the bye-ways and corners, or in the silence of the cloister, could religion find a home. From the first moment of his arrival in Florence, the prior of St. Mark's declared an open war against this paganism. His zeal and eloquence and skill, and still more his piety and austerity, insured to him success, and in a short time he brought the citizens once more to the paths of the Gospel. Contemporary historians assure us that Florence seemed in a few years to be transformed into a city of saints. Whole villages from the valley of the Arno and from the declivities of the Apennines hastened to their capital, not, as hitherto, to indulge in criminal enjoyments, but to crowd the cathedral church and hear the words of life from Savonarola.

For seven years he had led captive the minds of his auditory

in the cathedral, when in the Lent of 1496, he resolved to present a glorious religious spectacle to the faithful citizens. On Palm Sunday all were invited to join in a procession which was to commemorate the Redeemer's triumphant entry to Jerusalem. Eight thousand children preceded, robed in white and holding in their hands small crosses and palm-branches; the religious orders and confraternities followed, each with their respective banners; the civic authorities and the representatives from the surrounding towns had also a special place allotted to them, and the procession was closed by the whole body of citizens, marshalled in order according to their respective classes, all being dressed in white and bearing lighted tapers. As the procession moved through the streets of Florence, such was the religious deportment of all who took part in the ceremony, so fervent the piety of the people, so impressive the psalms and canticles chanted by myriad voices, that, as one who was present relates, "it seemed as if the citizens were translated to the new Jerusalem, or that the glories of paradise were granted to this earth".

Savonarola, rejoicing in the success of this sacred ceremony, resolved in the following year to avail himself of the children of Florence to attain a still more signal triumph. Several bands of the most respectable and best educated children were assigned to the various districts of the city. They proceeded processionally from door to door, and prayed each family that through love of the Infant Saviour, all sinful and dangerous books and every thing that savoured of by-gone paganism should be given up to them. The people readily complied with this request, and eight large pyramids were soon formed in the public square, consisting of immodest paintings and statues, dangerous books, dice, cards, and every thing that was opposed to the teachings of religion. On the day of mid-carnival, a procession of children was seen again to move from the cathedral. They were followed by an immense crowd, and when, in the presence of all, the pyramids were given to the flames, a solemn *Te Deum* was entoned, which was repeatedly interrupted by the applause and benedictions of the citizens.

Some writers, who never cease to malign the Catholic Church and its ministers, have taken occasion from this fact to accuse Savonarola of waging war against the arts; and they even add that in his iconoclast fury he destroyed the heavenly paintings of Beato Angelico with which the convent of St. Mark's was enriched (Ranalli, *Storia delle belle arti in Italia*, lib. 5, § 22, 23). But Savonarola, whilst he combated the abuse which would introduce paganism into the arts, was the true friend and patron of *Christian art*; he did not wish to destroy the chisel

and pencil, but he wished them to be marked with the cross of Christ, and happily the convent of San Marco still remains adorned with more than forty frescoes of the Beato Angelico to refute the base calumny that would accuse the fervent religious of seeking to destroy them.

We have hitherto regarded the prior of St. Mark's achieving great things for the glory of God, and proving himself to be a holy religious and a devoted citizen. And yet an instant sufficed to dispel, like a light cloud, all the prestige which attended his name. Among the articles of the constitution which he had given to the Florentines, there was one which decreed, that every citizen condemned for a political crime should have a right to appeal to the great council of the nation. It happened that now, five culprits, who had been arraigned as guilty of conspiracy against the state, and were sentenced to capital punishment, wished to avail themselves of this privilege of the constitution, and appealed to the great council. Savonarola opposed the appeal, and the conspirators were executed. A general indignation was manifested by the citizens, and the fanatical enthusiasm of yesterday in his favour, was followed by a still more fanatical persecution of to-day.

There were many to fan this flame of popular enmity against the prior of San Marco. By founding a *Mons pietatis*, for the assistance of the poor, in 1495, he had provoked the rage of the Jewish task-masters and usurers of North Italy. More than once, too, he had found excuses to refuse compliance with the commands of the civil, as well as of the ecclesiastical authorities. This disobedience, however it might be palliated, was certainly a fault, and many took occasion from it to accuse him of neglecting to practise what he himself had preached. He had also presumed to censure the court of Rome, and to hold up to the vituperation of his hearers some whom he should not have named save with honour and reverence. These faults, into which he was betrayed by his enthusiasm in a holy cause, awakened the enmity of many, and in the new phase of public opinion were magnified an hundred fold.

The populace, instigated by the secret enemies of Savonarola, at length assailed the convent of San Marco, clamouring for the death of him who hitherto had been their idol, and to whom they had shown all the honours of an apostle. Rushing to the cloister, they dragged him from his cell, and led him as a culprit through the public streets, exposing him to every insult, whilst the pretended patriots of the hour demanded that the last sentence of the law should be passed without delay against him as "a conspirator against the republic and a disturber of the public peace". The assembly, called *La Pratica*, soon pro-

nounced sentence of death against him, and on the 23rd of May, 1498, Jerome Savonarola with two of his companions were led to the stake in the public square of the *Palazzo Vecchio*. Thus died this remarkable man, and those who hitherto had strewn flowers before him as he passed along, now vied with each other in bringing fagots for his execution.

In all this chequered career of Savonarola there is but little that savours of heresy, or justifies his being classed among the precursors of Luther and the other false reformers of the sixteenth century. But we may further interrogate his writings to learn how opposed were his principles and teaching to the heretical tenets propounded by those first fathers of the Protestant Reformation. In his *Triumph of the Cross*, written only a short time before his death, he assigns to the Sovereign Pontiff supreme authority in the Church as Vicar of Christ, thus proclaiming that unchanging principle which alone suffices to overthrow all heresies: "The heretics", he says, "agree with us in admitting the Old and the New Testament, but they differ from us in the interpretation of the sacred text. Now it is manifest that there must be a visible head of the Church of Christ. . . . Thus in the Gospel of St. John, the Saviour teaches *there shall be one sheepfold and one shepherd*. Nor can it be reasonably maintained that Christ Himself is the head of the Church, or that ascending into heaven He wished to leave us without a visible head, for endless divisions and confusion would be the consequence; and the conflicting claims regarding faith and morality could not be decided. And hence the Redeemer said individually to Peter: *Feed my lambs*: and elsewhere: *I have prayed for thee that thy faith may not fail, and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren*. Thus He left Peter as His vicar; as He more expressly teaches when He said: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*, etc. Nor should it be said that this authority was given only to St. Peter and not to any one that would come after him; for Christ promised that His Church should continue till the end of time and, therefore, it follows that all who are successors of St. Peter must, like him, be Vicars of Christ, that thus there may ever be a head in the Church, holding the place of Christ, and enjoying the prerogatives of St. Peter. Since, therefore, the Bishops of Rome are the successors of St. Peter, it manifestly follows that the Church of Rome is the guide and teacher of all other Churches, and that all the faithful of Christ must be united with the Roman Pontiff as their head. Therefore, too, whosoever separates himself from the unity and teaching of the Roman Church, without doubt separates himself from Christ" (*Trionfo della Croce*, part iv. cap. vi.).

Indeed he repeatedly lays down the same golden rule of faith: thus, elsewhere in the same treatise he writes: "We confess that God has granted to His Church an unerring teaching, on which the faithful may rest as on a solid foundation. And hence it is that Catholic faith holds as firm truth all that has been defined or may hereafter be defined by the Holy Roman Church; and in like manner whatever that Church commands us to reject must be rejected; for the Roman See has been constituted the rule of our salvation and the first and solid foundation of faith" (*ib.*, cap. x.). In a sermon on the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension he again says: "The Sanctuary of the Tabernacle is the Church of God: make sure to be within that tabernacle: be ever submissive to the correction of Rome, that thus you may not be led away into heresy: for it is the decree of God that no heresy shall creep into the Church of Rome".

As regards the sacraments, Savonarola lays down in the most explicit manner the teaching of the Catholic Church; he dwells on the necessity of confession, on the treasure the Church enjoys in the holy Eucharist, on devotion to the holy Mother of God, in a word, on all those sacred truths which were so soon to be impugned by the profane lips of Luther and his followers. In all his writings, as well as in his sermons, St. Thomas was his text and guide; yet surely no friend of the Protestant Reformation would adopt as his own the teaching of this great doctor of holy Church.

But the history of the last moments of Savonarola should of itself alone suffice to refute the charge of heresy which is made against him. The day before his execution, he asked that his confessor might be brought to him, and fervently approached the sacrament of penance. The next morning he assisted at Mass in the prison chapel, and the privilege was allowed him of receiving the holy communion from his own hands. When his scapular was removed he exclaimed: "O holy habit! how ardent was my desire to possess thee! through the mercy of God thou wert granted to me, and I have ever preserved thee immaculate to this hour, and now it is not through any will of mine that I am deprived of thee". As he mounted the scaffold the papal commissary approached, announcing to him that the Holy Father granted to him and his companions a plenary indulgence for the moment of death, and asking, "Do you accept it?" all three replied "Yes", and humbly bowed to receive it. What a contrast with the closing scene of Luther's life is here presented to us!

It is true that Savonarola did not show that due submissiveness to authority which we should expect in a religious who had laboured so much in the service of religion. But this is quite a

different thing from heresy; into such a fault the best of men may be betrayed, but, as his contemporaries declared, he, like St. Cyprian, expiated all his faults by his repentance and his martyrdom.

He was, indeed, a *Reformer* in the true sense of the word, and not in the profane and irreligious sense with which heretics have ever sought to mask the venom of their teaching and the corruption of their hearts. He was a Reformer, as Saint Gregory the Seventh and Innocent the Third were Reformers; he sought to reform the morals and maxims of his contemporaries, as St. Bernard and St. Peter Damian sought to correct the abuses of their own times. The Church of Christ is indeed the work of God and not of man; it is quickened by a divine life, and, despite the persecutions of the world and the corruption of our own sinful nature, shall last till the end of time; and whosoever by the name of *Reformation* would deny the ever-abiding presence of God in holy Church, or imply that its divine life had ceased and that the gates of hell had prevailed against it, he is, indeed, a heretic and becomes excluded from the inheritance of Christ. But individual men are sinful, and whole cities and nations may relapse into error, or may at least become neglectful and tepid in the service of God. Hence the need of reformation in individuals and in states; that true reformation which was inaugurated by the Divine Redeemer in Jerusalem, and which He commissioned His holy Church to perpetuate till time shall be no more. This was the reformation which the saints of God ever loved to preach, which St. Antoninus, St. Catherine of Sienna, St. Charles Borromeo, so earnestly urged upon the pastors of the Church, and which the great Council of Trent so efficaciously realized soon after the time of which we speak. It is in this sense that Savonarola may justly be styled a Reformer, but as such he was the precursor, not of Luther and his wicked associates, but of St. Charles Borromeo, St. Philip Neri, and the other many *true reformers* who adorned our holy Church in the sixteenth century.

THE ABBEY OF ROSS-ERRILY.¹

The ruins of the Franciscan convent at Ross, near Headford, in the county Galway, are popularly styled the *Abbey of Ross*. In the early records this convent receives the name *Ross-Errily* or *Ross-Trailly*, which is a corruption of the Irish name *Ross-ne-threallagh*. It was delightfully situated on the south bank of the Black river, in the parish of Kilursa;² and its ruins still attest its former magnificence. The Four Masters and Luke Wadding register its foundation in the year 1351; and the latter adds that it was a most retired and lonely spot, surrounded on all sides with water, and approachable only by a narrow path which was formed of large blocks of stone.

Before the close of the fifteenth century it attained special eminence among the many Franciscan institutions of the kingdom; and its property comprised the townlands of Ross, Cordara, and Ross-duff, amounting to about thirteen hundred statute acres. It was from the hallowed precincts of this monastery that a colony went forth to found the convent of Donegal, so famous in our annals. A provincial chapter of the Franciscan order had assembled in Ross-Errily to deliberate on matters of private interest, when Nuala O'Connor, daughter of O'Connor Faily, and wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, hereditary chieftain of Tirconnell, came, accompanied by a goodly array of gallow-glasses, to present an humble memorial. This petition of the Lady Nuala set forth the anxious desire of the faithful of Tirconnell to have amongst them some religious of the order of St. Francis to be their guides in their heavenward journey by precept and example. The favour was soon granted, and before the close of 1474 the foundations were laid of the far-famed monastery whose ruins are still met with at the head of the lovely bay of Donegal.

In 1538 the convent of Ross-Errily shared in the storm of persecution with which the reckless monarch Henry the Eighth assailed the church of our fathers. Indeed the Franciscans were in a special manner exposed to the rage of the English monarch. They had energetically opposed his wished-for divorce, and now they should pay the penalty of their zeal. Two hundred Franciscans were thrown into prison; thirty-two

¹ *The Abbey of Ross: its History and Details*. By Oliver J. Burke, A.B. Dublin, 1868.

² Killursa, formerly called Kill-Fursa, was dedicated to St. Fursey, an Irish saint of the seventh century, whose feast is kept on the 16th of January. The ruins of St. Fursey's church still exist, and, not far distant, there is a *cromleach*, popularly called *Leabha-Diarmid agus Graunye*, which is said to be the resting place of Dermot and Grace during their flight from Tara.

of them were bound with chains, and exposed to every insult; others were banished, and some, too, were put to death.

New trials awaited the convent of Ross-Errily in the reign of Elizabeth. In an inquiry which was made in the commencement of her reign, it was found that "the site of the monastery of Ross-Errilly or Ross-Railly was one acre of land; that it contained a church, a cloister, a hall, dormitories, chambers, and cellars; a cemetery, three small gardens, and a mill, which for want of water, could work only in winter". By royal patent the tithes attached to the church were granted to the portreve and burgesses of Athenry; whilst the monastery, with its property, was allotted to Richard Burgh, Earl of Clanrickarde. This nobleman, however, whose family had long been the patrons of the Franciscan convent, privately restored it to its owners. The crown, finding the friars in 1584 again in possession of the monastery, made a grant of it to an English courtier, who plundered it of its library, monuments, and books, and expelled the religious. He was soon, however, anxious to part with his ill-acquired property, and two years later we find it once more purchased by Clanrickarde and restored to the children of St. Francis. The close of the century saw Ross-Errily transformed into an English garrison which was destined to curb the Western chieftains, and prevent them from joining the ranks of O'Neill and O'Donnell in the north.

When the ravages of war had ceased, we again meet with the religious of Ross-Errily busily engaged in restoring their monastery to its former magnificence. It was at this time visited by Father Mooney, provincial of the order, who thus speaks of it in his MS. history of the Franciscan convents in Ireland:—

"Another house where I spent some days during my visit to Connaught, pleased me much. I now speak of the beautiful and spacious church and monastery of Ross-Errilly, or as it is called by the Irish, Ross Trial, which is situated in the diocese of Tuam, and within eight or nine miles of that ancient city. . . . Never was there a more solitary spot chosen for a religious community, than that on which Ross Errilly stands, for it is surrounded by marches and bogs, and the stillness that reigns there is seldom broken save by the tolling of the church bell, or the whirr of the countless flocks of plover and other wild birds that abound in that desolate region. Another remarkable feature of the locality is that the monastery can only be approached by a causeway, paved with large stones, and terminating at the enclosure which was built in 1572 by Father Ferrall Mac Egan, a native of Connaught, and then Provincial of the Irish Franciscans. He was in sooth a distinguished man in his day, far famed for eloquence and learning, and singularly fond of Ross-Errilly, which he used to compare to the Thebaid, whither the early Christians fled for prayer and contemplation. . . .

"As for the church of Ross-Errilly, it is indeed a beautiful edifice, and the same may be said of the monastery, which, although often garrisoned by English troops during the late war, is still in perfect preservation. Cloister, refectory, dormitory, chapter-house, library, and lofty bell-tower have all survived the disasters of that calamitous period; but in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Elizabeth, A.D. 1584, the friars were forcibly expelled from their beloved retreat, and monastery and church were by a royal ordinance granted to an Englishman, who laid sacrilegious hands on our vestments, altar plate, books, and muniments, leaving us nothing but bare walls and the rifled tombs of our benefactors.

"It was not long, however, till the friars returned to Ross-Errilly; . . . and thenceforth the community of Ross-Errilly consisted of six priests and two lay brothers, who laboured indefatigably for the repairs of the sacred edifice. . . . In 1604, the munificence of Richard, fourth Earl of Clanricarde, enabled the community to repair the monastery and church, which had been considerably dilapidated during the late war, and in that same year was buried within its precincts one of the noblest and bravest of heroes of whom his country could boast, namely Bryan Oge O'Rourke, son of Bryan-na-Murtha. . . .

"When some ships of the ill-fated Armada went to pieces on the coast of Sligo, Bryan-na-Murtha O'Rourke, pitying the Spaniards who appealed to him for protection, not only sent them immediate aid, but invited them and their chief officer, Antonio de Leva, to his castle of Dromahair, where they were entertained with unbounded hospitality. O'Rourke's conduct, however, provoked the vengeance of the Queen, who ordered her Deputy Fitz William and Sir Richard Bingham to waste with fire and sword the principality of Breffny. As for the chieftain himself, he was obliged, after some ineffectual resistance, to fly into Scotland, where he was arrested by order of James VI., now King of England, who perfidiously sent him in chains to London. Arraigned on a charge of high treason, the noble-minded chieftain refused to bend his knee before the insignia of royalty. * * * Sentence of death being recorded, he was soon after led to the place of execution, and died a true son of Holy Church. When the news of his father's death reached Ireland, Bryan Oge O'Rourke was duly inaugurated in his stead. This worthy son of a martyred sire distinguished himself in many a glorious action during the Elizabethan wars, and particularly in the far-famed fight near Boyle, where he and O'Donel routed the English under Clifford in 1599 on the memorable feast of the Assumption. . . . His last wish was that his remains should repose in the cloister of Ross-Errilly, and our friars took care to see that wish was fulfilled; for in the month of January, when the snow lay thick on the roads, the funeral cortege, accompanied by a few faithful friends, entered the enclosure of the monastery, and as soon as the requiem mass had been sung, our brotherhood hollowed out a grave in the cloister, and there interred all that remained of one of the bravest and best of those Irishmen whose names deserve to be canonized in the pages of history".

In the year 1612 another storm swept over the monastery of Ross-Errily. William Daniel, well known for his labours in translating the Bible into the Irish language, was at this time Protestant Archbishop of Tuam. He received an order from Sir Arthur Chichester, then lord deputy, to expel the religious from this convent, and to demolish its altars; he was afraid, indeed, not to comply with these commands; yet he privately sent word to the friars, that they might consult for their own safety, and bear away with them whatever was most precious in their monastery. It was not till 1626 that the Franciscans were able to return to their long cherished retreat in *Muintir-Moroghow*;¹ then, however, they were allowed for twenty-five years to enjoy a comparative repose, and to diffuse around them the blessings of charity and religion. In February, 1648, its guardian, Father Bryan Kilkenny displayed the charity of the true religious, sheltering within its walls those who had vowed the destruction of our Catholic people. We will narrate the event as presented from the original authorities by Mr. Burke:—

“It was early in the month of February, 1642, that Dr. Maxwell, the Protestant Bishop of Killala, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, with several Protestant settlers, fearing the just vengeance of the people whom they had plundered, applied to Lord Mayo for a military escort to convoy them to Galway. His lordship acceded to the bishop’s request, and the whole party got under weigh, accompanied by Lord Mayo. It was arranged that Captain Ulick Burke, of Castle-Hacket (who was married to Lord Mayo’s sister), the then high sheriff of the county of Galway, should take the convoy in charge at the bridge of Shruel, the mearing of the counties. The journey as far as Shruel was all but accomplished. Lord Mayo, satisfying himself that all was right, on getting within half a mile of the town, wished them safe, having given them in charge to a relative of his own, a gentleman named Edmund Bourke, who lived in the castle of Shruel; and then, turning his horse, his lordship rode away to Cong. This Edmund Bourke, . . . having taken the command, hurried on to the bridge, before Captain Ulick Burke, the Galway high sheriff, might come up. The party had just arrived at the bridge, when Edmund Bourke incited the surrounding people to attack those whom he was bound to protect: a shot was fired, and the massacre commenced. In less than an hour thirty bodies were laid dead on the ground; many of them were tumbled into a hole on the road side, and others flung into the waters of the Black river, that flowed red with blood into the lake on that fatal day. Meanwhile Father Bryan Kilkenny, Guardian of the Monastery of Ross, accompanied by Captain Ulick Burke, came up, rushed to the scene of carnage, and carried

¹ In an *inquisitio* made in 1636, the monastery of *Ross-Ryally* is said to be in *Mointer-Moroghow*, now barony of Clare. *Annals of Four Masters*, pag. 2349.

away over forty persons, some of them badly wounded. The guardian brought them to his abbey, and amongst them were the Bishop of Killala, his wife, children, and servants; and there were they entertained and cared for to the best of the friar's ability for several nights, until Captain Ulick Burke sent his carriages, and brought them to his castle at Castle-Hacket".

In the month of August, 1647, a provincial chapter of the Franciscan order was summoned to meet in Ross-Errily. The nunzio, Rinuccini, intimated his intention of being present there; and the Archbishop of Dublin, who was a member of the order, and other dignitaries of the kingdom, received invitations to take part in the proceedings. The menacing attitude, however, of the Puritan army, compelled the inmates to dispense with the intended solemnities. One night when the religious had retired to repose, the alarm was given that a Scottish troop was in the neighbourhood. All rushed from their beds, and indeed with scanty clothing, to save themselves by flight. The provincial, Rev. Anthony de Burgo, a holy man, remarkable for his piety and zeal, resolved first of all to prepare himself for death, that thus his flight might be less distressing to him. He accordingly took hold of one of the fathers, and insisted on making confession to him. It was in vain that the good father pleaded that there was no time to lose, and that the enemy was at the doors: it was equally vain for him to struggle to be freed from the provincial's iron grasp; so resigning himself to his fate, he said aloud to the passers-by: "The father provincial is worse than the Scots, for even they in their wickedness allow us time for flight, but he, by his piety, is resolved to render escape impossible". The alarm, however, proved to be groundless, and the religious were able to resume their deliberations in the month of September. The Rev. Thomas Mac Kiernan was chosen provincial, and at the close of the chapter, the religious adjourned to Galway to celebrate there the public ceremonies, and to hold their theses in presence of the nunzio, all of which, as had been at first arranged, should have added solemnity to their sessions in Ross-Errily. In the Rinuccini papers I find it recorded that the nunzio assisted with pleasure at the public theses, and that the proceedings in Galway were conducted with all possible solemnity and decorum: "*magno applausu et cleri populi que concursu*".

During the sad era of the Cromwellian rule, Ross-Errily for awhile escaped the fire and sword of the parliamentary forces, and afforded a momentary shelter to the fugitives from the other suppressed monasteries of the kingdom. The 10th of August, 1656, at length marked their doom. The Puritan soldiers, outraged at finding its cells empty—for the Franciscans, one hun-

dred and forty in number, had, a few hours before, sought safety in flight—overturned the altars, and broke to pieces the cross and the images of the saints. Suspecting that vast treasures might perhaps be concealed in the tombs, every grave was dug up, and the hallowed bones of the departed faithful were thrown together in one confused mass by these sacrilegious plunderers.¹

The reign of James the Second brought for a few years peace and sunshine to Ross-Errily; but the penal laws of William the Third and Anne again reduced it to a wilderness. About the year 1712 the religious seem to have once more taken up their abode there, as appears from an address of the grand jury of the county of Galway at an assizes commenced on the 29th of March, 1715. This document is published by Hardiman in his *History of Galway* (pag. 255, note): the jurors call on the lords justices to put in force the laws against the Roman Catholics; and complain that numbers of Popish priests and friars had come into the kingdom within the last four years, and settled themselves, amongst other places, at Ross, near Headford.

In 1753 is recorded the last flight of the religious from the walls of Ross-Errily. The property had passed from the Clanricardes to Lord St. George, who continued to protect the inmates of the monastery, although the statutes of the land enacted imprisonment for life as the penalty for contributing to the support of a Catholic priest.² In the year we have mentioned, Lord St. George successfully terminated a suit in which he was involved with a family of Iar Connaught. The defeated parties vowed vengeance against their antagonist, and swore informations to the effect that Lord St. George had under his protection some members of a religious community, the tower of whose monastery could be seen from the windows of his lordship's castle at Headford. The government of the day resolved at once to inquire into the accuracy of these informations, though *prima facie* it seemed absurd that a Protestant nobleman would show such courtesy to the proscribed friars of the Catholic Church. Fortunately Lord St. George received some friendly hint of the approaching storm. He and the religious were now alike imperilled. These however quitted the monastery without delay, and so arranged the place that no traces remained of its former inmates. Looms were got in; weavers were set to work; and the whole place assumed the appearance of some large factory; the walls, moreover, and the ceiling,

¹ It is said that the great bell of the convent was taken down by the religious before their flight, and cast into the river, where, tradition tells us, it still remains.

² *Blackstone's Commentary*, vol. iv, pp. 115, 118.

hitherto adorned with frescoes, were now whitewashed; and when the government commissioners arrived, they were able to report that there was not a solitary friar on the premises, and that Ross-Errily was not a monastery, but a manufactory. The Franciscans, at their departure, took with them the church plate, ornaments, and vestments, and retired to a small island formed by the Black river, where they built a small convent, the foundations of which still remain, and whence they could see the lofty tower of the old monastery which had once been their home. That island to this day is called *Hyawwn-na-braugher*, i.e., "the Friar's Island".

Thenceforward Ross-Errily was nothing more than a crumbling ruin; but its tower, its ivied gables, its columned aisles, its ornamental windows, still proclaim the former grandeur of this home of piety and science.

Before quitting this hallowed spot we must mention a charitable custom which was observed there till the monastery and its lands became a prey to irreligious plunderers. Annually on St. Clare's day in August, a purse of money, called *St. Clare's purse*, amounting to about £40 sterling, was placed on the saint's altar, and with it an urn containing the names of the orphan girls of the adjoining district. After some solemn prayers the superior drew forth one name from the urn: the purse was then set aside for this orphan, and handed to her as her portion on her marriage day. "Those times are passed (we shall conclude in the words of Mr. Burke): the relief at the convent gate has ceased; the *purse of St. Clare* is forgotten; the one-third of the tithes is no longer distributed amongst the poor—now thrown as a burden upon the land. Another system has grown up, and the relieving officer has taken the place of the almoner—

"Alas! for earth; for never shall we see
The brightness in her eye she bore when Rome was free'".

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

We have been favoured with the following questions:

- 1st, What is meant by the Rubric of the Missal (part i. titul. xx.) "*ab eadem parte epistolae paretur cereus, ad elevationem sacramenti accendendus*"?
- 2nd, Is this rubric merely permissive, or is it to be understood as imposing a precept, and necessarily to be followed?
- 3rd, Does it refer to the time of Mass only, or does it hold also for the administration of the Holy Communion *extra Missam*?

Liturgical Questions.

1. The rubric referred to, expressly teaches that in addition to the candles on the altar during the time of the Holy Sacrifice, another candle should be placed at the epistle side of the altar, and should be lighted before the elevation, to be extinguished only after the Communion. It is elsewhere more fully explained (Rubr. part ii. titul. viii. § 6) by the words, "*Dum celebrans elevat Hostiam, accenso prius intorticio, quod non extinguitur nisi postquam sacerdos sanguinem sumpserit, vel alios communicaverit, si qui erunt communicandi in Missa, minister, etc.*". This custom was at one time general in the Church, and it had for its object to remind the faithful of the presence of the Redeemer upon the altar. All the leading rubricists refer to this usage, and present many details connected with it. Gavantus says:

"The candle is to be placed at the epistle side of the altar, because it is there that the assistant is kneeling at the time of the elevation. However, on special festivals two candles may be thus lighted before the elevation".

Bauldry also teaches:

"Let a candle be placed on a candelabrum at the epistle side to be lighted at the elevation. On the more solemn festivals two may be used, the candelabra being placed one at each side of the altar *in plano*".

Bisso is equally explicit:

"At the epistle side let a candle be prepared which is lighted at the elevation through reverence for the Holy Sacrament: on the solemn feast a second candle should be placed at the gospel side".

This candle should not be placed on the altar or on the credence-table, but should either be attached to a cornucopia, i.e. a *candle-branch*, or rest *in plano* at the epistle side. On the solemn festivals two candles or torches should be thus placed *in plano*, one at each side of the altar. Castaldi explains this matter very well:

"Ante infimum gradum altaris in angulis hinc inde apponantur, eaque eminentia, candelabra majoris vel minoris altitudinis aequalis, pulchra, elaborata ex ligno inaurato, vel ex aurichalco, aut etiam, ubi haberi possint, in praecipuis solemnitatibus argentea: in quibus intorticia pro elevatione Sanctissimi Sacramenti affigantur, sed etiam, maxime in sacellis, duo instrumenta quae communiter cornucopia dicuntur, hinc inde parietibus affigi poterunt" (lib. 2, sect. 1^a § 10).

2. This rubric at the present day may be considered as not preceptive, but merely directive and permissive. St. Liguori following the authority of Lacroix and Sporer, says it presents only *a counsel* and not *a precept*. Bouvry also writes: "Nullam

esse obligationem accendendi tertiam candelam post *Sanctus*; sic enim hodie communis usus habet": and this is now the common opinion of theologians. In many countries as in Ireland, the use of the elevation candle is no longer observed. In Rome it is retained only in the church of the Missioners of St. Vincent de Paul, where, we may add, the candle or torch is inserted in a *cornucopia* at the epistle side of the altar.

3. The candle should remain lighting from the elevation till after the communion. When the holy communion is given to the faithful after Mass, the candle should not be extinguished till all have been communicated. A decree of the Congregation of the *Visita Apostolica*, clearly lays down this rule:

"When communion is to be given at the end of Mass, let the assistant take care that the elevation-candle be not extinguished till the communion is terminated" (*Merati*, tom. i. part 2, titul. x. § 29).

A distinction, however, must here be made, as the learned Cavalieri teaches us:

"If the holy Communion", he says, "at the end of Mass is given with the particles consecrated at that Mass, then the elevation-candle should remain unextinguished: but if it be given with the pre-consecrated particles preserved in the tabernacle, then the elevation-candle may be extinguished after the Communion of the priest, to be re-lighted, however, during the Communion of the faithful after Mass".

The same holds good for the holy Communion when given before Mass: the elevation-candle should be lighted and continue so whilst the holy Eucharist is being distributed to the faithful. Cavalieri thus lays down the rule:

"Quod additur de accendendo elevationis cereo, ad honorem Sacramenti fit... et licet reapse loquatur de communione intra missam, praesens tamen sanctio dispositionem rite extendit etiam ad communionem quae immediate fit ante missam, tamquam actum, qui si non continuus, contiguus tamen est eidem Missae".

The reason for this rule is the same as that on which the general rubric is grounded, viz., to show reverence to the Blessed Sacrament, and to remind the faithful that our Redeemer, the true light of the world, is then present on the altar. This holds equally good whether the Communion is given before or after Mass. Nay more, the chief rubricists extend the rule to the Holy Communion even when given *extra missam*, and teach that in addition to the two candles which should then be lighted on the altar, a third candle or torch should also be placed at the epistle side of the altar. Not to mention Cavalieri, Quarti, and others, Catalani thus writes:

"It is a commendable and universal usage in the Church that when the Holy Communion is given, either during Mass, or at any other

time, in addition to the two candles on the altar, a third also should be lighted near the altar" (*Rit. de Euch.* chap. ii. § 1).

And Merati adds:

"Praeterire non debemus, quomodo se gerere debeat sacerdos in distribuenda communione extra missam . . . sacrista debet accendere duas candelas super altare et intorticium a cornu epistolae, et etiam aliud a cornu evangelii si fuerit dies festivus" (tom. i. part 2. titul x. § 34).

DOCUMENT.

Apostolical Letter of our Most Holy Father Pius the Ninth, to the Schismatical Bishops of the Eastern Churches.

PIUS PP. IX.

Arcano Divinae Providentiae consilio, licet sine ullis meritis Nostris, in hac sublimi Cathedra haeredes Beatissimi Apostolorum Principis constituti, qui *juxta praerogativam sibi a Deo concessam firma et solidissima petra est, super quam Salvator Ecclesiam aedificavit* impositi Nobis oneris sollicitudine urgente, ad eos omnes in qualibet terrarum Orbis regione degentes, qui christiano nomine censentur, curas Nostras extendere, omnesque ad paternae caritatis amplexus excitare vehementissime cupimus et conamur. Nec vero absque gravi animae Nostrae periculo partem ullam christiani populi negligere possumus, qui pretiosissimo Salvatoris Nostri sanguine redemptus, et sacris baptismi aquis in Dominicum gregem adlectus, omnem sibi vigilantiam Nostram jure deposcit. Itaque cum in omnium procurandam salutem, qui Christum Jesum agnoscunt et adorant, studia omnia, cogitationesque Nostras indesinenter conferre debeamus oculos Nostros ac paternum animum ad istas convertimus Ecclesias, quae olim unitatis vinculo cum hac Apostolica Sede conglutinatae tanta sanctitatis, coelestisque doctrinae laude florebant, uberesque divinae gloriae et animarum salutis fructus edebant, nunc vero per nefarias illius artes ac machinationes, qui primum schisma excitavit in coelo, a communione Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quae toto orbe diffusa est, sejunctae ac divisae cum summo nostro moerore existunt.

Hac sane de causa jam ab ipso Supremi Nostri Pontificatus exordio Vobis pacis caritatisque verba toto cordis affectu loquuti sumus. Etsi vero haec Nostra verba optatissimum minime obtinuerint exitum, tamen nunquam Nos deseruit spes fore ut humiles aequae ac ferventes Nostras preces propitius exaudire dignetur clementissimus ac benignissimus salutis pacisque

Auctor, qui operatus est in medio terrae salutem, quique oriens ex alto pacem sibi acceptam et ab omnibus acceptandam evidenter ostendens, eam in ortu suo Angelorum ministerio bonae voluntatis hominibus nunciavit, et inter homines conversatus verbo docuit, praedicavit exemplo.

Jam vero cum nuper de Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio Oecumenicam Synodum futuro anno Romae celebrandam, ac die octavo mensis Decembris Immaculatae Deiparae Virginis Mariae Conceptioni sacro incipiendam indixerimus et convocaverimus, vocem Nostram ad Vos rursus dirigimus, et majore, qua possumus, animi Nostri contentione Vos obsecramus, monemus et obtestamur, ut ad eandem generalem Synodum convenire velitis, quemadmodum Majores Vestri convenerunt ad Concilium Lugdunense II. a recol. mem. B. Gregorio X. Praedecessore Nostro habitum, et ad Florentinum Concilium a fel. record. Eugenio IV. item Decessore Nostro celebratum, ut dilectionis antiquae legibus renovatis, et Patrum pace, coelesti illo ac salutari Christi dono quod tempore exaruit, ad vigorem iterum revocata post longam moeroris nebulam et dissidii diuturni atram ingrathamque caliginem serenum omnibus unionis optatae jubar illucescat.

Atque hic sit jucundissimus benedictionis fructus, quo Christus Jesus nostrum omnium Dominus et Redemptor immaculatam ac dilectissimam Sponsam suam catholicam Ecclesiam consoletur, ejusque temperet et abstergat lacrymas in hac asperitate temporum, ut, omni divisione penitus sublata, voces antea discrepantes perfecta spiritus unanimitate collaudent Deum, qui non vult schismata esse in nobis, sed ut idem omnes dicamus et sentiamus Apostoli voce praecepit; immortalesque misericordiarum Patri semper agantur gratiae ab omnibus Sanctis suis, ac praesertim a gloriosissimis illis Ecclesiarum Orientalium antiquis Patribus et Doctoribus, cum de coelo prospiciant instauratam ac redintegratam, cum hac Apostolica Sede catholicae veritatis et unitatis centro conjunctionem, quam ipsi in terris viventes omnibus studiis atque indefessis laboribus fovere et magis in dies promovere tum doctrina tum exemplo curarunt, diffusa in eorum cordibus per Spiritum Sanctum caritate, Illius, qui medium maceriae parietem solvit, ac per Sanguinem suum omnia conciliavit et pacavit, qui signum discipulorum suorum in unitate esse voluit, et cujus Oratio ad Patrem porrecta est: "Rogo ut omnes unum sint, sicut et Nos unum sumus".

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 8. Septembris Anno 1868. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimotertio.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1868.

GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

NO. VIII.

THE reader has now before him a general outline of geological theory, together with some familiar illustrations of the evidence by which it is supported. We shall not attempt to enforce this evidence by any remarks of our own. Indeed it is of a kind that can derive but little aid from the arts of logic and rhetoric. It needs but to be fairly understood, and if it does not altogether compel our assent, it begets at least a presumption so strong as to leave little room for doubt or hesitation.

Nobody, as far as we know, has ever hesitated to believe that the Round Towers of Ireland are the work of human hands. And yet if some incredulous sceptic were to raise a cry against this common opinion, were to say that it is a mere hypothesis, and call for proof, we should be embarrassed how to answer him. We could only say that these monuments have all the characteristic marks of man's handiwork; and that buildings of this kind have never been known to come into existence except through the agency of man. But should our vexatious sceptic contend that these Round Towers were possibly produced by a freak of Nature; or that they were built by the Creator of the World, who certainly might have made them had He been so minded, we should think him very unreasonable, and probably not feel much disposed to prolong the discussion. In like manner the theory of Geology for which we are contending, cannot be established by a rigid demonstration; but we believe there is

not one man of sense and judgment, who, being full master of the evidence on which it rests, has hesitated to accept that theory, at least in its more general outlines. No doubt many able and eminent men are to be found arrayed against Geology: but it would be easy to show from their own writings that they have never thoroughly examined the facts about which they talk so flippantly, and which they often set aside so lightly.

For ourselves, therefore, we frankly avow that while we attach but little importance to the mere conjectures and speculations of geological writers, while we look with doubt and suspicion on many plausible theories commonly enough adopted at the present day, and while we consider that the discoveries of modern times, wonderful though they are, have given rise to far more problems than they are yet able to solve, yet we do fully assent to those general principles which we have been attempting to develop and to illustrate in these papers. Absolute metaphysical certainty we have not; but we have a firm and rational conviction. We feel quite satisfied that the great Creator of the Universe did not bring suddenly into existence the withered remains and broken fragments of animals which had never lived; that He did not stamp upon the massive rocks, buried in the profound recesses of the earth, the impress of a luxuriant vegetation which had never flourished; that He did not, in short, create under millions of forms the delusive appearances of things which had never been, and scatter them through this world of ours in wild profusion, well knowing that after many centuries they would come to light, to bewilder human reason, and to lead it into error. This conclusion, of course, we are prepared to abandon if it should be found to clash with any certain truth or with any demonstrated fact. But, in the meantime, it seems to us as well grounded and as fairly established as the conclusions we are accustomed to follow in the matter of other sciences, and in the common business of life.

It is argued, however, that Geological theory is, in fact, at variance with the very highest order of truth; with that truth which comes to us on the authority of God Himself. The Bible tells us that the world first came into existence about six or eight thousand years ago: Geology, on the contrary, tells us that six or eight thousand years are but as yesterday in the history of the revolutions through which this Globe has passed. This is the argument to which we are now about to address ourselves; and it well deserves our best attention, not only from its intrinsic importance, but also from the interesting nature of the discussion to which it has given rise.

In the first place, we fully admit that the extreme antiquity of the Earth is a necessary consequence of our theory. Setting out

from the present stage of the world's existence, Geology carries us back from epoch to epoch, through a long succession of ages, each extending over many thousand years, until the mind is lost in the seeming infinity of the past. It may be asked, perhaps, in what way Geology can testify to the great length of each successive period in the history of the Globe. A familiar example will furnish the most convenient reply to such a question. Let the reader call to mind what we have already explained about the origin and formation of coal; and then let him examine the structure of the Carboniferous Rocks. In the great coal-field of Wales, for instance, he will find, in a depth of 12,000 feet, as many as sixty distinct beds of coal, spread out one above another, with intervening strata of clay several feet in thickness. Now each of these sixty beds of coal represents a great forest which must have grown up, and flourished and decayed; and then, in some way or another, have been covered over with a thick deposit of clay, from which a new forest was to shoot forth in course of time, and afterwards in its turn to wither away: and so the process must have gone on, doubtless with many and long interruptions, for sixty times in succession.

Then we must remember that the coal-bearing strata represent but one of many periods, and that not the longest, in the records of Geology. Before the age of the Coal, England was for centuries at the bottom of the sea, while the Old Red Sandstone was slowly spread out over its existing surface. And after the age of the Coal, England was again submerged, and the gigantic Ichthyosaurs with their companions of the deep, sported in the waters that rolled over her plains and covered the tops of her mountains; and, when they had run their course, left their remains buried in the clays of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire and Dorsetshire. It needs not to enlarge upon this topic. We may reject Geology if we will: but if we put any faith even in the main principles of this science, we must totally abandon the notion that the past history of the Earth can be compressed into the short space of six thousand years.

Turning now to the other side of the question, we maintain that this extreme Antiquity of the Earth, which we have learned from Geology, is perfectly consistent with the historical narrative of the Bible. The Bible, indeed, does fix the Chronology of the Human Race at a comparatively recent period; but, as for the Chronology of the World itself, the Bible simply tells us that "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth". For all that appears to the contrary, this Globe of ours may have been in existence for millions of years before man was introduced upon the scene; and during that time may have been peopled

with those countless tribes of plants and animals which play so important a part in the records of Geology. This view, which is not only fully tolerated by the Church, but now largely supported by her Divines and Commentators, we hope to bring home clearly to our readers in the following pages; and thus to satisfy them that, as regards the Antiquity of the Earth, the discoveries of Geology can offer no prejudice to our religious belief.

At the outset it is of some importance clearly to understand what is meant by the Chronology of the Bible. No where in the Sacred Text is the age of the human race explicitly set forth. But various data are found scattered here and there through the historical narrative, which afford us sufficient materials to construct a system of Chronology, beginning with the creation of Adam and coming down to the birth of Christ. Unfortunately, however, these data are in some respects obscure, and in some respects uncertain. And thus it has come to pass that many different systems of Chronology have come into vogue, even amongst those who profess to be guided entirely by the authority of the Bible.

The whole period may be conveniently divided into two parts;—from the creation of Adam to the fall of Abraham, and from the fall of Abraham to the birth of Christ. As regards the latter interval the difference of opinion between Chronologists is not very substantial; the length of the period may be roughly set down at about 2000 years. But in the computation of the former interval a very wide difference prevails, arising from a diversity of reading in the earliest versions of the Pentateuch. The materials for the computation are derived from two genealogical lists, one extending from Adam to Noah,¹ the other from Noah to Abraham.² In these lists we have not only the direct line of descent from father to son, extending through the whole period in question, but, moreover, we have the age of each individual member of the genealogy at the time when the next in succession was born. As for example:—“Adam lived *a hundred and thirty years, and begot a son* to his own image and likeness, and called his name Seth. And the days of Adam, after he begot Seth, were eight hundred years: and he begot sons and daughters. And all the time that Adam lived came to nine hundred and thirty years, and he died. Seth also lived *a hundred and five years, and begot Enos*. And Seth lived, after he begot Enos, eight hundred and seven years, and begot sons and daughters. And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and

¹ Genesis, v. 3–32.

² Ib., xi. 10–26.

twelve years, and he died. And Enos lived *ninety years, and begot Cainan*:¹ and so on. Now it is plain, according to this statement, that from the creation of Adam to the birth of Seth was a hundred and thirty years; to the birth of Enos a hundred and thirty, more a hundred and five years; to the birth of Cainan, a hundred and thirty, more a hundred and five, more ninety years. And in this way, following the genealogies of the Book of Genesis, we may easily compute the time from the creation of Adam to the birth of Abraham. Adding seventy-five years to this period, we reach the epoch known as the Call of Abraham; for we are told that "Abraham was seventy and five years old when he went forth from Haran".²

Every one knows, however, that, when a long catalogue of names and numbers is copied and re-copied from age to age, errors are very likely to creep in and to be perpetuated. And so it has been in the present case. The three earliest versions of the Pentateuch are the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint: and between these three versions there is a very great discrepancy with regard to the figures in question; so great indeed as to make up, on the whole, a difference of 1500 years, or more, in the age of the human race. In the following table, for which we are indebted to the work of a modern writer, this diversity of reading is set forth in a very simple and intelligent form:—

AGE OF EACH WHEN THE NEXT WAS BORN,

ACCORDING TO

				Septuagint.	Hebrew.	Samaritan.
Adam,	...	...	...	230	130	130
Seth,	...	...	...	205	105	105
Enos,	...	...	...	190	90	90
Cainan,	...	...	...	170	70	70
Malaleel,	...	...	...	165	65	65
Jared,	...	...	...	162	162	62
Enoch,	...	...	...	165	65	65
Mathusala,	...	...	...	187	187	67
Lamech,	...	...	...	188	182	53
Noe,	...	...	...	502	502	502
Sem,	...	...	...	100	100	100
From the Creation of Adam to two years after the Flood, ³				2264	1658	1309

¹ Genesis, xii. 4.

² Ib., v. 3-9.

³ "Sem was a hundred years old when he begot Arphaxad, two years after the flood"—Genesis, xi. 10.

Arphaxad, ...	...	...	135	35	135
Cainan, ¹ ...	...	...	130	...	...
Sale, ...	...	...	130	30	130
Heber, ...	...	...	134	34	134
Phaleg, ...	...	...	130	30	130
Reu, ...	...	...	132	32	132
Sarug, ...	...	...	130	30	130
Nachor, ...	...	...	79	29	79
Thare, ...	...	...	70	70	70
Abraham called by God, ...	...	...	75	75	75
From the Flood to the Call of Abraham ...			1145	365	1015
From the Creation of Adam to the Call of Abraham, ...			3409	2023	2324

Of these three lists one only can represent the true age of the human race when Abraham went forth, at the command of God, from his country and his kindred and his father's house, to go into the land of Canaan: and, at this distance of time, it is impossible to determine with anything like certainty, which of the three has the greatest claim on our acceptance. The Church has not pronounced upon the subject; and the question is freely discussed among Biblical scholars. But the details of this controversy have little to do with our present argument. Enough it is for us to know that, from the Creation of Adam to the Birth of Christ, cannot have been above six thousand years at the highest computation, nor much below four thousand at the lowest. Adding 1868 years of the Christian Era, the present age of the Human Race according to the data of the Bible would seem to lie somewhere between six and eight thousand years.

The Bible, then, does determine, though with some obscurity, the age of the Human Race. We have now to consider whether, in fixing the age of the Human Race, it fixes likewise the age of the World itself. For this purpose we must turn our attention to the first chapter of Genesis. In that chapter the whole history of the Creation is briefly recorded. It begins with the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, and it ends with the creation of Man. If it should appear that these two events were comprised within the narrow space of a few days, then indeed the age of the World must agree pretty nearly with the age of the Human Race: but if on the other hand, between these two events the Sacred Record allows us to suppose an interval of indefinite length, then it is equally plain that the age of the Human Race, as set forth in the Bible Genealogies, can afford

¹ This second Cainan does not appear in the Hebrew or the Samaritan version.

no evidence against the extreme antiquity of the Earth. The question is thus brought within very narrow limits. We have simply to take up the First Chapter of Genesis, and inquire whether or no it is there conveyed that the Creation of Man, which is described towards the close of the chapter, followed after the lapse of only a few days upon the Creation of the Heavens and the Earth, which is recorded in the first verse.

For many centuries this question received but little attention from the readers of the Bible. It was commonly assumed that, as the various events of the Creation are traced out in rapid succession by the Inspired Writer, and strung together into one continuous narrative, so did they follow one another, in reality, with a corresponding rapidity, and in the same unbroken continuity. The progress of physical science had not yet shown any necessity for supposing a lengthened period of time to have elapsed between the Creation of the World and the Creation of Man: nor was there anything in the narrative itself to suggest such an idea. Thus it was generally taken for granted, almost without discussion, that, when God had created the Heavens and the Earth in the beginning, He *at once* set about the work of arranging and furnishing the universe, and fitting it up for the use of man; that He distributed this work over a period of six ordinary days, and at the close of the sixth day, introduced our First Parents upon the scene; and that, therefore, the beginning of the Human Race is but six days later than the beginning of the World.

These notions about the history of the Creation continued to prevail almost down to our own time. It is to be observed, however, that they were not founded on a close and scientific examination of the Sacred Text. The hypothesis of a long and eventful state of existence prior to the Creation of Man may be said rather to have been overlooked, than to have been rejected, by our Commentators. There was no good reason for entertaining such a speculation, and so they said nothing about it. But now that the world is ringing with the wonderful discoveries of Geology, which seem to point more and more clearly every day to the extreme Antiquity of the Earth, it becomes an imperative duty to examine once again with all diligence and care the Inspired narrative of the Creation, and to consider well the relation in which it stands with this new dogma of physical Science.

We are not the first to enter upon this inquiry. Already it has engaged the attention and stimulated the industry of Theological writers for more than half a century. Many eminent men, distinguished alike for their extensive acquirements and for their religious zeal, have protested warmly against the opinion

of Geologists, concerning the Antiquity of the Earth, as one that cannot be reconciled with the historical accuracy of the Bible. But, on the other hand, there are writers no less illustrious, and no less sincerely attached to the cause of religion, who contend that there is nothing in the Sacred Text to exclude the supposition of a long and indefinite interval—an interval if necessary of many millions of years—between the first creation of matter and the creation of man. Thirty years ago this opinion was defended by Cardinal Wiseman with great learning, and with great felicity of illustration, in his famous *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*. The eminent Roman Jesuit, Father Perrone, has also adopted this view; and has introduced it into his *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, which, as every one knows, has long since become a classic work in our schools of Theology. It has been yet more fully discussed, and supported by more elaborate arguments, in a work entitled *Cosmogonia Naturale Comparata col Genesi*, lately published in Rome at the press of the *Civiltà Cattolica* by another distinguished Jesuit, John Baptist Pianciani. Amongst Protestant writers, too, this view of the Mosaic narrative has found no inconsiderable number of able advocates. It is defended by Doctor Buckland, the eminent Geologist, in his celebrated *Bridgewater Treatise*, by Doctor Chalmers in his *Evidences of the Christian Revelation*, by Doctor Pye Smith in his dissertations on Geology and Scripture, by the eloquent and original Hugh Millar in his interesting work on the *Testimony of the Rocks*; and by a host of others not less distinguished than these.

But these learned writers are not altogether of one accord as to the precise point in the First Chapter of Genesis, at which we may suppose a long interval of time to have intervened. Some, with Doctor Buckland, Doctor Pye Smith, and Doctor Chalmers, consider that this interval may best be introduced between the beginning of all time, when God created the Heavens and the Earth, and the beginning of the First Day, when He set about preparing the world as a dwelling place for man. Sacred Scripture, they say, simply records these two events (1) that "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth", and (2) that, at some subsequent time, "God said: Let there be light: and light was made". But Sacred Scripture does not tell us what length of time elapsed between these two great acts of Divine Omnipotence. For aught we know from Revelation, it may have been but a single day, or it may have been a million of years. Others again, as for instance, Hugh Millar, and the Jesuit Pianciani, prefer to suppose that each one of the Six Days may have been itself a period of indefinite, nay of almost inconceivable duration. So that, between

the beginning of the world and the creation of man six great ages of the Earth's history may have rolled by, each one distinguished by a new manifestation of God's power, and the introduction of new forms of life. These writers even fancy that they can discover a close analogy between the successive acts of creation recorded in *Genesis*, and the gradual development of organic life exhibited in the great Epochs of Geology.

To us it seems that either one or the other of these two systems, or both together, may be fairly admitted without any undue violence to the text of the Inspired narrative: and this, we would observe in passing, is the opinion to which Cardinal Wiseman appeared to incline thirty years ago, in his *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Religion*. We maintain, then, in the first place, that there is nothing in the Mosaic narrative, when carefully examined, at variance with the hypothesis of an indefinite interval between the creation of the world and the work of the Six Days. And in the second place we contend that it is quite consistent with the usage of Sacred Scripture to explain these Days of Creation as long periods of time.

It may appear, perhaps, to some of our readers that this is dangerous ground on which we are about to venture. They may have been accustomed all their lives to view the history of the Creation through the medium of those notions that commonly prevailed before the discoveries of Geology: and from the influence of long association they may have come in the end to regard their own interpretation as scarcely less venerable and sacred than the Inspired Text itself. Such persons will naturally be disposed to look upon our undertaking with disfavour and suspicion. They will think us guilty of irreverence towards Holy Scripture when we seek to modify our views about its meaning, in deference to the conclusions of physical science; and they may be tempted even to charge us with putting the idle speculations of men into the balance against the Inspired Word of God.

To this line of objection we would answer, that we cannot be guilty of irreverence to Holy Scripture, when we are only striving, humbly and diligently, to discover the true meaning of an obscure and difficult passage, on which the Church has pronounced no definite judgment; nor can we be said to make light of the Word of God, when we are but attempting to defend its unerring veracity from the assaults of infidel writers. Furthermore we would add that, if it is a dangerous thing to modify the received interpretation of certain parts of the Scripture, when the progress of science enables us to see physical phenomena

under a new light, it is a far more dangerous thing to persist in imputing to Scripture a doctrine that in a very short time may be proved to be false beyond the possibility of contradiction.

These sentiments are not altogether our own. They have come to us, in great part, from an illustrious Doctor of the Church; and we are glad, at this early stage of our discussion, to be able to shelter ourselves under the authority of his venerable name. It is now fourteen centuries and a half since Saint Augustine set about the literal interpretation of *Genesis*, which he accomplished in a Treatise of twelve books. Towards the close of the first book he expatiates at some length on the difficulty of his undertaking, and on the variety of diverse interpretations, which even then prevailed in the Church. From this he takes occasion to warn his readers that, "if we find anything in Divine Scripture that may be variously explained, without any injury to faith, we should not rush headlong by positive assertion either to one opinion or the other; lest, if perchance the opinion we have adopted should afterwards turn out to be false, our faith should fall with it; and we should be found contending, not so much for the doctrine of the Sacred Scriptures, as for our own; endeavouring to make our doctrine to be that of the Scriptures, instead of taking the doctrine of the Scripture to be ours".¹ And a little further on, he again exposes the imprudence of such a proceeding, in words that cannot but be considered peculiarly applicable to our present subject:—

"It often happens that one who is not a Christian hath some knowledge derived from the clearest arguments or from the evidence of his senses about the earth, about the heavens, about the other elements of this world, about the movements and revolutions, or about the size and the distances of the stars, about certain eclipses of the sun and moon, about the course of the years and the seasons, about the nature of animals, plants, and minerals, and about other things of a like kind. Now it is an unseemly and mischievous thing, and greatly to be avoided, that a Christian man speaking on such matters, as if according to the authority of Christian Scripture, should talk so foolishly that the unbeliever on hearing him, and observing the extravagance of his error, should hardly be able to refrain from laughing. And the great mischief is, not so much that the man himself is

¹ "Et in rebus obscuris atque a nostris oculis remotissimis, si qua inde scripta etiam divina legerimus, quae possunt salva fide qua imbuimur, alias atque alias parere sententias; in nullam earum nos praecipiti affirmatione ita projiciamus, ut si forte diligentius discussa veritas eam recte labefactaverit, corruamus: non pro sententia divinarum Scripturarum, sed pro nostra ita dimicantes, ut eam velimus Scripturarum esse, quae nostra est; cum potius eam quae Scripturarum est, nostram esse velle debeamus". *De Genesi ad Litteram*, lib. i. cap. xviii. n. 37.

laughed at for his errors, but that our authors are believed, by people without the Church, to have taught such things, and so are condemned as unlearned, and cast aside, to the great loss of those for whose salvation we are so much concerned. For, when they find one belonging to the Christian body falling into error on a subject with which they themselves are thoroughly conversant, and when they see him moreover enforcing his groundless opinion by the authority of our Sacred Books, how are they likely to put trust in these Books about the resurrection of the dead, and the hope of eternal life, and the kingdom of heaven, having already come to regard them as fallacious about those things they had themselves learned from observation or from unquestionable evidence? And indeed it were not easy to tell what trouble and sorrow some rash and presumptuous men bring upon their prudent brethren, who, when they are charged with a perverse and false opinion by those who do not accept the authority of our Books, attempt to put forward these same Holy Books in defence of that which they have lightly and falsely asserted, sometimes even quoting from memory what they think will suit their purpose, and putting forth many words without well understanding either what they say or what they are talking about".¹

And many ages after, Saint Thomas, the great luminary of the schools, appeals to this wise admonition of Saint Augustine, and applies it to the circumstances of his own times. Writing about the work of the second day, he tells us that "in questions

¹ "Plerumque enim accidit ut aliquid de terra, de coelo, de coeteris hujus mundi elementis, de motu et conversione vel etiam de magnitudine et intervallis siderum, de certis defectibus solis ac lunae, de circuitibus annorum et temporum, de naturis animalium, fruticum, lapidum atque hujusmodi caeteris, etiam non christianus ita noverit, ut certissima ratione vel experientia teneat. Turpe est autem nimis et perniciosum ac maxime cavendum, ut christianum de his rebus quasi secundum christianas Litteras loquentem, ita delirare quilibet infidelis audiat, ut, quemadmodum dicitur, toto coelo errore conspiciens, risum tenere vix possit. Et non tam molestum est, quod errans homo deridetur, sed quod auctores nostri ab eis qui foris sunt, talia sensisse creduntur, et cum magno eorum exitio de quorum salute satagimus, tanquam indocti reprehenduntur atque respuuntur. Cum enim quemquam de numero christianorum in ea re quam optime norunt, errare deprehenderint, et vanam sententiam suam de nostris Libris asserere; quo pacto illis Libris credturi sunt, de resurrectione mortuorum, et de spe vitae aeternae, regnoque coelorum, quando de his rebus quas jam experiri, vel indubitatis numeris percipere potuerunt, fallaciter putaverint esse conscriptos? Quid enim molestiae tristitiaeque ingerant prudentibus fratribus temerarii praesumptores, satis dici non potest, cum si quando de prava et falsa opinione sua reprehendi, et convinci coeperint ab eis qui nostrorum Librorum auctoritate non tenentur, ad defendendum id quod levissima temeritate et apertissima falsitate dixerunt, eosdem Libros sanctos, unde id probent, proferre conantur, vel etiam memoriter, quae ad testimonium valere arbitrantur, multa inde verba pronuntiant, 'non intelligentes neque quae loquuntur, neque de quibus affirmant' (*I. Tim.*, i. 7)". *Ibid.*, cap. xix. n, 39.

of this sort there are two things to be observed: first, that the truth of Scripture be resolutely upheld; secondly, since Scripture doth often admit of diverse interpretations, that we must not cling to any particular exposition with such pertinacity, that if what we suppose to be the sense of Scripture, should afterwards turn out to be clearly false, we should nevertheless still presume to put it forward; lest by so doing we should expose the Inspired Word of God to the derision of unbelievers, and shut them out from the way of salvation".¹

Under the sanction of two such illustrations, Saints and Doctors, we need not hesitate to proceed in our attempt to reconcile the Inspired narrative of the Creation with the doctrine of the Antiquity of the Earth as set forth by the advocates of Geology. Let it be remembered, however, that we do not undertake to prove the extreme Antiquity of the Earth from the language of Scripture; but simply to show that the language of Scripture leaves the Antiquity of the Earth an open question. The Geologist holds that this Globe of ours has been in existence for hundreds of thousands, perhaps for millions, of years; and our object is to show that while maintaining this opinion, he may, nevertheless, accept the historical truth of the Bible narrative.

As before explained, two points arise for discussion: first, can we suppose an interval of indefinite length to have elapsed between the Creation of the World and the work of the Six Days; and secondly, is it lawful to explain these Days in the sense of long periods? We shall take these two questions in succession, dealing with each upon its own merits: and if we fail to enforce conviction, we hope, at least, to vindicate our right to toleration.

The opening verses of the Mosaic history may be rendered thus literally from the Hebrew text:—

- (1) "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth.
- (2) "And the Earth was waste and empty; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
- (3) "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light.
- (4) "And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness.
- (5) "And God called the light Day, and the darkness he

¹ "Dicendum quod, sicut Augustinus docet, in hujusmodi quaestionibus duo sunt observanda. Primo quidem, ut veritas Scripturae inconcusse teneatur. Secundo, cum Scriptura divina multipliciter exponi possit, quod nulli expositioni aliquis ita praecise inhaereat, ut si certa ratione constiterit hoc esse falsum quod aliquis sensum Scripturae esse credebat id nihilominus asserere praesumat; ne Scriptura ex hoc ab infidelibus derideatur, et ne eis via credendi praeccludatur". *Summa Theologica, Pars Prima, Quaest. lxxviii. art. primus.*

called Night. And the evening was, and the morning was the first day”.

Now, it appears to us that the great event with which this narrative begins, the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, is not represented as a part of the work that was accomplished within the Six Days. It is not said that *on the first day* God created the Heavens and the Earth, but *in the beginning*. Besides, the Sacred writer, uniformly throughout the chapter, employs one and the same peculiar phrase to introduce the work of each successive day. In describing the operations of God on the second day he begins: “*And God said*, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters”: on the third day, “*And God said*, let the waters that are under the Heavens be gathered together into one place”: on the fourth, “*And God said*, let there be lights in the firmament of the Heavens to divide the day from the night”: on the fifth, “*And God said*, let the waters bring forth the creeping thing having life”: on the sixth, “*And God said*, let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind”. Hence, when we meet this very phrase for the first time in the third verse, “*And God said*, let there be light”, we may reasonably suppose that the work of the first day began with the decree which is set forth in these words. If so, it plainly follows that we may allow the existence of created matter before that particular epoch of time which, in the language of Moses, is styled the *first day*; for, before the creation of light, the Heavens and the Earth were already in existence, and the Earth was waste and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved over the face of the waters.

An objection is sometimes raised from the words of God in the promulgation of the third commandment:—“Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; thou shalt do no work on it. . . . For *in six days the Lord made the Heavens and the Earth and the sea, and all that in them is, and resteth the seventh day*”.¹ It is argued that the creation of the Heavens and the Earth is here set forth as a part of the work accomplished within the Six Days, which is directly against our opinion. This difficulty would be simply insurmountable, if it could be proved that the text refers to that *first act of creation* by which the Heavens and the Earth were brought into existence out of nothing. We think, however, that the phrase may fairly be understood to mean, in six days the Lord *fashioned* the Heavens and the Earth; that is to say, gave to them that form and shape

¹ Exodus, xx., 9-11.

and outward character which they now possess. In this sense the words would apply, not to the first act of creation out of nothing, but rather to that subsequent series of operations by which the earth was fitted up and furnished for the use of man.

And this interpretation is supported by the authority of our best Commentators. Perrerus formally discusses the point, and maintains that God may truly be said to have *made the Heavens and the Earth* in Six Days, although the Heavens and the Earth, as far as regards their substantial matter, had been created before the first day, for it was only within the Six Days that they were adorned and completed and perfected.¹ Tostatus is not less explicit. In this passage, he says, the word *made* is very properly employed, for the Heavens and the Earth which are here referred to, and the other things that are included under this general designation, were all *made from matter already existing*, but this matter itself was not *made*, it was *created*.² Petavius also adopts this view in his remarks upon the fourth verse of the second chapter of Genesis.³

We may add that this mode of explaining the passage receives no small support from the Hebrew text. When it is said, in the first chapter of Genesis, that "In the beginning God *created* the Heavens and the Earth", the word used by the Sacred writer is בָּרָא (*Bara*), which strictly means to create out of nothing, whereas, in describing the operations of the Six Days, he commonly uses the word עָשָׂה (*Hasah*), which means to *form* and *fashion*, or to produce something out of pre-existing materials.⁴ Now, in the text of Exodus, we find the word עָשָׂה (*Hasah*), to *fashion* or *produce*, and not the word בָּרָא (*Bara*), to *create*. We do not want to insist very rigorously upon this distinction between the two words בָּרָא (*Bara*) and עָשָׂה (*Hasah*), nor would we deny that they are sometimes interchanged as regards their meaning. We think they are related to one another pretty nearly as the cor-

¹ "Quod autem in xx. et xxxi. cap. Exod. dictum est, Deum sex diebus fecisse cœlum et terram, et omnia quæ in eis sunt, non est huic opinioni contrarium: illud enim spatium temporis ante primum diem annumeratur sex diebus, quia fuit quam brevissimum, et fuit continuata Dei operatio: nec sane plures dies naturales consumpti sunt quam sex: ac licet ante primum diem, cœlum et elementa facta sint secundum substantiam, tamen non fuerunt perfecta et omnino consummata, nisi spatio illorum sex dierum; tunc enim datus est illis ornatus, complementum, et perfectio".—*Comment. in Genes.*, cap. i., v. 4.

² "Sex diebus fecit Dominus cœlum et terram. Recte dicitur hic *facere*, quia cœlum et terra, quæ hic nominantur, et omnia alia, quæ nomine eorum subintelliguntur, ista quidem omnia de materia prima facta sunt: materia autem non facta sed creata est".—*Comment. in Exod.*, cap. xx., quæst. 15.

³ Writing on the phrase, *In die quo fecit Dominus Deus cœlum et terram*, he says, "hoc est, perpolitum et elaboratum esse sex continuis diebus, id enim faciendi vox Hebraeis ipsis interpretibus significare videtur".—*De Opificio Sex Dierum*, lib. i., cap. xiv., sect. i.

⁴ See Gesenius, *sub vocibus*.

responding words to *create* and to *make* in the English, and we know that the distinction between these two words is not always strictly observed. Thus, we sometimes say that God *made* the world, meaning that He brought it forth from nothing, and we speak of the *creation* of peers; and Shakspeare says:—

“Now is the time of help; your eye in Scotland
Would *create* soldiers, make our women fight
To doff their dire distresses”.—*Macbeth*, act iv., sc. iii.

Nevertheless, when we compare two such passages as these:—
“In the beginning God *created* the Heavens and the Earth”,
and “In Six Days the Lord *made* the Heavens and the Earth and the sea, and all that in them is”, we think the studied contrast of expression is a fair ground for supposing that, while the one refers to the Divine decree by which matter was first created, the other may be understood of those subsequent operations by which it received its present form and shape.

We see no difficulty, then, as far as the Sacred Text is concerned, in supposing a condition of created existence prior to the period of the Six Days. But since this opinion is the foundation on which our whole argument rests, we should wish to show, moreover, even at the risk of being tedious, that it has been put forward and defended by the most eminent writers in every age of the Church. Amongst the early Fathers Saint Basil reasons after this manner when commenting upon the passage, “There was evening and there was morning the first day”:—“The evening is the common term of day and night; and, in like manner, the morning is the point of union between night and day. Wherefore, in order to signify that to the day belonged the prerogative of being the first begotten, the sacred writer first commemorates the close of day, and afterwards the close of night; implying thereby that *the day was followed by the night*. As to the condition of the world *before the formation of light*, that is not called *night*, but simply *darkness*; whereas that period which is distinguished from day and opposed to it, is called *night*”.¹ This great Doctor, therefore, teaches that the First Day began with a period of light which is called day, and ended with a period of darkness which is called night; and he recognizes a previous state of existence which was no part of the First Day. So, too, Saint Chrysostom, in his third Homily upon

¹ “*Et facta est vespera, et factum est mane, dies unus. Vespera igitur diei ac noctis est communis terminus: et similiter mane, est noctis cum die vicinitas. Itaque ut prioris generationis praerogativam diei tribueret, prius commemoravit finem diei, deinde noctis, velut insequente diem nocte. Nam qui status in mundo fuit ante lucis generationem, is non erat nox, sed tenebrae: quod autem a die distinguebatur, eique opponebatur, id nox appellatum est*”. *Homilia II. in Hexaemeron*. Edit. Bened. p. 20. Edit. Migne, Patr. Graec. Cursus Completus, tom. 29, p. 47.

Genesis, lays down that the Earth was first created a rude and shapeless mass, without form or ornament; that *afterwards* light was made, and that, *with the creation of light, the First Day began*.¹

In the Western Church Saint Ambrose adopts the same line of interpretation. He sets forth that God first created the world, in the beginning; and afterwards during the Six Days furnished and adorned it: just as a skilful workman first lays the foundation of a building, and afterwards raises the superstructure, and superadds the ornament.² And elsewhere, he says, that when the voice of God went forth, "Let light be made", in the same moment, *the First Day began*.³ It follows, therefore, that the world existed before the beginning of the First Day. In another place he gives a new turn to the same idea, telling us that in the beginning God made the world; and with the world time began. But not with time did the First Day begin: for the First day is not the beginning of time, it is rather an epoch of time.⁴

Passing on to the middle ages, we find our view supported by the authority of Venerable Bede, in several parts of his writings.

¹ "Ostendimus enim heri, ut meministis, quomodo beatus Moses enarraus nobis horum visibilium elementorum creationem et opificium, dixerit: *In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram: terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita: et vos causam docuimus, quare Deus terram informem et nullis figuris expolitam creaverit; quae, opinor, omnia mente tenetis: necessarium est igitur nos ad ea quae sequuntur hodie progredi. Nam postquam dixit, Terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita, nos accurate docet, unde invisibilis erat et inculta, dicens: Et tenebrae erant super abyssum, et Spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam. . . . Quandoquidem igitur diffusa erat magna universi visibilis informitas, praecepto suo Deus, optimus illo artifex, deformitatem illam depulit, et immensa lucis visibilis pulchritudo producta tenebras fugavit sensibiles, illustravit quae omnia." In *Cap. I. Genes. Homil. III.* Edit. Migne, Patr. Graec. *Cursus Completus*, tom. 53, p. 33.*

Here Saint Chrysostom plainly teaches that the world existed before the creation of light. In his Fifth Homily he is equally clear that the First Day of the Mosaic narrative began with a period of light, and not with a period of darkness:

"Vide quomodo de singulis diebus sic dicat: '*Et factum est vespere, et factum est mane, dies tertius*: non simpliciter nec absque causa: sed ne ordinem confundamus neque putemus vespere ingruente finem accepisse diem; sed sciamus vesperam finem esse lucis, et principium noctis: mane autem finem noctis, et complementum dici. Hoc enim nos docere vult beatus Moses, dicens: *Et factum est vespere, et factum est mane, dies tertius.*' Edit. Migne, p. 52.

² "*Terra autem erat invisibilis et incomposita.* Bonus artifex prius fundamentum ponit: postea, fundamento posito, aedificationis membra distinguit, et adjungit ornatum. Posito igitur fundamento terrae, et confirmata coeli substantia, duo enim ista sunt velut cardines rerum, subtexuit: *Terra autem erat inanis et incomposita*". *Hexaemeron, Lib. I. cap. 7.* Edit. Bened. p. 13. Edit. Migne, Patr. Lat. *Cursus Completus*, tom. 14, p. 135.

³ "Principium ergo dici, vox Dei est: *fiat lux; et facta est lux*". Lib. I. cap. 10. Edit. Bened. p. 21. Edit. Migne, p. 144.

⁴ "In principio itaque temporis coelum et terram Deus fecit. Tempus enim ab hoc mundo, non ante mundum: dies autem temporis portio est, non principium". Lib. I. cap. 6. Edit. Bened. p. 10. Edit. Migne, p. 132.

His notion is that, during the Six Days, God formed and fashioned the world out of shapeless matter; but before the Six Days began, He had made this shapeless matter itself out of nothing. "Two things", he says, "did God make before all days, the angelical nature, and shapeless matter".¹ And again, he dresses up this opinion in the form of a dialogue:—"Disciple. Tell me the order in which things were made throughout the Six Days? Master. First, in the very beginning of created existence, were made heaven and earth, the angels, air, and water. Disciple. Continue the order of creation? Master. In the beginning of the First Day light was made; on the second was made the firmament", etc.² Nothing can be more plain than the distinction here set up between the beginning of all time, when the Heavens and the Earth were made, and the beginning of the First Day, when light was made.

And when we come to still more recent times, we find that this interpretation was taken up and defended by the great masters in the schools of Theology. Peter Lombard, the famous Magister Sententiarum, referring to the first verse of *Genesis*, says, that "in the beginning God created Heaven, which means the Angels, and the Earth, which means confused and unshapely matter, the same that is called Chaos by the Greeks; and this was before any day".³ Not less clearly speaks out Hugh of Saint Victor, who for his profound and varied erudition, was

¹ "Scriptura ait: Qui fecisti mundum de materia informi. Sed materia facta est de nihilo, mundi vero species de informi materia. Proinde duas res ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus condidit Deus, angelicam videlicet creaturam et informem materiam". In *Pentateuch. Comment.*; sub. cap. I. Edit. Migne, Patr. Lat. Cursus Completus, tom. 91, p. 191. In another place, citing the words of *Ecclesiasticus*, "Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul", he says, "hoc utique ante omnem diem hujus saeculi fecit, cum in principio coelum creavit et terram". *Hexaemeron*, Lib. I. in *Genes.* ii. 4. Edit. Migne, tom. 91, p. 39.

² "Discipulus. Da ordinem per sex dies factarum rerum? Magister. In ipso quidem principio conditionis facta sunt coelum, terra, aer, et aqua. . . . Discipulus. Sequere ordinem generationis? Magister. In principio diei primae lux facta est; secunda vero factum firmamentum"; etc. *Quaestiones super Genesim*; Edit. Migne, Patr. Lat. tom. 93, p. 236. This work is classed by Migne among the *Dubia et Spuria* of Bede. The critics, however, seem to be agreed that it belongs to a period not later than the tenth century. If it is not the genuine composition of Bede, which is considered more probable, then it only follows that we have besides Bede, another ancient authority in favour of our opinion.

³ "Cum Deus in sapientia sua angelicos condidit spiritus, alia etiam creavit, sicut ostendit supradicta Scriptura, quae dicit in principio Deum creasse coelum, id est, angelos, et terram scilicet, materiam quatuor elementorum adhuc confusam et informem, quae a Graecis dicta est chaos, et haec fuit ante omnem diem. Deinde elementa distinguit Deus, et species proprias atque distinctas singulis rebus secundum genus suum dedit; quae non simul, ut quibusdam sanctorum Patrum placuit, sed per intervalla temporum ac sex volumina dierum, ut aliis visum est, formavit". *Sentent.* Lib. II. *Distinct.* 12. Edit. Migne, Patr. Latin. Cursus Completus, tom. 192, p. 675.

called the second Augustine. In explaining the history of the Six Days, he says: "The first of the Divine operations was the creation of light. But the light was not then created from nothing, it was formed from pre-existing matter. This was the work that was accomplished on the First Day: but the material of this work had been created *before the First Day*. Directly with the light the day began; for before the light it was neither night or day, though time already existed".¹

Later still, St. Thomas himself clearly leans to this view when he says: "It is better to maintain that the creation was before any day".² And Perrerus, the most learned, perhaps, of all our commentators on *Genesis*, argues with us that the world was created before the production of light, and before the commencement of the First Day. Nay, he adds that he cannot tell how long that primeval state of existence may have endured before the Six Days began; nor does he think it can be known except by a special revelation.³ Petavius, too, is with us. He does not indeed accept our interpretation of the first verse. When it is said, "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth", he holds that these words do not describe any one particular act of God, but represent, as it were in a brief summary, the whole work of creation. Thus we are informed, at the outset, that the Heavens and the Earth as we see them now are the work of God; and afterwards, the various parts that make up this great whole are described, and the order in which they were accomplished is set forth.⁴ According to Petavius, then,

¹ "Principium ergo divinorum operum fuit creatio lucis, quando ipsa lux non materialiter de nihilo creata est; sed de praejacenti illa universitatis materia formaliter facta est ut lux esset, et vim ac proprietatem lucendi haberet. Hoc opus prima die factum est; sed hujus operis materia ante primam diem creata. Moxque cum ipsa luce dies caepit; quia ante lucem nec nox fuit nec dies, *etiamsi tempus fuit*". *De Sacram. Lib. I. Pars. I. cap. 9.* Edit. Migne Patr. Lat. tom. 176, p. 193.

² "Sed melius videtur dicendum quod creatio fuerit ante omnem diem". In II. Sentent. Distinct. xiii. Art. 3, *ad tertium*: see also ibidem, *ad primum*, and *ad secundum*. And again in the Summa he says: "Coelum et terram fecit in prima die, *potius ante omnem diem*". Pars I. Quaest. lxxxiv. Art. 2.

³ "Licet ante primum diem, coelum et elementa facta sint secundum substantiam, tamen non fuerint perfecta et omnino consummata, nisi spatio illorum sex dierum: tunc enim datus est illis ornatus, complementum, et perfectio. Quanto autem tempore status ille mundi tenebrosus duraverit, hoc est, utrum plus an minus quam unus dies continere solet, nec mihi compertum est, nec opinor cuiquam mortalium nisi cui divinitus id esset patefactum". *Comment. in Genesim*, cap. I. v. 4.

⁴ "Nostra itaque sententia haec est; prima illa Geneseos verba: *In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram*; non peculiare opus aliquod continere, quod initio, et ante dies sex molitus sit Deus: quasi ante lucem, ac reliquas deinceps opificii partes, quaecumque coelum ac terram creaverit. Sed esse generale quoddam effatum, quo omnia, quae sunt a Deo facta, complexus est. Etenim Moses, ut initio dicebam, Judaeos statim edocere voluit; totam illam spectabilem rerum universitatem a Deo conditore profectam esse. Quare ita pronun-

the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, recorded in the first verse, was not a distinct act from the operations of the Six Days, but rather includes them all. Nevertheless, he maintains, as we do, that the earth, at least, and water, were in existence before the creation of light; and that, therefore, some period of time must have elapsed before the beginning of the Six Days. Furthermore, he says in the same spirit as Pererius, that it is beyond our power of conjecture how long that period may have lasted.¹

Our opinion, then, is not open, in the slightest degree, to the imputation of novelty or singularity. On the contrary, it would seem rather to reflect the prevailing tradition of the Church. We think it right, however, to add that there are great names against us. A Lapide, for instance, who considers that the Heavens and the Earth were created at the beginning of the First Day.² And Tostatus, who incidentally notices our view, and contents himself with saying that it is unreasonable.³ For himself, he seems to waver between two opinions. He thinks the primeval darkness, described in the second verse, may have been the night belonging to the First Day; and that during that night, which probably lasted about twelve hours, we may suppose the Heavens and the Earth to have been created. Or else, he says, we may allow that the First Day of the Mosaic narrative began with the creation of light; but in that case we must hold that the Heavens and the Earth were created at the same time with light.⁴

Saint Augustine, too, we must reluctantly give up; or, at the least, we must be content to regard him as neutral. If he is not a decided opponent, he is certainly not a consistent advocate, of our opinion. No doubt he is often quoted in its favour; and it would be easy to select passages from his works which

tiavit, tanquam diceret: Quidquid videtis et quodcumque coeli ac terrae comprehendit ambitus, una cum coelo ipso, terrâque, id omne fabricatus est initis Deus. Postea vero per partes, ac singillatim, ut quaeque est elaborata, descripsit". *De Opificio Sex Dierum*, Lib. I. cap. II. sect. 10.

¹ "Imprimis ante diervm sex initium solam cum aqua terram extitisse credimus: Habet haec opinio fidem ex Mosis narratione; qui ante coelum id est *firmamentum*, terram, et aquarum abyssum extitisse refert. . . . Nam illud Severiani valde probatur, prima die Deum omnia creasse: reliquis autem diebus, ex jam extantibus: Ubi primum diem non lucis tantum creatione circumscribit: sed quod ante illam factum est, id eidem tribuit. Quod interval-lum quantum fuerit, nulla divinatio posset assequi. Neque vero mundi corpora illa, quae *prima omnium extitisse* docui, aquam et terram, arbitror *eodem, in quem lucis ortus incidit, fabricata esse die*; ut quibusdam placet, haud satis firma ratione". *Ibid.* cap. x. sect. 6.

² "S. Basilius et Beda putant coelum et terram non primo die, sed paulo ante primum diem, utpote ante lucem, creatâ esse. Verum haec non ante, sed ipso primo die, puta initio primae diei, antequam lux produceretur, creatâ esse, patet Exodi xx. v. 11". *Comment. in Genes.*, cap. i. v. 1.

³ In *Genes.*, cap. i. Quaest. xiv.

⁴ *Id.* ib.

seem to enforce it in the plainest terms. As for example: "In the beginning, O my God, *before any day*, Thou didst make the Heavens and the Earth".¹ But the fact is, this opinion is utterly irreconcilable with the well-known and very singular teaching of Saint Augustine concerning the creation of the world. He held that all the great works recounted in the first chapter of *Genesis* were accomplished in an instant of time. There was no real succession, according to him, in the order of time, between the production of the Heavens and the Earth, of light and the firmament, of the sun, and moon, and stars, of plants, and trees, and animals. In one and the same instant of time all these came into existence together. As to the description given by Moses, it is accommodated to the capacity of a rude people; and the succession there set forth is intended only to exhibit the several parts of a great whole in the manner best suited to the conceptions of human intelligence.²

This view of the creation is repeated again and again by Saint Augustine in his numerous works upon *Genesis*, and illustrated in diverse ways, so as to leave no doubt that he held it deliberately and persistently. With regard to such passages as that quoted above, in which he says that God created the Heavens and the Earth *before any day*, it may be said that Saint Augustine was not always consistent with himself, and that he held different opinions at different times; or even that he put forward opposite opinions at the same time, not setting them forth as true, but only as possible and legitimate.³ We think, however, that his consistency, in this case at least, can be defended, and that he has himself sufficiently explained in what sense he wished these passages to be understood. He tells us we must distinguish two kinds of succession: succession in the order of time, and succession in the order of our conceptions. Thus, for example, in the order of time there is no succession between the sound of the voice in singing and the musical note that is sung: the sound is, in fact, the note, and the note is the sound. But in the order of our conceptions we *first* apprehend a thing according to its

¹ "Fecisti ante omnem diem in principio coelum et terram. *Confess.* Lib. xii. cap. 12: see also Lib. xii. cap. 8. And again, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. I. Cap. 9, he writes:—"Atque illud ante omnem diem fecisse intelligitur, quod dictum est, *In principio fecit Deus coelum et terram*; . . . Terrae autem nomine invisibilis et incompositae, ac tenebrosa abyssus, imperfectio corporalis substantiae significata est, unde temporalia illa fierent, quorum prima esset lux".

² See his various works upon *Genesis*, *passim*: particularly, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. i. c. x v; Lib. iv. cap. xxxiii; *De Genesi Liber Imperfectus*, cap. vii. near the end, and cap. ix. near the end.

³ This latter view of the case might be defended in accordance with the principles which Saint Augustine professes to follow in the interpretation of *Genesis*: see *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. i., cap. xxi. and cap. xxii.

substance, and *then* according to its qualities. We first conceive the sound itself, as a sound, and then we conceive it as having that peculiar quality which makes it a musical note. Such as this is the succession Saint Augustine seems to admit in the order of the creation. He tells us, no doubt, that God first created shapeless matter, and afterwards gave to it form and beauty; and certainly this statement, if standing alone, would, according to the ordinary use of language, imply a real succession in the order of time. But then a little further on he expressly repudiates the idea of a succession in point of time, and says that the priority he ascribes to shapeless matter is only a priority in the order of our conceptions. We must first conceive matter to exist before we can conceive it to have this or that particular form; and the Inspired Writer follows the order of our conceptions, in order to adapt his narrative to the mental feebleness of our present condition.¹ With the truth or falsehood of these views we are not concerned just now. We have dwelt upon them rather from an honest desire of showing that Saint Augustine is not so clearly on our side in this question, as might be supposed from some isolated passages of his writings. He says indeed that the world was created before light, and before the beginning of the First Day; but then again he tells us that this is only a way of speaking, and that, in reality, all things were created together.

But although these high authorities—A Lapide, Tostatus, Saint Augustine—and some others less illustrious than these, are unfavourable to our interpretation, we think it is supported by a preponderance of the best interpreters, both in ancient and modern times. At all events, with such an array of venerable names as we have been able to bring forward in its behalf,—and they are but a few chosen out of many,—no one can deny that we are fairly entitled to hold it without any note of censure, without any suspicion of Theological error. Setting out, then, from this point, that there was a state of created existence prior to the Six Days of the Mosaic history, the question naturally arises, how long did that state of existence endure? Was it for an hour? a day? a week? a month? a century? a million of years? We cannot tell. To these questions the Sacred Text gives no reply. It simply records that in the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth, and that, at some subsequent epoch of time, His decree again went forth, Let there be light, and light there was. One thing, however, is plain, that, if this period existed at all, it might just as well have lasted a hundred millions of years as a hundred seconds. It would be folly to attempt to measure the

¹ See *De Gen. ad Litteram*, Lib. i. cap. xv.; *De Genesi Liber Imperfectus*, cap. vii.; *Confess.*, Lib. xii. cap. xxix.

succession of God's acts, when He does please to produce effects in succession, according to our petty standards of time. "One day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day".¹

And it is not a little remarkable that long before the discoveries of Geology had suggested any necessity for allowing the lapse of many ages between the first creation of the world and the creation of man, the sagacity of our commentators led them to observe that the duration of this interval is left undefined in the Sacred Record. "How long that interval may have lasted", says Petavius, "it is absolutely impossible to conjecture".² And Ferrerius, as we have seen, declared that it could not be known except by a special revelation.³ And five centuries earlier, at the very dawn of scholastic Theology, Hugh of Saint Victor raised the same question, and pressed his opinion that it could not be solved from Scripture. Citing the passage, *In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth*, he says, "From these words it is plain that in the beginning of time, or rather with time itself, the original matter of all things came into existence. But how long it remained in this confused and unshapely condition the Scripture clearly does not tell us".⁴

We may go further still. If we are at liberty to admit an interval of indefinite length between the creation of the world and the work of the Six Days, there is certainly nothing which forbids us to suppose that, during this long period, the Earth should have undergone many revolutions, and have been peopled by countless tribes of plants and animals, which, as age rolled on after age, came into existence, and died out, and were succeeded by new creations. We cannot, perhaps, see the use of all this, nor can we penetrate the motives the Great Creator might have had in bringing into existence such a boundless profusion of organic life. Granted: but then we have studied the Sacred Text to little purpose if we have not yet realized the solemn truth that to our poor and feeble intellects His judgments are incomprehensible, and His ways unsearchable. Did

¹ Pet. iii. 8.

² "Quod intervallum quantum fuerit, nulla divinatio posset assequi. *De Opific. Sex Dierum*, Lib. i., cap. 10, sec. 6.

³ "Quanto autem tempore status ille mundi tenebrosus duraverit, hoc est, utrum plus an minus quam unus dies continere solet, nec mihi compertum est, nec opinor cuiquam mortalium, nisi cui divinitus id esset patefactum".—*Comment. in Genes.*, cap. i., v. 4.

⁴ "Fortassis jam satis est de his hactenus disputasse, si hoc solum adjecerimus quanto tempore mundus in hac confusione, prius quam ejus dispositio inchoaretur, perstiterit. Nam quod illa prima rerum omnium materia, in principio temporis, vel potius cum ipso tempore exorta sit, constat ex eo quod dictum est: in principio creavit Deus coelum et terram. *Quamdiu autem in hac informitate sive confusione permanserit, Scriptura manifeste non ostendit.*" *De Sacram.* lib. i., pars i., cap. 6.

He not set His stars in the remotest regions of space, far beyond the reach of unaided human vision, and did they not shine there for ages, though man could see them not? And for ages, too, did not the wild flowers spring up, and bloom, and decay, in many a fair and favoured spot of this beautiful Earth, where there was none to admire their splendour, none to inhale their sweetness? Then again, look at that marvellous kingdom of minute animalculæ, in number almost infinite, which only within the last few years the microscope has revealed to our wondering eyes. They swarm around us in the air, in the earth, in the water; millions of them would fit in the hollow of your hand; and the structure of each individual is just as perfect in its kind as the structure of the elephant, or the lion, or even of man himself. And they, too, we can hardly doubt, must have flourished for centuries in countless myriads, unseen and unknown by man. It is impossible for us, in our present imperfect state, to understand the motives of an All-wise Creator in this profuse expenditure of His goodness, this lavish display of His power. How then can we presume to say that He may not have good reasons, too, though inscrutable to us, for peopling this Earth with many tribes of plants and animals, through a long cycle of ages, before it pleased Him to fit it up for the habitation of man? "Who is he among men that can know the counsel of God? or who can find out His designs? For the judgments of mortal men are hesitating, and uncertain are our thoughts. For the corruptible body is a load upon the soul, and the earthly dwelling presseth down the mind that museth upon many things. And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth: and with labour do we find the things that are before us. But the things that are in heaven who shall search out?"¹

It is sometimes objected that Moses could not have passed over in complete silence such a long and eventful era in the history of the world. Certainly not, we admit, if he professed to write a complete history of the Earth and all its revolutions. But this was not his purpose. Every book, whether sacred or profane, must be examined and interpreted according to the end for which it was designed. Now the end and scope of the Book of Genesis was not to instruct mankind about the movements of the heavenly bodies, or the physical changes of the Earth's surface, or the laws which govern the material universe. It was, first of all, to impress on the minds of the Jewish people that this world of ours is the work of one only God, distinct from all creatures, and Himself the Creator of sun, and moon,

¹ *Wisdom*, xi. 13-16.

and stars, and of every other object which pagan nations were wont to worship: and, in the next place, to set forth, briefly and simply, the story of God's dealings with man in the first ages of the human race. Whatever we may hold, therefore, about the revolutions and changes of the Earth's Surface previous to the work of the Six Days, it is plain that the history of these phenomena did not appertain to the object which the Sacred writer had in view. Consequently, he cannot be said, by the omission of these events, to lead his readers into error; he simply allows them to remain in ignorance. What it was his purpose to tell, he tells truly: what did not belong to his purpose, he passes by in silence.

But it is further argued that this long interval of time we have been contending for, is incompatible with the use of the copulative conjunction by which the several clauses of the narrative are connected together. The Sacred text runs thus:—"In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth. *And* the Earth was waste and empty: and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. *And* God said, Let there be light; and there was light". Is it possible, we are asked, to admit a period of indefinite length between events thus closely linked together? Our answer is that, according to the idiom of the Hebrew language the conjunction וְ or וַ (ve or va), which is here employed, while it serves to connect together the clauses of a narrative, does not of necessity imply the immediate succession of the events recorded. The very wide and indefinite signification which belongs to this little particle is well known to all who are familiar with the Hebrew text. It is sometimes copulative, sometimes adversative, sometimes disjunctive, sometimes causal. Very frequently it is used simply for the purpose of *continuing the discourse*;¹ and this we believe is the true force of the word in the passage under discussion.

An example very much to the point occurs in the Book of Numbers, twentieth chapter and first verse:—"And the children of Israel, the whole congregation came into the desert of Sin". Here the narrative opens with the connecting particle וַ:—וַיָּבֹאוּ בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל-הָעֵדָה —. And yet the reader will find if he carefully examine the passage, that the event thus introduced by the sacred writer was separated by a period of eight-and-thirty years from those which had been related in the

¹ See Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*; in voce. He thus explains the first meaning of this word: "*copulative, and serves to connect both words and sentences, especially in continuing a discourse*".

preceding chapter.¹ This conjunction, therefore, does not exclude an interval of eight-and-thirty years between the events which it links together in history. And that being so, there is no good reason for supposing that it should, of necessity, exclude an interval of indefinite length.

Thus we have brought to a conclusion the first part of our inquiry. We have endeavoured to show that there is nothing in Scripture or Tradition which forbids us to admit a long interval of time between the Creation of the world and the work of the Six Days. Next in order we have to examine what was the nature of these Six Days themselves. Were they, as Saint Augustine maintained, one single indivisible instant of time? or were they days of twenty-four hours, as is more commonly supposed? or were they simply periods of time of which the duration is left wholly undetermined in the Sacred Text? This will be the subject of our following paper.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ST. ÆNGUSIUS HAGIOGRAPHUS, OR ST. ÆNGUS THE CULDEE,

BISHOP AND ABBOT AT CLONENAGH AND DYSARTENOS, QUEEN'S COUNTY.

(CONTINUED.)

THIS latter division concludes the work, and in it Ængus recapitulates the subject of his *Féiliré*, teaching the faithful how to read and use it, and explaining its arrangement. He declares, though great the number, he has only been able to enumerate the princes of the saints in it. He recommends it for pious meditation to the faithful, and indicates spiritual benefits to be gained by reading or reciting it. He says, he had travelled far and near to collect the names and history of subjects for his praise and invocation. For the foreign saints, he consulted St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and Eusebius. He collected the festivals of our Irish saints from "the countless hosts of the illuminated books of Erin". He then says, having already mentioned and invoked the saints at their respective festival days, he will now invoke them in classes or bands, under certain heads or leaders. This is done in the following order: The elders or ancients,

¹ See A Lapide on the text, who proves this opinion from intrinsic evidence; and alleges, moreover, that it is the common opinion of interpreters.

under Noah; the prophets under Isaiah; the patriarchs under Abraham; the apostles and disciples under Peter; the wise or learned men under Paul; the martyrs under Stephen; the spiritual directors under old Paul; the Virgins of the World under the Blessed Virgin Mary; the holy bishops of Rome under Peter; the bishops of Jerusalem under Jacob or James; the bishops of Antioch also under Peter; the bishops of Alexandria under Mark; a division of them under Honorati; a division of learned men under the gifted Benedict; all the innocents who suffered at Bethlehem under Georgius; the priests under Aaron; the monks under Anthony; a division of the world's saints under Martin; the noble saints of Erin under St. Patrick; the saints of Scotland under St. Colum Cille; while the last great division of Erin's saintly virgins has been placed under holy St. Brigid of Kildare. In an eloquent strain, Aengus then continues to beseech our Saviour's mercy for himself and for all mankind, through the merits and sufferings of those saints he has named and enumerated. He asks through the merits of their dismembered bodies; through their bodies pierced with lances; through their wounds; through their groans; through their relics; through their blanched countenances; through their bitter tears; through all the sacrifices offered of the Saviour's own Body and Blood, as it is in Heaven, upon the holy altars; through the blood that flowed from the Saviour's own side; through his sacred Humanity; and through His Divinity in union with the Holy Spirit and the Heavenly Father. After this long invocation, Aengus says the brethren of his order deemed all his prayers and petitions too little; whereupon, he resolves to change his course, that no one may have cause for complaint. Then, he commences another moving appeal to our Lord for himself and all men. He beseeches mercy according to the merciful worldly interposition of Divine clemency in times past. Thus Enoch and Elias had been saved from dangers in this world; Noah had been saved from the deluge; Abraham had been saved from plagues and from the Chaldeans; Lot had been saved from the burning city; Jonas had escaped from the whale; Isaac had been delivered from his father's hands. He entreats Jesus, through intercession of his Holy Mother, to save him, as Jacob was saved from the hands of his brother, and as John [Paul] was saved from the viper's venom. He again recurs to examples found in the Old Testament. He mentions the saving of David from Goliath's sword; the saving of Susanna from her dangers; of Nineveh from destruction; of the Israelites from Mount Gilba [Gilboa]; of Daniel from the lions' den; of Moses from the hands of Faro [Pharaoh]; of the three youths from the fiery furnace; of Tobias from his blindness; of Peter and Paul

from the dungeon; of Job from demoniac tribulations; of David from Saul; of Joseph from his brothers' hands; of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage; of Peter from the sea-waves; of John from the fiery caldron; of Martin from the priest of the idol. Again, he beseeches Jesus, through intercession of the Heavenly household, to be saved, as St. Patrick had been, from the poisoned drink at Teamhar [Tara], and as St Coemhghin [Kevin] had been at Gleann dà locha [Glendalough], from perils of the mountain.¹

St. Aengus, we are told, resided at his church, in a place called Disert Bethech,² which lay on the northern bank of the river *n-Eoir*—now the Nore—and a few miles above the present Monasterevan, in the Queen's County. This, however, must be an incorrect topographical description of the locality. Aengus had then just finished his Festology. A friendship was here formed between our saint and Fothadh the canonist, who showed the poem he had composed for Aedh's decision. Before presenting it to the king, he desired and received the warm approval of his brother poet.³

It is said, Aengus Ceilé De first published or circulated his "Festology" that year when Aideus the Sixth, surnamed Oirdnidhe, undertook his expedition against the Leinster people, A.D. 804, according to the most correct supposition. At this time, Aedh encamped at Disert Bethech. Fothadius, the Canonist, accompanied him. This learned man is said to have received a present of the *Feilire*, which had been first shown to him, from our saint's hands. Fothadh solemnly approved and recommended it for perusal by the faithful.⁴ Thus, it would appear, that the poem had not been issued, until after the death of holy Abbot Malruan, which took place A.D. 792, according to the best computation.⁵ This fact appears still more evident, as in the Festology, the name of Tallagh's venerable superior is found recorded, with a suitable eulogy. Professor O'Curry says, that according to the best accounts, Aengus wrote his poem in or before A.D. 798; for, so far as can be ascertained, the name of any saint, who died after such date, cannot be discovered in it.⁶

According to Colgan, Aengus had resolved upon commenc-

¹ See *Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Lect. xvii. pp. 365 to 270.

² We feel inclined to believe this place was not distinct from Dysart Enos.

³ See *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁴ See *Ibid.*, p. 364; also Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Aengussii*, cap. xiii. p. 581.

⁵ Such is the correction of Mr. O'Donovan, although the *Four Masters* place his death at A.D. 787. See O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i. pp. 392, 393.

⁶ See *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Lect. xvii. p. 362.

ing another work, in which should be included the names of saints, omitted in his *Feilire*, that thus any doubt regarding the veneration due to them, and the intentional omission of their names in his poem, might in a measure be obviated.

In conjunction with St. Molruan, it is said, he undertook the compilation of another work, named usually *Martyrologium Ængussii filii Hua-Oblenii et Moelruanii*, "the Martyrology of Ængus and Molruan". It is sometimes known as *Martyrologium Tam lactense*, "the Martyrology of Tallaght". This work, which some consider prior to the *Festilogium*, in the order of being composed, is prosaic and very comprehensive.¹ For every day, a list of foreign saints was first set down, and then followed the names of our Irish saints. Colgan considers this work the most copious of all the martyrologies he had ever seen.² Yet, it would seem to have been extremely defective, in parts. The names

¹ In the summer of 1849, Mr. Eugene O'Curry and Dr. Todd examined the MS. collections in the University of Oxford, for four days spent there; and during their stay, so far as time permitted, they extracted various readings, considered desirable and useful, from the *Festilogium* of Ængus. These were intended to further illustrate Mr. O'Curry's transcript of this poem. Amongst other valuable documents, they discovered two fine copies of the Martyrology of Ængus the Culdee, and the *Psalter-na-Rann*, comprising five books on the Irish Saints, by the same author. During this year, also, Mr. O'Curry spent some months in the British Museum, London, having his transcribed copy of the *Festilogium* with him. It appears now, that this work was inaccurately noticed by Edward O'Reilly in his "Irish Writers", at the year 800; by Dr. O'Connor, in his "Stowe Catalogue", page 30, note 3; and in Harris's Ware "Irish Writers", page 53. The Irish Archæological Society has announced the intention of supplying a *desideratum* long felt in native literature, by publishing at a future period "The Hagiographical Works of St. Ængus the Culdee". We fear, however, an indefinite postponement.

² This opinion he must have entertained, however, before the O'Clerys had prepared the celebrated one, now popularly known as "The Martyrology of Donegal". See *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Ængussii*, cap. xii. p. 581. At note 10, affixed to this passage we find the following interesting statement. Father Heribert Roswede, a man deeply versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, had received from the Carthusians at Treves, or Triers, in Germany, a certain very ancient codex, belonging to St. Willebrord's Monastery at Epternac, in Triers diocese, and in the duchy of Luxemburg. It contained an exceedingly old and most complete Martyrology. This included names of many saints for each day, not found in the *Martyrologium Romanum*, or in any other Martyrology hitherto edited. He thought this was the Martyrology of St. Jerome, and that it should have been thus designated, owing to the prefixed title: *Christe fave votis. Codex S. Willebrordi continet Martyrologium Hieronymi*. Whether this had been the Martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, or to St. Eusebius, or to St. Willebrord, in most particulars, Colgan says, it agreed with the Martyrology of St. Ængus, or with the Martyrology of Tallaght. Only, in this latter, those places where the Martyrs suffered were more accurately noted, and it had the advantage of being more copious. The Martyrology of Tallaght has also added at each day certain Irish saints, and frequently some other saints, wanting in the Epternac copy. Two reasons incline Colgan to believe that St. Willebrord brought that Martyrology—which is known as *Codex S. Willebrordi* or *Epternacensi*—with him, when he left Ireland on his way to Epternac. First, two copies had been preserved in Colgan's time, although differing somewhat in certain places. These belonged to Ireland. One of them had

of many saints, omitted in the Roman and other martyrologies, are to be found in the first part of the Martyrology attributed to Ængus and Molruan. However, a learned authority supposes, that Ængus composed a still more ancient Martyrology, which deserves to bear his name, and that this is the oldest Irish Martyrology known.¹ As Ængus, in his metrical work, "The Festilogium", cites the martyrologies attributed to Jerome and Eusebius, it is highly probable, that he must have used these works, now supposed to be lost, while engaged at the compilation of his own writings.² Nay more, might it not be possible, that the first part

been transmitted to Louvain. It was written on old vellum, but it was not found in a perfect state. Each day, the other copy had been expected "ex quo Sanctos Hiberniæ jam excerptos accepimus". No other copy of this work was known to be extant in any of the European libraries, that only excepted which belonged to the collection of Epernac MSS. Secondly, one of these copies seems to have its authenticity proved correlatively with the other. For St. Willebrord, whose Codex has his name inscribed, and whose very handwriting can be traced in part, with every appearance of certain proof, did not come from Anglia—as some writers say—but he came from Hibernia immediately to Friesland or Frisia, and thence to Epernac. Willebrord had previously lived in Ireland, from the twentieth to the thirty-third year of his age, engaged in scholastic studies and in practices of piety, as Alovinus Flaccus states in his *Life*, and as Venerable Bede has it in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Genti Anglorum*, Lib. v. cap. 10, 11, and 12. For the truth of these statements, Colgan cites other authorities, in the *Life of St. Suithbert*, at the first day of March. It is not at all probable, that Willebrord found the aforesaid Martyrology in the territory of Frisia, or in other adjoining districts, in a great measure inhabited only by unbelievers. Nor has any similar copy been there discovered. On the contrary, Colgan asserts that many such copies were to be found in Ireland when he wrote. As here mentioned, in the *Life of St. Ængus*, the Martyrologies, ascribed both to Eusebius and to St. Jerome, were extant in his time, or before A.D. 787, when such testimony is supposed to have been recorded. These martyrologies are considered to be oldest compilations of the kind. See *Ibid.*, p. 582.

¹ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. pp. 362, 363, 364. Yet, in Father Michael O'Clery's preface to a poem of Marianus Gorman, he states, that the Martyrology of Ængus Ceilé De had been composed from the Martyrology of Tamlacht. In this latter, the names and dates for two holy men are found, and both died many years after Ængus himself. "These are *Biathmac*, the son of Flann, monarch of Erin, who died for the faith, at the hands of the Danes, in the island of Hi, or Iona, on the 19th of July, in the year 823; and *Féidhlimidh Mac Crimhthaim*, King of Munster, who died on the 18th of August, in the year 845, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, but whose festival is placed in the kalendar at the 28th of August". It is supposed, according to the best accounts, that Ængus wrote his work in or before A.D. 798, and so far as Mr. O'Curry ascertained, "no saint is found in it who died after that year". Wherefore, it would appear, that St. Ængus composed a Martyrology, distinct from that known as the Tallagh Martyrology. However, it seems to be the case, this Martyrology of St. Ængus must have been identical with his Festilogy.

² It must be remarked that D'Achery, in his *Spicilegium, sive Collectio Veterum aliquot Scriptorum*, has published "Martyrologium vetustissimum Sancti Hieronymi Presbyteri nomine insignitum". *Tomus Quartus*. This is even imperfect, since he appends the following remarks:—"Cætera legi non potuerunt in MS. utpote a tineis corrosa; silicet ab hac die ad viii. Kal. Jan. a quo incipit hocce Martyrologium". It must be confessed, if this Martyrology, for the most part, were

of this Martyrology is, to some extent, a transcript from that ascribed to Eusebius or to Jerome? And what delight and interest would not the lovers of ecclesiastical history take in the discovery of such identity, could it only be proved! If a conjecture of this kind should be well founded, the writings so much regretted by the learned as lost, because not hitherto discovered, might in part—if not altogether—be found among unpublished MSS. of an Irish saint, yet mouldering on the shelves of some Irish or continental library. In the latter supposition, probably it may be established that such Martyrology had been carried from our island to its present place of preservation.

We feel inclined to believe, that the Martyrology of Tallagh had been written—but perhaps not in its completed state—before Ængus had composed his *Féiliré*. Nor does it follow, because Blathmac, who had been martyred for the faith at Iona on the 19th July, A.D. 823, and Feidhlimidh Mac Crimhthainn, King of Munster, who died on the 18th of August, A.D. 845, have been entered in it, that these names had not been introduced in copies, transcribed after the death of Ængus.¹ As we are not likely ever to recover the original copy of the Tallagh Martyrology, criticism must remain at fault, in reference to its real author or authors.

We find a more accurate description of what has been called the Hieronymian Tallagh Martyrology, than had been furnished either by Colgan or Bollandus.² This comes from the pen of Father John Baptist Soller.³ It does not appear that Bollandus had ever seen Colgan's copy; but Soller, however, inspected and describes it as containing ten vellum *folia* of large size, with nearly half a leaf, and covered with another leaf of similar material and appearance. In the commencement of this Codex, some modern hand has inscribed it, *Martyrologium Tam lactense, et Opuscula S. Aengussi Keledei*. In two different places it is noted, as having belonged to the convent of Donegall. Those leaves

written by St. Jerome, it has been interpolated by some one, who lived since his time, as the names of many among the more recent saints are contained in it. See the remarks of Henry Valeisius, in his Appendix to the edition of *Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History*, on this subject. The edition of the Martyrology of Tallaght, published by the Rev. Dr. Kelly, must have been prepared from a copy, differing from that more complete one, described by Colgan; since it only contains the names of Irish, and omits the list of foreign saints.

¹ Mr. O'Curry, from circumstances already alluded to, seems to doubt if Ængus had anything to do with its authorship. See *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. p. 362.

² Bollandus has published some extracts from Colgan's copy, "*sub nomine Martyrologia Hieronymiani Tam lactensis*", at the last days of the January month in his *Acta Sanctorum*.

³ See *Acta Sanctorum Junii, tomus vi.*, in his learned Preface to a new edition of Usuard's Martyrology. In this he treats regarding various copies of the Martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, cap. 1, art. 1, §§ 1, 2.

were not clearly traced nor well arranged. Many names in this Codex were almost illegible. It was defective from iv of the Kalends of February to the iv of the Ides of March; so that the months of January and March were not perfect. The whole of February was missing. The April month was alone complete. May ran on to the 20th day, or to the xiii of the Kalends of June. June and July were wanting. August began from the iv Nones, but its remaining days were preserved. In September were missing the xii, xi, and x days of the October Kalends. October continued to the iii of the Kalends of November. The whole of November was missing. December commenced only at xv of the Kalends of January. Soller declares, after a diligent examination, he could easily observe that this Codex had been over-rated by the members of his society. Papebroke had frequently mentioned to him that Colgan or the Irish Minorite Fathers at Louvain had merely sent extracts of this copy to Bollandus. Besides the insertion of Irish proper names in this Martyrology, there were found other festivals, added by a comparatively modern hand. Among these, he notices the feast of St. Joseph, the Revelation of St. Michael the Archangel, the festival of All Saints, and many other solemnities of a like description. After this Martyrology, Soller found a list of what he conjectures to be Irish names, running through three leaves. In fine, there were *opuscula* or fragments of tracts in the Irish language, of which he was entirely ignorant. This Soller declares to be a complete description of the Codex.¹

Of the Martyrology, attributed to Ængus and Molruan, Colgan appears to have possessed two copies. Even these were not entire. The names of saints are simply set down in this work, which, for stated reasons, he preferred calling the Martyrology of Tallagh or Tamlacht. In the *first place*, it had been composed by joint labour on the part of Ængus and Molruan, at Tallagh. *Secondly*, because it could not be cited as the work of both saints, without tediousness and confusion; the more so, as he had been obliged frequently to quote another Martyrology, the sole production of Ængus. *Thirdly*, because it is reasonably conjectured, that ancient writers called it the Martyrology of Tamlacht. Thus, Marianus Gorman, who lived more than five hundred years before Colgan's time, in the preface to his Martyrology remarks, that St. Ængus composed his metrical Festilog, from the Martyrology of Tamlacht, which had previously been written. The latter work, therefore, was supposed to differ in no respect from the Martyrology of Ængus and Melruan, which had been composed at Tallagh. There was no other Martyr-

¹ See *ibid.*, § 2, p. vil.

ology known to be extant in Colgan's time, and that could better deserve the title of the Tallagh Martyrology, or which, in fact, was distinguished by this latter appellation. *Fourthly*, the work entitled, "Martyrology of Ængus and Mœlruan", contains the names of its reputed authors and other saints, who were their contemporaries, but who departed this life after their time. Among others, we find recorded therein the name, St. Corpre, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, who died A.D. 899; but we do not find the name of St. Cormac Mac Cuileannan, king and bishop, who departed this life in the earlier part of the tenth century, nor, in fact, of any saint, who died after A.D. 900. Hence, Colgan is under an impression, that certain subsequent additions were made to the joint work of Ængus and Melruan, by some monk belonging to the monastery of Tallagh, who lived towards the close of the ninth, and who died in the beginning of the tenth century.¹

An opinion was entertained by some ancient writers, that this Martyrology and the *Feilire* had been composed by Ængus at Tallaght, whilst engaged in following the humbler duties of a farm servant. Sufficient evidence can be adduced, however, to prove, that the *Feilire* could not have been issued until some years after St. Melruan's death. The title prefixed to the Martyrology is couched in those terms: "Incipit Martyrologium Ængussii, filii Hua-oblenii et Melruanii". It shows, that both saints must have been joint labourers at the work, previous to the death of Melruan, in the year 792, although some additions were undoubtedly made in the succeeding century. Wherefore, Marianus Gorman, in the preface to his Martyrology, has rightly observed, in Colgan's opinion, that St. Ængus took the saints, named in his *Festilogy*, from the Martyrology of Tallagh, which had been first composed.²

¹ Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. Vita S. Ængussii, cap. xii. p. 581. In Harris' *Ware*, a similar opinion has been adopted. See vol. iii. *Writers of Ireland*, book i. chap. v. p. 52.

² See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. Vita S. Ængussii, cap. xiii. p. 581. Dr. Ledwich strives to show, that this Martyrology was first written in the ninth century, because it has the names of Moelruan, Aengus, and other later saints. See *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 365. "It is true that, considered in its present state", says Dr. Lanigan, "it was not completed until even the end of that century; but does it follow that Aengus and Moelruan had no share in drawing it up? He adds, that in its second preface, it cites the Martyrology of St. Jerome. Here the doctor is wrong; for this martyrology is quoted, not in any preface to the Martyrology of Tallagh, *alias* that of Aengus and Moelruan, but in the second preface to the *Festilogium* of Aengus (See *AA. SS.* p. 581). He then tells us that the Martyrology called of *St. Jerome*, was not known until about the ninth century; but might not *about the ninth century*, be implied to take in part of the eighth, prior to Aengus having been engaged in any of these works? The Doctor says that Launoy has proved, that this martyrology was fabricated

Mr. O'Curry appears to attribute this preface to the pen of Father Michael O'Clery. The Martyrology of Tallagh is generally believed to be the oldest Martyrology of our Irish saints known to be extant; and with their festival days it often records the immediate fathers and churches of our national saints. The Martyrology of Tallagh has been published by the late Rev. Professor Matthew Kelly, D.D., of Maynooth College. In the year 1847, he procured a copy, partially defective, from the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and this he published in 1857, just before his lamented death. Its defects have been supplied, in parts, from other Irish Martyrologies. It contains valuable historic notes and additions.¹ However, it is to be regretted, that the learned editor had not been able to obtain a more complete—yet still deficient—copy for publication, which Colgan had once procured. Indeed, a number of similar copies, had they been available, must have greatly enhanced the value and accuracy of such an interesting work.

about the ninth century. Now in the passage, which he refers to, Launoy has not even attempted to prove it; and all that he says, is that the martyrology called of *St. Jerome* cannot be proved to have been written by that saint on any authority prior to the reign of Charlemagne. But the Doctor cares nothing about inaccuracies and misquotations, provided he could make the reader believe, that martyrologies are not to be depended upon. Yet Launoy was, in the little he has said, mistaken; for the martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, or rather to Eusebius and St. Jerome, as quoted by Aengus, is mentioned more than once by Bede, who lived many years before Charlemagne. Thus he cites (*L. 2. in Marcum*, cap. 26) *Martyrologium Eusebii et Hieronymi vocabulis insignitum*; and (*Retract. in Act. Ap.* cap. i.) he states, that Eusebius is said to have been the author, and Jerome the translator (See more in Bollandus' General Preface, cap. 4. § 4. at 1 January). That Eusebius compiled a sort of Martyrology is considered certain (*ib.*, cap. i. § 3); and the learned Bollandists, Henschenius and Papebrochius (*Prolog. ad Martyrol. Bed.* at *March*, Tom. 2) were inclined to think, that it was not only translated, but likewise augmented by St. Jerome. Be this as it may, it is well known, that what is now called the *Martyrology of St. Jerome* was not written by him; but, it is supposed to have been originally compiled, not long after his time, and is considered by many very learned men to be the oldest extant. D'Achery has published it (*Spicileg.* Tom. 4), and in his *Monitum* states from Henry Valois, that it was used by Gregory the Great, and existed many years earlier. Since those times some names have been added to it, such as that of Gregory himself, which D'Achery has marked in Italics. Among these is that of St. Patrick, and perhaps the Doctor had heard so, on which account he wished to deny its antiquity. Much more might be said on this subject, were this the place for doing so. Meanwhile the reader may consult also Tillemont, *Hist. Eccl.* tom. xii. at *St. Jerome*, art. 144. See Dr. Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. n. 102, pp. 249, 250.

¹ In 1849, the Rev. Dr. Todd likewise procured from the Belgian government the loan of a MS. containing this, as well as O'Gorman's and Aengus' Martyrologies, all in Father Michael O'Clery's handwriting. Professor O'Curry made accurate transcripts from it, for Dr. Todd's private library. See *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. pp. 362, 363.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH QUESTION.

THE question of the Established Church has, at the present day, become the main question of British policy in this island, and all true friends of Ireland are anxiously looking forward to the approaching parliament, when it is hoped that at length this perennial source of discord and of every evil will be removed. We have more than once treated of the question in preceding numbers: to-day our remarks shall be limited to some few arguments¹ which are continually put forward on the Protestant platform in support of the Establishment in this kingdom.

1. In the first place it is said that the Protestant Church has fulfilled her mission, and hence the State should not violate its contract by her disestablishment and disendowment.

2. Secondly, it is stated that to disestablish the Irish Church is the same as to bring it to utter ruin.

3. By such an act the coronation oath would be violated: and

4. The rights of property and the Act of Union would be invaded and most unjustly assailed.

We will briefly examine these, the leading arguments, that are advanced by the champions of the Protestant cause in defence of the Established Church.

1. In the first place, then, we are told, that the Protestant Church has fulfilled the mission that was given her by the State, and therefore the State should not violate its compact by withdrawing from her its endowments and dignities. It is not easy, however, to find out in what this mission of the Established Church consists. The Duke of Marlborough thus briefly stated his views on the subject:

“Has not the Church fulfilled its objects? It ministers to its own Protestant congregations, which are very considerable in number; and also to many of the Protestant dissenters: and, if so, I am at a loss to know why it has not fulfilled its duties” (Debate on the Suspensory Bill, June 26th, 1868).

The Bishop of Lichfield's view is somewhat different:

“My belief is”, he says, “that the mission of the Church in the sister kingdom of Ireland was to support a great principle of patriotism and loyalty, and *that* it has done from the time of the establishment down to the present” (*Convocation*, July 1st, 1868).

¹ See on these arguments the excellent pamphlet just published, *Is there not a Cause?*—a letter to Colonel Greville-Nugent, M.P., by the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, M.A., Chaplain to his Excellency the Lord Napier, etc.

The Archbishop of York's words are still more remarkable:

"The noble lord opposite", he said, "talked of the Irish Church, and said that it had failed in its original design. What was that original design? It was never intended as a Church of the majority. It was designed as a mark of the disapproval of the Crown and the rulers of the country of the Roman Catholic religion. It went along with most oppressive measures, and it was, if you like, the outset of these oppressive measures: but it was part of a whole system. . . It was originally meant as part of a system by which we expressed our belief that the Roman Catholic religion was a foreign thing, a thing hostile to civil government, and a thing untrue".

All these theories, however, are far under the mark of what the Established Church in Ireland claims for herself. She asserts her mission to bring the natives of Ireland within the Protestant pale, and to illumine their benighted minds with the rays of Gospel truth. Dr. Trench in his late charge to the clergy of the provinces of Dublin and Cashel defends at great length this mission of the Established Church; and in reply to those who accuse her of having failed to attain that end, he replies, first, that the English Church has equally failed in her mission;¹ and secondly, that were it not for the Protestants who were massacred in 1641, the Established Church would now be in a most flourishing condition in this country. His words upon this latter point are so peculiar that we must record them here in full:

"All contemporary records consent" (he thus writes) "in describing the flourishing condition of Ireland, the rapid advances which it was making in civilization, in wealth, and above all, which our Reformed Church was making, when all this prosperity, spiritual and temporal, was by a hideous catastrophe interrupted and brought suddenly to an end. The Irish rebellion of 1641 was nothing short of a tearing up by the roots, a trampling as in blood and mire, of all which a century had accomplished. . . . It would ill become me to revive ill-omened memories; but when we are taunted with our fewness, one cannot help remembering that a number, which those

¹ "It is often put forward as a justification of this attempt to put us out of the way, that we have failed in our mission. It would be very ungracious upon our part, after the noble readiness with which English churchmen have hastened to our aid, to ask whether very much the same might not be affirmed of every Church under the sun; but we are saved from any embarrassment upon this score by the generous coming forward of English churchmen themselves, who have claimed that this which is charged against us might also be charged against them; who have asked whether their own Church has prevented the growth of Nonconformity, whether a huge frightful heathenism has not grown up at their very doors, so that it can be shown by proof only too clear that of the population of the great cities of England, I am afraid to say how vast a proportion never enter the doors of any place of worship whatever. But who proceeds to argue from this that the Church of England ought to be abolished?"—*Charge, etc.*, pag. 48.

who make the most moderate estimate have estimated at nearly forty thousand, and which, according to the rate of the increase of the population in Ireland, would now have quadrupled or quintupled, perished then" (*Charge*, pag. 51).

From all this it would result that the leading supporters of the Established Church in this country have not any definite idea as to the mission which that Church has fulfilled. If its only object is to minister to the scattered Protestants, it is too expensive a ministration; for, as Hallam remarks, it has at all times been "a government without subjects, a college of shepherds without sheep" (*Const. Hist.*, ii. 529). Moreover, we are told that the Protestants have all the wealth and property of the country; and surely, then, it is not too much to expect that they should support their own clergy, and that our Catholic people should not be forced to contribute to the maintenance of those whose ministrations they reject.

The Established Church is also a very expensive way for recording a protest against Popery, and the statesmen of the present day will, with little difficulty, be able to devise some other system of protest less costly to the nation and more congenial to the feelings of our age. But, at all events, why should the Catholics of Ireland be compelled to contribute to such an Establishment, and thus offer insult to the religion which is so dear to them? We cannot but cite on this head the words of Rev. Mr. MacColl:

"As a mark of disapproval of the religion of the Irish nation, it is a gratuitous insult and a political blunder of the first magnitude; and I will go so far as to say that the Irish people ought not to be loyal to England while they are thus affronted and outraged in the tenderest and holiest feelings of the human heart" (pag. 75).

The truth, however, is, that the Established Church was planted in this country for the purpose of "rooting out Popery". The first Protestant agents openly avowed this mission, but it has egregiously failed. The Protestant Church first wielded the sword to propagate its tenets in Ireland, and yet all the efforts of persecution were unavailing to attain that end. New machinery of proselytism in every shape was tried from time to time, yet all was in vain, and at the present day the proportion of the Protestant community to the whole population is less than it was two centuries ago:

"Protestantism" (says Dr. Brady) "so far from making progress in Ireland, has actually lost ground, and failed to maintain the relative position towards Romanism which it once occupied. For, although the Protestants in 1672 numbered 300,000, and the Roman Catholics 800,000, according to the enumeration of Sir W. Petty, at the last

census in 1861 there were found in Ireland only 1,293,702 of Protestants of all denominations to 4,505,265 of Roman Catholics. So that within a period of 192 years there has been a relative decrease of Protestants, compared with Roman Catholics, amounting to the large number of 395,772 persons”.

But Dr. Trench assures us that matters would not have been so bad were it not for the disastrous massacre of 1641. On this singular statement we will make but a few remarks. In the first place, the decrease of Protestants as compared with Roman Catholics has been shown from Petty’s survey, which was not made till 1672, that is, long after the pretended massacre of the Irish Protestants. From that date, at least, there has been no massacre; on the contrary, favours and privileges have been year after year lavished on the Established Church, whilst the Roman Catholics were subjected to every persecution which a malignant ingenuity could devise; still Protestantism has failed to take root, and has shown at each new stage of our history ever increasing symptoms of decay. A few instances brought before parliament some years ago will suffice to illustrate this point. The number of Protestant families in the county Kilkenny in the year 1731 was 1,055, whilst the total population was little more than 8,000 families; well, in 1800 the total population had increased to 20,000 families, and yet the Protestant families at that time had dwindled down to 941. In Armagh, as we learn from Stewart’s *History*, the Protestants sixty years ago were as two to one of the population; now they are only as one to three. In Tullamore in 1731, there were 64 Protestants to 613 Catholics; in 1818, as appears from Mason’s survey, the Protestants had decreased to *five*, whilst the Catholics had augmented to 2455. Official returns were made in 1834, and though in the interval four millions of Catholics have been swept away by famine and emigration, the Established Church has failed to better its condition. According to the census of 1861, there were still 199 parishes in Ireland without a single member of the Established Church; in 1834 there were 456 parishes with not more than *twenty* Protestants; and in 1861 this class of parishes had increased to 575. In 1834 the number of parishes having more than twenty and not more than *fifty* Protestants was 382; whilst in 1861 it was 416. These examples must surely suffice to convince Dr. Trench that the decay of Protestantism is owing to some other cause than the massacre of 1641. In the second place, Dr. Trench is in error when he states that at the *most moderate estimate*, 40,000 of the Protestants were massacred in 1641. Dr. Lingard has clearly proved that the Protestant massacre was nothing more than a tale of fancy devised by the London agitators of the day to strengthen their

opposition against their sovereign. The Protestant historian, Warner, who is followed by Hallam, "thinks twelve thousand lives of Protestants the utmost that can be allowed for the direct or indirect effects of the rebellion", and he adds that "of these only one-third can be referred to murder" (*History of Irish Rebellion*, pag. 397); and yet Warner assures us that this estimate was based on the examination of witnesses taken before the commission of 1643. What, then, becomes of the *most moderate estimate* of Archbishop Trench? Moreover no account is taken of the massacres which were perpetrated on the Catholics of Ireland. The whole Cromwellian era was little less than one continuous massacre. Sir W. Petty calculates that above 500,000 Irish Catholics perished by the sword or were driven into banishment between the years 1641 and 1652. Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement* has more than proved the accuracy of this statement in all its details. And yet the persecution of the Cromwellian era may be said to have been perpetuated with unabated fury for more than one hundred and fifty years.

Whilst, therefore, we readily admit with Dr. Trench that the Established Church in England has failed in her mission, we are compelled, by the plain evidence of facts, to assert that the Established Church has also proved a failure in this country: though watered and cared, it bears no fruit: why, therefore, 'encumbereth it the ground'?

2. The next argument adduced in support of the Establishment is, that to disestablish the Irish Church is the same thing as to destroy it outright. The Lord Chancellor Cairns expressly declared that the Bill before Parliament was equivalent to a decree that "the Irish Church is to cease". The Protestant Archbishop of Armagh also made the same important admission: "If you disestablish the Irish Church", he said, "you will put before the Irish Protestants the choice between apostacy and expatriation, and every man among them who has money or position, when he sees his church go, will leave the country, thus weakening the dominion of England over it". The Bishop of London was equally explicit: "What you are going to do is this, to hand over Ireland altogether to the Roman Catholic Church".

Thus, then, in grave and deliberate argument the supporters of the Established Church proclaim to the world, that if deprived of the pomp and dignities of the state, their church must cease to exist. In other words, it has no existence of its own, but like the galvanised corpse of story, will instantly collapse and show itself—what indeed it always has been—a dead body, in spite of outward appearances. If this indictment against the Irish Church be true, and it would be impossible to summon

witnesses more eminent or more partial than those who prefer it, it is no longer a question of disestablishing a church, but of interring a church which has already ceased to exist. The sooner this operation takes place the better. The statement of the champions of the Establishment is equivalent to the admission that the Catholic Church alone is quickened by a divine life, whilst the Protestant Church is nothing more than a sickly exotic of this world, which must wither and die the instant it is removed from the government hot-house and exposed to the fresh breezes of heaven.

3. It is also gravely asserted that the Coronation Oath would be violated by giving assent to Mr. Gladstone's, Suspensory Bill. But did the *Coronation Oath* stand in the way of King William, of "great, glorious, and immortal memory", when he disendowed and disestablished the Scottish Church? And in our own times did it stand in the way of the Canadian Clergy Reserves Bill, or of the Jamaica Suspensory Bill? The *Coronation Oath* was raised as a bugbear against Lord Derby himself in 1833, and yet it did not deter him from counselling to his sovereign the suppression of ten of those very sees which the king had sworn to preserve. It is folly indeed and wickedness to put the *Coronation Oath* in opposition to parliament when asking by its enactments to promote the interests of the empire: and no matter what may be the rights and privileges which the Coronation Oath guarantees to the Established Church, it expressly guarantees them only so long as "such rights and privileges by law shall appertain to them" (oath taken by her Majesty, 20th November, 1837). Parliament is resolved to cut away "such rights and privileges" as an incumbrance to the nation, and thus her Majesty is freed from the duty of maintaining such privileges, for they no longer appertain by law to the favoured church of the realm.

The example we have given from Scottish history is one that the supporters of the Irish Established Church would do well to keep in mind when treating of this subject. William the Third found the Protestant Episcopal Church *established* in Scotland: he found at the same time that the clergy of that establishment had scruples about acknowledging him as their lawful sovereign. What therefore did he do? He *disestablished* and *disendowed* that Episcopal Church, and he transferred all its endowments and possessions to the Presbyterians. No respect was even shown to vested interests, and the clergy of the Established Church were turned out of their benefices with every circumstance of indignity, and in the middle of an inclement winter were left with their families to beg or starve. And yet that Established Church at the time of its ejection, reckoned among its members a clear

majority of the Scottish nation. It is thus that a contemporary writer assures us: "It must be observed that when Presbyterianism was established in Scotland at the time of the Revolution, *more than two-thirds of the people of the country and most of the gentry were Episcopal*" (*Autobiography of Rev. Dr. A. Carlyle*, pag. 249). The liberal statesmen of the present day do not ask to treat the ministers of the Established Church with such severity, and yet they cannot claim to represent two-thirds of the Irish nation.

4. The Conservatives again appeal to the rights of property which are endangered by the disendowment of the Protestant Church. But according to British law *property has its duties as well as its rights*. Were any nobleman of the land to violate the law and become traitor to his sovereign, his estates would be forfeited, all pretended rights of possession and inheritance notwithstanding. And so too is it with the corporate bodies of this realm. The East India Company appealed to the rights of property in self-defence, and yet this appeal did not prevent the parliament of the day from setting that company aside and vesting its power and patronage in a state minister in London. Such is the principle which has ever guided the British legislature: possession ceases to be respected when it imperils the peace and prosperity of the State. And how then can the rights of property be appealed to in support of an institution whose first foundation was a gigantic wrong, and whose presence amongst us has ever, like the upas tree, blighted the prosperity and exhausted the resources of the country? Even in 1833, the rights of property were appealed to, and yet the present Lord Derby then contemptuously dismissed that argument by the remark that "what was called Church property was in reality the property of the nation" (*Hansard*, xvii. 983, 985).

But it is urged that the old Irish parliament sanctioned the articles of Union, one of which declares that the Protestant Establishment shall be maintained inviolate. This is very true. But did not that same parliament sanction the penal laws? and yet the penal laws have been repealed. That parliament did not represent the Catholics of Ireland; for, the Roman Catholics were disfranchised, and had no voice in the legislature of the country. Nay more, it was in violation of the laws of the British constitution that such a parliament forced the Established Church upon the kingdom, and decreed to it taxes and tithes from our Catholic people: for the fundamental axiom of British law, as laid down by Blackstone, is, that "no subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes even for the defence of the realm, or the support of the government, but such as are imposed by his own consent or that of his representative in par-

liament". Now these taxes were imposed, and the Establishment was sanctioned when Irish Catholics were treated as helots, and allowed no voice in the so-called Irish Parliament. It cannot therefore be maintained that it is unconstitutional to repeal the fifth article of Union, when that very article was enacted in violation of the constitution of the kingdom.

Moreover, if the arguments had any force, they should indeed deter the present ministers of the crown from sanctioning the Report of the Royal Commissioners and carrying into effect the projected spoliation of so many districts and so many sees. It is vain for these ministers to plead that they do not seek to weaken but to strengthen; that they do not wish to destroy but to reform their Church. The suppression of Protestant bishoprics and benefices is no doubt a blessing to this country, but it is equally certain that the more the Irish Church is thus reformed, the more indefensible does the Establishment become. The more its bishoprics are suppressed, and its deaneries are abrogated, and its benefices are amalgamated, the stronger is the proof that the Protestant Church is not the Church of the Irish Nation, and the anomaly becomes more patent of upholding it as an *Establishment* in this Catholic country. Thirty years ago ten bishoprics were destroyed; did the Protestant Church thereby strengthen its claim to be the Church of Ireland? Certainly no one in his senses will say it did. And so when the Royal Commission now tells us that three or four more bishoprics may be cancelled, and that as many deans and parsons as you please may be removed, it only justifies more and more the statement of the liberal ministers, that the Established Church is a misnomer in this country, and has no root in the religion and sympathies of our people.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

WE have received very many communications on rubrical matters during the past month, and are obliged to hold over several questions till our next number. For the present we select the following:—

1. Can a parish priest who duplicates on Sundays and holidays, accept an honorarium for either Mass?
 2. Would a parish priest in Ireland fulfil his obligations on a retrenched holiday by saying Mass for his people in his own house, or at a station-house, or in a private house within the parish; and if absent from his parish, must he appoint another to offer Mass within the parish?
 3. In what Masses for the dead should only one prayer be said; and when there are many prayers, in what order should they be recited?
 4. In the *Missa quotidiana* for the dead, what epistle and gospel should be used, and should the *Dies irae* be recited?
 5. In the solemn Mass for the dead, is it sufficient after the epistle to chaunt the *Dies irae*, or should the gradual and tract be also sung?
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To these important questions we reply as follows:—

1. As regards the first question, it is certain that the parochus *as a rule* cannot accept an honorarium for either Mass. He is not, indeed, obliged to apply more than one Mass for his flock, and he is free to offer the other Mass for any pious purpose he pleases; but except in special cases there is a strict prohibition to accept an honorarium for either Mass. The Bishop of Cambray proposed this question in 1858, and the Sacred Congregation replied: "*Parochus non tenetur utramque Missam pro populo sibi commisso applicare, firma prohibitionem recipiendi eleemosynam pro secunda missa*" (S. C. Conc. in *Cameracensi*, 25 Septemb. 1858.) This was repeated in a response to the Bishop of Salamanca, on the 22nd February, 1862, and when the doubt arose whether the parish priest might receive an honorarium for the *first* Mass, whilst he applied the second Mass for his flock, a subsequent decree explained that by the phrase *secunda Missa*, in the above decision, was meant the additional Mass which was celebrated by the parochus, besides that which he was obliged to apply for his flock.

But whilst such is *the rule*, based on the general law of the

Church, as laid down by Benedict the Fourteenth in his *Constitution*, "*Declarasti Nobis*", we must except, a) those days on which the celebration of more than one Mass is permitted as a privilege and not as a matter of necessity: in Ireland this privilege is granted only for Christmas Day; b) those persons who *ratione paupertatis* have received special permission from the Holy See: and we may add that some bishops in Ireland have of late received faculty from the Holy See to grant such permission in the poorer districts of their respective dioceses.

2. The Sacred Congregations have repeatedly declared that the obligation of parish priests to offer the Holy Sacrifice for their flocks is not only *real* but *personal*. Hence, in reply to the Vicar Apostolic of Bois-le-Duc in Holland, the S. C. of Propaganda wrote on the 11th March, 1843, that another priest might be substituted to apply the Sacrifice of the Mass for the flock on Sundays, etc., only "*in casibus verae necessitatis et dummodo ex canonica causa fiat*". The S. Congregation of the Tridentine Council, on the 25th of September, 1847, and the S. Congregation of Rites, on the 22nd July, 1848, repeated the same decision, and decreed that except *ex causa legitima*, "the parish priest should himself offer up the Holy Sacrifice for his flock".

But may not the parish priest in his own house, or elsewhere than in the parochial church, thus offer the Holy Sacrifice for his flock? Benedict the Fourteenth replies that the parish priest is obliged to celebrate *Missam parochialem* (see his Bull, *Cum semper*). Barbosa is equally explicit. "*Tenetur parochus*", he says, "*in dominicis et aliis festivis diebus, suis subditis missam celebrare, in propria Ecclesia et non in alia*" (de Officio Parochi, part. 1, cap. 11): and Ferraris cites, in proof of the same opinion, a decree of the S. Congregation of the Council (Bibl. *Parochus*, art. 3).

Another case, however, now presents itself. The parish priest *ex legitima causa* is absent from his parish, or unable to say the parochial Mass: can he then satisfy his obligation by offering up the Holy Sacrifice *pro populo* in his own house, for instance, or in some church of an adjoining parish? Bouix is the latest writer we know of that examines this question, and it will suffice for us to cite the conclusion at which he arrives: "*Sequitur parochum legitime absentem non posse oneri satisfacere, Missam pro populo celebrando in loco ubi extra parochiam moratur*". *De Parocho*, pag. 590. A case, indeed, in point was proposed to the Sacred Congregation as far back as the year 1720. A parish priest in Fano belonged to the metropolitan chapter, and in consequence of his capitular duties, was unable on some festivals to be present in his parochial church. The question arose how was he to satisfy his obligation towards his flock. The Sacred Congregation

decided on the 11th May, 1720, that he should procure another priest who would not only say Mass in the parochial church, but would also *apply it* "pro populo" (Bouix, *De Parocho*, pag. 591). This decree of the S. Congregation seems to us to give a direct answer to the question proposed by our revered correspondent.

3. As regards the prayers which should be said in Mass *de requie*, the following rule is laid down by rubricists: "On all privileged days, that is to say, on the 'commemoration of all the faithful departed', on the day of burial, on the 3rd, 7th, 30th, or anniversary day, and whenever there is solemn Mass *de requie*, only *one prayer* is said". The last decree on the subject was published on 12th August, 1854; it confirms many former decisions, and adds: "Unicam orationem dicendam in Missa *de requie* cum cantu, pro anima illius quem designat eleemosynam exhibens".

When low Mass *de requie* is said on a day to which no special privilege is attached, then at least *three prayers* are said. The first must always be the prayer *Pro defunctis Episcopis seu Sacerdotibus*; and the last must always be *Pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis*. The second prayer may be changed into one corresponding with the intention for which the Mass is offered, and even many prayers may be inserted in its stead. In this latter case, however, the decree of 2nd Sept., 1741, should be attended to: "Curandum ut (orationes) sint numero impares".

We may be permitted to avail of this occasion to call the attention of the clergy to an error which has crept into the first prayer *Pro defunctis Episcopis seu Sacerdotibus* in some modern Missals. The words "seu Sacerdotali" are by error inserted within parentheses, as if they did not form part of the prayer, and moreover, in one instance at least, they are altered to "*vel Sacerdotali*". The whole sentence, "Deus qui inter Apostolicos Sacerdotes, famulos tuos Pontificali seu Sacerdotali fecisti dignitate vigere", should always be recited in full, for it is the intention of holy Church to comprise in this first prayer all those who themselves had, during life, offered up the holy Sacrifice for the repose of the faithful departed.

4. The epistles and gospels assigned for the four Masses *de requie* in the Missal, may be used indifferently at any Mass for the dead. The rubric is explicit on this head, and permits the celebrant *ad libitum* to choose any one of these epistles and gospels.

The *Dies irae* should be said in all Masses *de requie* in which only *one prayer* is said. In all other Masses *de requie* it may be recited or omitted *ad arbitrium Sacerdotis* ("Rubric Miss.").

5. At solemn Mass for the dead, the gradual and tract

should be sung by the choir. This has been repeatedly commanded by the Holy See, and so strictly is it enjoined that the solemn Mass *de requie* must be abandoned rather than have the gradual or tract omitted. As the practice in some churches in Ireland is not conformable to this rule, we here insert the four decrees on which it is based. The decree of 5th July, 1631, replies to the query: "An in celebratione solemnī Missae defunctorum possit aliquid brevitatis causa omitti *de eo quod notatur in graduāli*"; and the answer is, "*Nihil omittendum, sed Missam esse cantandam prout jacet in Missali*". In the course of years, a contrary custom having been introduced in some countries, the Sacred Congregation was interrogated in 1847 whether, where such was the local custom, it would be lawful to omit the *Dies irae*, and chaunt only the tract *Absolve*, etc. The S. Congregation replied on 27th February, 1847, that, notwithstanding any custom to the contrary, both the Tract *Absolve* and the sequence *Dies irae* should be sung. Some objections were made against this decision, and hence the Sacred Congregation, on the 11th Sept., 1847, issued a further decree: "*Vel non celebrandas Missas defunctorum vel canenda esse omnia quae precationem suffragii respiciant*". A few years later new petitions were presented representing the great inconvenience to which the faithful were exposed by the length of the ceremony, when both gradual and sequence were sung; the Congregation replied (decr. 12 Augusti, 1854), that in such cases some strophes of the *Dies irae* might be omitted, "*aliquas strophas sequentiae Dies irae cantores praetermittere posse*", but the gradual and tract should always be sung.

DOCUMENT.

Apostolic Letter of Our Holy Father Pope Pius the Ninth, to all Protestants, etc.

PIUS PP. IX.

Jam vos omnes noveritis, Nos licet immerentes ad hanc Petri Cathedram evectos, ut iccirco supremo universae catholicae Ecclesiae regimini, et curae ab ipso Christo Domino Nobis divinitus commissae praepositos opportunum existimasse, omnes Venerabiles Fratres totius orbis Episcopos apud nos vocare, et in Oecumenicum Concilium futuro anno concelebrandum cogere, ut cum eisdem Venerabilibus Fratribus in sollicitudinis Nostrae partem vocatis ea omnia consilia suscipere possimus, quae magis opportuna, ac necessaria sint, tum ad dissipandas tot pestiferorum errorum tenebras, qui cum summo animarum damno ubique, in dies, dominantur et debacchantur, tum ad quotidie magis constituendum, et amplificandum in christianis populis, vigilantiae Nostrae concreditae, verae fidei, justitiae, veraeque Dei pacis regnum. Ac vehementer confisi arctissimo et amantissimo conjunctionis foedere, quo Nobis, et Apostolicae huic Sedi iidem Venerabiles Fratres mirifice obstricti sunt, qui nunquam intermiserunt omni supremi Nostri Pontificatus tempore splendidissima erga Nos, et eandem Sedem, fidei, amoris, et observantiae testimonia praebere, ea profecto spe nitimur fore ut veluti praeteritis saeculis alia generalia Concilia, ita etiam praesenti saeculo Concilium hoc Oecumenicum a Nobis indictum uberes, laetissimosque, divina adspirante gratia, fructus emittat pro majore Dei gloria, ac sempiterna hominum salute.

Itaque in hanc spem erecti, ac Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, qui pro universi humani generis salute tradidit animam suam, caritate excitati, et compulsi, haud possumus, quin futuri Concilii occasione eos omnes Apostolicis, ac paternis Nostreis verbis alloquamur, qui etiamsi eundem Christum Jesum veluti Redemptorem agnoscant, et in christian onomine glorientur, tamen veram Christi fidem haud profitentur, neque catholicae Ecclesiae communionem sequuntur. Atque id agimus, ut omni studio et caritate eos vel maxime moneamus, exhortemur, et obsecremus, ut serio considerare et animadvertere velint, num ipsi viam ab eodem Christo Domino praescriptam sectentur, quae ad aeternam perducit salutem. Et quidem nemo inficiari, ac dubitare potest, ipsum Christum Jesum, ut humanis omnibus generationibus redemptionis suae fructus applicaret, suam hic in terris supra Petrum unicam aedificasse Ecclesiam, id est unam, sanctam,

catholicam, apostolicam, eique necessariam omnem contulisse potestatem, ut integrum inviolatumque custodiretur fidei depositum, ac eadem fides omnibus populis, gentibus, nationibus traderetur, ut per baptismum omnes in mysticum suum corpus cooptarentur homines, et in ipsis semper servaretur, ac perficeretur illa nova vita gratiae, sine qua nemo potest unquam aeternam mereri et assequi vitam, utque eadem Ecclesia, quae mysticum suum constituit corpus, in sua propria natura semper stabilis et immota usque ad consummationem saeculi permaneret, vigeret, et omnibus filiis suis omnia salutis praesidia suppeditaret. Nunc vero qui accurate consideret, ac medidetur conditionem, in qua versantur variae, et inter se discrepantes, religiosae societates sejunctae a catholica Ecclesia, quae a Christo Domino, ejusque Apostolis sine intermissione per legitimos sacros suos pastores semper exercuit, et in praesentia etiam exercet divinam potestatem sibi ab ipso Dominum traditam, vel facile sibi persuadere debebit, neque aliquam peculiarem, neque omnes simul conjunctas, ex eisdem societatibus ullo modo constituere, et esse, illam unam et catholicam Ecclesiam, quam Christus Dominus aedificavit, constituit, et esse voluit, neque membrum, aut partem ejusdem Ecclesiae ullo modo dice posse, quandoquidem sunt à catholica unitate visibiliter divisae. Cum enim ejusmodi societates careant viva illa, et à Deo constituta auctoritate, quae homines res fidei, morumque disciplinam praesertim docet, eosque dirigit, ac moderatur in iis omnibus, quae ad aeternam salutem pertinent, tum societates ipsae in suis doctrinis continenter variarunt, et haec mobilitas, ac instabilitas apud easdem societates nunquam cessat. Quisque vel facile intelligit, et clare aperteque noscit, id vel maxime adversari Ecclesiae a Christo Domino institutae, in qua veritas semper stabilis, nullique unquam imutationi obnoxia persistere debet, veluti depositum eidem Ecclesiae traditum integerrime custodiendum, pro cuius custodia Spiritus Sancti praesentia, auxiliumque ipsi Ecclesiae fuit perpetuo promissum. Nemo autem ignorat, ex hisce doctrinarum, et opinionum dissidiis socialia quoque oriri schismata, atque ex his originem habere innumera-biles communionem, et sectas, quae cum summo christianae, civilisque reipublicae damno magis in dies propagantur.

Enimvero quicumque religionem veluti humanae societatis fundamentum cognoscit, non poterit non agnoscere, et fateri quantam in civilem societatem vim ejusmodi principiorum, ac religiosarum societatum inter se pugnantium divisio, ac discrepantia exercuerit, et quam vehementer negatio auctoritatis a Deo constitutae ad humani intellectus persuasiones regendas, atque ad hominum tum in privata, tum in sociali vita actiones dirigendas excitaverit, promoverit, et aluerit hos infelicissimos

rerum, ac temporum motus, et perturbationes, quibus omnes fere populi miserandum in modum agitantur, et affliguntur.

Quamobrem ii omnes, qui *Ecclesiae catholicae unitatem et veritatem* non tenent¹ occasionem amplectantur hujus Concilii, quo Ecclesia Catholica, cui eorum Majores adscripti erant, novum intimae unitatis, et inexpugnabilis vitalis sui roboris exhibet argumentum, ac indigentis eorum cordis respondentes ab eo statu se eripere studeant, in quo de sua propria salute securi esse non possunt. Nec desinant ferventissimas miserationum Domino offerre preces, ut divisionis murum disjiciat, errorum caliginem depellat, eosque ad sinum sanctae Matris Ecclesiae reducat, in qua eorum Majores salutaria vitae pascua habuere, et in qua solum integra Christi Jesu doctrina servatur, traditur, et coelestis gratiae dispensantur mysteria.

Nos quidem cum ex supremi Apostolici Nostri ministerii officio Nobis ab ipso Christo Domino commissio omnes boni pastoris partes studiosissime explere, et omnes universi terrarum orbis homines paterna caritate prosequi, et amplecti debeamus, tum has Nostras ad omnes christianos a Nobis sejunctos Litteras damus, quibus eos etiam, atque etiam hortamur et obsecramus, ut ad unicum Christi ovile redire festinent; quandoquidem eorum in Christo Jesu salutem ex animo summopere optamus, ac timeamus ne eidem Nostro Judici ratio a Nobis aliquando sit reddenda, nisi, quantum in Nobis est, ipsis ostendamus, et muniamus viam ad eandem aeternam assequendam salutem. In omni certe oratione, et obsecratione, cum gratiarum actione nunquam desistimus dies noctesque pro ipsis coelestium luminum, et gratiarum abundantiam ab aeterno animarum Pastore humiliter, enixeque exposcere. Et quoniam vicariam Ejus hic in terris licet immerito gerimus operam, iccirco errantium filiorum ad catholicae Ecclesiae reversionem expansis manibus ardentissime expectamus, ut eos in coelestis Patris domum amantissime excipere, et inexhaustis ejus thesauris ditare possimus. Etenim ex hoc optatissimo ad veritatem, et communionem cum catholica Ecclesia reditu non solum singulorum, sed totius etiam christianae societatis salus maxime pendet, et universus mundus vera pace perfrui non potest, nisi fiat unum ovile, et unus pastor.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 13 Septembris, 1868.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimotertio.

¹ S. August. ep. LXI. al. CCXXIII.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1868.

VI.—*St. Aengus was probably ordained Priest at Tallaght.—Treatise of St. Aengus “De Sanctis Hiberniae”.—The “Saltair-na-rann”.—Pedigrees of Irish Saints attributed to his authorship.*

ALTHOUGH Aengus is said to have become a professed monk in Clonenagh Monastery, and to have concealed the fact of his enrolment in the ecclesiastical order, when he sought admission to Maelruan's Monastery at Tallagh,¹ it is probable, our saint had only received clerical tonsure, or at most minor orders, when he first left Dysartenos. Were Aengus advanced to the priesthood at this period of life, a necessity for celebrating the holy sacrifice of Mass very frequently,² with the performance of other peculiar sacerdotal functions, must soon have revealed his rank to Abbot Maelruan, and to the members of his community. Even were those solitary or strictly private Masses, formerly permitted to be celebrated in many ancient churches,³ allowed as a practice in

¹ Regarding the first statement, Colgan says of him, “*Monachum professus in nobili monasterio de Cluain-edhneach*”, and in the second instance, “*clericale institutum occultans*”. See *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Aengussii*, cap. ii. v., pp. 579, 580.

² See that very learned treatise of Cardinal Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum de his quae ad Missam generatim spectant*, Lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 203, 204, for proofs of frequently offering the Holy Victim of propitiation, and from the earliest ages of the Christian Church. *Opera Omnia Emin. Dom. D. Joannis Bona, S. R. E. Card. Pres. Ord. Cis.* Antwerp edition, A.D. 1723, folio.

³ Cardinal Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum de his quae ad Missam generatim spectant*. Having described different rites for celebrating the Holy Sacrifice, he remarks: “*actas aliquando in Monasteriis Missas a solo sacerdote nemine praesente et respondente, quae idcirco solitariae dictae sint*” . . . Verum Missas privatas non a Monachis, sed a primae Ecclesiae Patribus originem traxisse capite sequenti ostendam: Missas autem solitarias in coenobiis actas

our early religious houses, the secret of our saint's priestly ordination could not long be concealed. It is more difficult to comprehend how, as a monk, he had not been questioned on the subject of his having already received the peculiar and noticeable ecclesiastical tonsure. However, there can hardly be any doubt, after Abbot Maelruan discovered the real name, virtues, and learning of his highly-gifted disciple, with his dispositions for the office, Aengus must soon have been raised to the sacerdotal dignity. For want of more complete records, referring to our saint's biography, not having seen many early copies of his works, and with little serving for autobiography in his own writings, our present imperfect lights, regarding his private acts, occasionally require us to launch upon a sea of conjecture.

Towards the saints of his country, Ængus seems to have entertained an extraordinary veneration. According to Colgan's account, he wrote five distinct books, "*De Sanctis Hiberniae*", which treat, in a particular manner, about their several lives, or on matters pertaining to them. In the first book, he gives the different distinctions of these saints in classes; he enumerates three hundred and forty-five bishops, two hundred and ninety-nine abbots and priests, and seventy-eight deacons. These he has comprised within the limits of three chapters. The second book is known as the "*Homonymi*", or the enumeration of saints bearing similar names, but distinguished by various other titles. It mentions eight hundred and fifty-five distinct persons, under sixty-two different names, and it is divided into two parts; the first part containing fifty chapters, on holy men of the same name, and the second twelve chapters on holy women. The third book, known as the "*Book of Sons*", divides the saints into another classification. It names saints who are descended from the same father, and afterwards only sons, each cited by the father's name. Lastly, are enumerated female saints, in their descent from the same father. The names of ninety-four fathers,¹ who had one saint, or more saints than one as children, are here preserved, although the number of saints cannot be discovered. The fourth book comprises the names of two hundred and ten saints, with their maternal genealogy. It would appear from this title, that the paternal genealogy of those saints had been previously written, either by another hand, or by that of Ængus. The fifth "*Book of Litanies*" enumerates, in form of an invocation, a long list of saints. In

ex indulgentia, ut loquitur Eduensis, sive ex privilegio; canonicae sanctiones demonstrant, quae sublatis omnibus privilegiis, ne quis solus Missas agerat, districto prohibuerunt". Lib. i. cap. xiii. p. 230.

¹ Colgan adds, "*omissis aliquot aliis, quae prae nimia exesi codicis vetustate legi non possunt". Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae, xi. Martii. Vita S. Ængussii cap. xiv. p. 581.*

several of its invocations, the principal name, with associated disciples, is generally found. This name usually pertains to the saint who presided over a particular monastery, with the number of holy disciples under his rule; or a saint who was buried at some particular church, with his companions, who "slept in the Lord"; or perchance some apostle, who, with his numerous band of missionaries, went forth to preach the Gospel to benighted nations.¹ The names, or native places of many foreigners, who flocked to the hives of learning and sanctity in Ireland, are noted in an especial manner. Here are found invoked the names of Italian, Egyptian, British, and Gallic saints, who had been buried in Ireland.²

Dr. Lanigan incorrectly asserts, that the foregoing work is sometimes called *Saltair-na-rann*, which means, the Metrical or Multipartite Psalter.³ But it would appear from Colgan's statement, that the *Saltair-na-rann* was altogether a distinct work.⁴ After describing the work, "*De Sanctis Hiberniae*", he mentions the *Saltair-na-rann* as having been composed in

¹ See also Harris' *Ware*, vol. iii. *Writers of Ireland*, book i. chap. v. pp. 52, 53.

² The portion of this work, known as the Litany, has been translated and published for the first time in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. iii. Nos. xxxii. and xxxiii., for May and June, 1867. The original Irish occupies one side of the page, in the Irish characters; while on the opposite side, there is a correct English translation, by a competent scholar, writing under the initials B. M. C. Explanatory notes are found at the foot of nearly all those pages. A learned dissertation precedes this Litany, taken from the Archives of St. Isidore's Franciscan Convent, at Rome. Some years ago, Dr. Todd examined this MS., containing ten *folia*, which he found to have constituted a part of the *Book of Leinster*. This fact would seem to identify it with the MS. seen at Louvain, and described by Father Soller, the Bollandist, as we have already stated. In point of antiquity, therefore, this version dates back to the first half of the twelfth century. These *folia* contain the Martyrology of Tallaght—to which allusion has been already made—together with five of seven works attributed to Ængus. Ward and Colgan consulted this MS.; for their readings seem to have been marked, and these are very useful in assisting the Irish scholar to decipher certain words. However legible in their time, these are nearly altogether defaced at present. In Ward's and Sirin's Acts of St. Rumold, published at Louvain in 1662, this Litany is quoted at great length, p. 206. With the exception of the groups of seven bishops, nearly all the saints, whose intercession is invoked, are given.

³ *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. p. 247. And in note (106, p. 251) he remarks on this passage: "Under this title Colgan says (*ib.*, p. 582) that it appears in some old Irish MSS. and that he got a part of it with the inscription, *from Saltair-na-rann composed by Ængus Cele-De*. He observes, that the latest saint mentioned in it is St. Tigernach, son of St. Mella, and founder of Doire-melle (see chap. xix § 13), who died abbot of Kill-achad, in the now county of Cavan, on the 4th of November, A.D. 805 (806). See A.A. SS. p. 796, and Archdall at *Killachad*). This is a strong proof of the assertion that Ængus was the author of this work".

⁴ There is a MS. Martyrology, entitled *Saltair-na-Rann*, preserved in the British Museum [Egerton, 185]. It is a thin, small quarto-sized volume in verse, and, with exception of a few pages, it has been written in the bold and accurate hand of Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh, about the year 1650. It consists of sixty-seven pages, containing five quatrains, or twenty lines, on each

the Irish language; and, of course, as being distinct from the first named treatise, which had been written mostly in Latin. Yet, I must confess, that the sentences employed by Colgan in his account are rather ambiguous.¹ The work entitled "*De Sanctis Hiberniae*", does not appear to have been a metrical composition, as may be seen in extracts taken from it, and found in many of Colgan's notes. The *Saltair-na-rann* comprises a History of the Old Testament,² written in verse,³ and which is attributed to Ængus as its author. We are informed, that the Chronicle of Ængus Ceilé De, known as *Saltair-na-Rann*, i.e. "Saltair of the Poems" or "Verses", has been so called, because, *Salm*, "Psalm", and a Poem are the same.⁴ It contains one hundred and fifty poems, composed in the finest style of the Gaelic language, as understood in the eighth century.

This celebrated work of Aengus Ceilé De has been called *Saltair-na-rann*.⁵ It is distributed into parts.⁶ It has been

page. The title is in accordance with the second quatrain, which, as Anglicised, thus begins:

"The Saltair of the verses shall be the name
Of my poem: it is not an unwise title".

This *Saltair-na-Rann*, however, is entirely distinct from that of Aengus Ceilé De.

¹ "Opus ex jam memoratis opusculis conflatum in quibusdam antiquis patriae membranis patrio sermone intitulatur *Saltuir-na-rann*: quae vox Latine red-dita Psalterium metricum, nunc Psalterium multipartitum denotat. Et in utroque sensu, diversa S. Aengussii opera recte sic inscribi poterant". *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. Vita S. Aengussii, cap. xv. pp. 581, 582. I know not on what authority Harris makes the following statement with regard to Ængus, when he says, "to him is ascribed by some *Psalter-na-rann*, being a Miscellany Collection of Irish affairs, in prose and verse, *Latin and Irish*". Harris' *Ware*, vol. ii. *Writers of Ireland*, book i. p. 53.

² The other *Saltair-na-Rann*, to which allusion has been made in a preceding note, contains three hundred and twelve quatrains, written in the inferior Gaelic of the sixteenth, if not of a later century. Yet, it is not, strictly speaking, a Gaelic Martyrology; for all the Irish saints Professor O'Curry could discover in it were, St. Patrick, St. Brigid of Kildare, St. Ciaran of Saighir, and St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois. According to the poet's arrangement, every quatrain commenced with a saint's name, but sometimes there are three or even four quatrains devoted to one day, as the number of festivals happened to fall within it. Every saint, however, has a separate quatrain devoted to him. The modern writer, who supplied Mac Firbis's omissions, has admitted some incorrections. See *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. pp. 360, 361, and Appendix, No. cix. p. 609.

³ Harris says, this work had been written in *elegant metre*, but he seems to regard it as a distinct work from the *Psaltar-na-rann*.

⁴ See Rev. Dr. Keating's *History of Ireland*, Preface. This writer adds that a *Salterium* and a *Duanaire*, or "book of poems", are identical.

⁵ This is most probably the work described by O'Reilly, where he says: "Aengus also wrote the *Psalter-na-rann*, which is an abridged history of the descendants of Abraham, from the birth of Isaac, until after the death of Moses". * * * * * "The *Psalter-na-rann* is preserved in a large MS., the property of Sir William Betham. It is written in a fine strong hand, and occupies upwards of six folio pages, closely written on the largest size vellum". *Chronological Account of nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers*, p. liv.

⁶ In Harris' *Ware*, vol. iii. (*Writers of Ireland*, book i. chap. v. p. 33), it is

written in the form of prayers, tending to raise the reader's mind to the love of God, and to the celebration of His praise, for all the Creator's works are referred to His greater glory, and rest upon His power as their final cause. The foregoing reasons are assigned by Colgan for this work deserving the title of *Saltair-na-rann*.¹ A different work, compiled from the five small treatises already mentioned, in which our saints are invoked, in the form of a prayer, might be well called *Psalterium multipartitum*, as Colgan remarks, on account of the various parts into which it is distributed. He adds, that both authority testifies and evidence persuades us, that it had been thus inscribed and composed by St Ængus. The authority assigned is that of an old parchment MS., from which the treatise, "Homonymi", already described, has been extracted. It was sent from Ireland² to Colgan. It bore the following title: "Homonymi Hiberniae Sancti ex Saltair-na-rann, quod compo-

said that some ascribed to Aengus a *Psalter-na-rann*, being a miscellany on Irish affairs, in prose and verse, Latin and Irish. "Aengus wrote no such work", says Dr. Lanigan, "and his only *Psalter*, or *Saltair-na-rann*, were those above mentioned. Harris got his information either from Toland, or from some one who took it from him. In his *Nazareus* (Letter ii. sect. 3) Toland says that Aengus wrote a *chronicle*, entitled *Psalter-na-rann*". This is characterized as a falsehood invented by an impious writer, who did not wish it to be known, that Aengus was chiefly employed in treating about saints, and that he used to invoke them. At chap. ii. § 8, Toland advances a still more monstrous statement, viz., that the Irish used not pray to saints. Now, nothing is more clear in our ecclesiastical history, than that our ancient Irish progenitors were in the habit of invoking them. Dungal, a most learned Irishman of the early times, defends this practice against Claudius. Brogan, who in the seventh century wrote *St. Brigid's Life* in Irish verse, often invokes her in the course of it, and concludes with these words: "There are two holy virgins in heaven, who may undertake my protection, Mary and St. Brigid, on whose patronage let each of us depend". To omit many other proofs, Adamnan, in his *Vita S. Columba*, lib. ii. cap. 45, bears testimony. This practice was so general in Ireland, and so well known to learned men, who have examined our history, that in his *Discourse on the Religion of the Ancient Irish*, Ussher found it expedient not to touch on invocation of the saints. See Dr. Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. n. 107, p. 251.

¹ Colgan says: "Uti aptissime in utroque sensu Saltair-na-rann, i.e. *Psalterium metricum*, vel *Psalterium multipartitum*, vocari posset; uti et de facto in alterutro, vel utroque sensu nuncupari et intitulari consuevit". *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Aengussii*, cap. xv. p. 582. The late Professor Eugene O'Curry told me, he had examined a magnificent copy of the *Psalter-na-Rann*, at Oxford. At that time, he informed the writer, no perfect copy of it was known to be extant in Ireland.

² The person who brought this book with him from Ireland was the Very Rev. Father Francis Mathew, at one time Guardian of the Convent at Louvain, and Franciscan Provincial over the Irish province. He was a man of much erudition, austerity of life, and very zealous in the cause of religion. He presented this work, already mentioned, to Colgan, in the year 1633. By his preaching, exhortations, and pious labours, he had greatly contributed for many years to the advancement and preservation of Ireland's orthodox and persecuted faith. At length, having endured various trials and tortures, with the greatest patience and constancy, this pious sufferer was put to death by the Protestants, A.D. 1642. Colgan adds, that Geoffrey Keating, also, in the

suit *Ængussius Keledeus*". The *Saltair-na-rann* is interpreted by Colgan to mean the *Multipartite Psalter*. Reason, he says, induces us to believe that this had been a work of St. Ængus, since there is no saint found in any portion of it, who had not departed life before the time of St. Ængus, or who had not been, at least, his cotemporary. This matter had been discovered, by a careful collation of this treatise with our annals and native records. According to these later authentic sources, no saint, mentioned in the work alluded to, is found to have lived after A.D. 800, except St. Tigernach, founder of Doire-melle monastery. He is said to have departed A.D. 805, at which time there can be no doubt that Ængus was still living. For, although our annals relate the death of St. Melditribius in the year 840, yet, it is doubtful, if he be the saint bearing that name, and mentioned in the fortieth chapter of the second book, as already described.¹

There are Pedigrees of Irish saints yet existing, and these have been generally ascribed to Aengus Ceilé De. Several copies of this tract are preserved in our ancient MSS.; but it is doubtful, if any of these date back, in their present state, to the time of Aengus, towards the close of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. In the copies we possess, there may be defections or additions, as compared with the original composition. The oldest copy known is also the best and most copious,² and its genuineness has been generally admitted by most of our antiquarians. It is the more valuable, because it almost invariably gives references to the sites of churches, in connection with the holy persons whose pedigrees are found recorded. It often enumerates and traces the lineage of groups of persons or associates, who occupied these churches at one time, and occasionally their successors for a few generations. In the form of annotations, an immense amount of ecclesiastical and topographical information is conveyed. These historic comments establish with satisfactory exactness a date for the foundation of nearly all our primitive churches. It is an almost invariable rule with the venerable genealogist, to trace the pedigree of each

second book of his History, attributes this work to St. Ængus. See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii, n. 14, p. 583.

¹ See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii. *Vita S. Ængussii*, cap. xv. p. 582. Colgan observes, that he was induced to treat, at some length, on the valuable works of this venerable saint, that his readers might know what great antiquity and authority attached to the aforesaid Martyrologies and other works, and which he had so frequently taken occasion to quote in his own volumes. *Ibid.* It would also appear, Colgan intended to publish the works of St. Ængus, had his own life been prolonged. *Ibid.*, cap. xiv. p. 581.

² This is found in the Book of Leinster, which was compiled within the years 1120 and 1160. A copy is contained in the Book of Ballymote, compiled

saint to some remarkable personage, whose name and period can be ascertained from our national records and books of secular genealogy.¹

This is the oldest collection of our national saints' pedigrees known to be in existence. Its exact time of composition cannot be determined, but it was probably one of Aengus's latest and most matured literary efforts.

VII.—*Modes of life at Tallagh until the time arrived for departure.—St. Aengus returns to Clonenagh, where he is chosen as Abbot.—Supposed to have been a Chorepiscopus.—Occasional retirement to Dysart Enos.—His death and burial.—Value of St. Aengus' hagiographical works.—Conclusion.*

We may well conceive how affectionately and agreeably passed their hours of occasional relaxation, as of study, while the holy Abbot Melruan and Aengus were companions, in the *coenobium* at Tallagh. Their interchange of pious and cultivated thought must have proved mutually conducive to the accuracy and unction of those hagiographical and sacred historic works, which seem specially to have had a literary fascination for them. The teaching of ecclesiastical and secular learning probably engaged a considerable part of their daily monastic routine. For we cannot doubt but native and foreign literature, as also the science of the period, was then taught in the school of Tallagh, with the religious training and dogma peculiar to such establishments. It seems evident, from references made to Eusebius and St. Jerome, that Aengus was well versed in the Greek as in the Latin language. So long as Melruan lived, peace and security reigned within the Irish monastic enclosures. Had he survived a few years, the tocsin of alarm would have sounded the first approach of Northman invasions; while many of the shrines and illuminated Books of Erin were destined to suffer wreck and ruin from these Pagan spoilers.

in 1391; and another in the Book of Lecain, written A.D. 1416. A later still is found in the great Book of Genealogies, compiled by Dudley Mac Firbis, in 1650.

¹ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. pp. 359, 360. This learned writer adds: "By referring to these pedigrees, you may easily find the time at which any of the early saints of Erin flourished. As, for instance, St. Colum Cille is recorded to have been the son of *Feidlimidh*, son of Fergus, son of Conall, son of Niall "of the Nine Hostages", monarch of Erin, who was killed in the year 405. Now, by allowing the usual average of thirty years to each of the four generations from Niall to Colum, making 120 years, and adding them to 405, we shall find that Colum (who is known to have died in the year 592) must have been born about the year 520. He was actually born, as we know from other sources, in 515".

When holy Melruan had been called to bliss, our saint keenly felt the loss of his society and gentle rule. The sylvan shades around Tallagh had less attraction during the noon-tide walk, and more lonely seemed the solitudes of scarped ravines and mountains. Climbing topmost heights of the latter, the eyes of Aengus were often turned towards the rich plains beneath, through which the Liffey and Barrow flowed. Peering beyond their bounds, the hills of Dysart were seen on a distant south-western horizon. Old associations were revived; nor were the monastery and monks of Clonenagh forgotten in the train of awakened recollections. Perhaps some message from its superior and inmates urged his return. In prosecuting his archaic studies, Aengus had travelled to many places, and always with some holy and useful object in view. It now seemed the will of Heaven, that he should turn once more towards the land of Leix and Ossory; and, accordingly, we may suppose a sympathetic tear coursed down his cheeks and those of his fellow-religious, when he took scrip and staff, bidding adieu for the last time to those blissful haunts of science and religion, where he had spent some of his life's best years. We know not the exact period when he parted from this mountain home; but, it appears altogether likely, his renowned superior had departed this life before Aengus thought of leaving, nor had the eighth century drawn quite to its close.

Ængus survived his friend the holy Abbot of Tallaght for a very considerable period. The name of St. Molruan is found in his *Festilogium*, where he is called the "Bright Sun of Ireland".¹ This circumstance seems to prove, that his work, in its finished state, must have been composed subsequently to the year 792. After remaining some years at Tallaght, Ængus returned to Clonenagh. His ascetic and literary fame must have culminated to a high degree, at the time his thoughts reverted to the old retreat:—

"Here to return and die at home at last".²

Doubtless, he was welcomed by the good abbot and his community at Clonenagh. Over this great monastery, in due course he was chosen Abbot. He is said to have succeeded Melathgenius, who died in 767 (*recte* 768), according to Ware.³

¹ A mistake, probably a typographical one, occurs in Dalton's *History of the County of Dublin*, p. 761, where the death of Saint Molruan, or Maelruan, is referred to the year 787, whereas the year 788 is named for the first arrival of Ængus at Tallaght. The real date for St. Molruan's death is the 7th day of July, 792. This accomplished and usually accurate historian incorrectly tells us, when giving the history of Tallaght, and speaking of Ængus, that he died "Abbot of this house in 824". *Ibid.*

² Oliver Goldsmith's *Traveller*.

³ It is not probable, however, that our saint was the immediate successor of Melathgenius. By his namesake, Ængus Ceillé De is called Abbot. In the

He was also elevated to the episcopal dignity; for it was a very usual practice then prevailing in Ireland, to invest the superiors of all our great religious houses with this exalted rank. But, we may regard this dignity he obtained, as qualifying him to be classed only with the inferior prelates, known as Chorepiscopi, in early times. Dr. Lanigan thinks it probable, that St. Ængus had been Abbot over a monastery at Dysartenos, which he is supposed to have founded, whilst he also presided over Clonenagh.¹

But notwithstanding his elevation, and the duties that devolved upon him, in virtue of his high office, as Abbot over the greater monastery, that favourite retreat at Dysartenos,² seems to have been ever dear to his recollections. Finding his end approaching, Ængus withdrew to the scenes of his former retirement and austerities. He breathed his last prayers with his last breath, about the year 824, according to the most probable conjecture, on Friday, the 11th day of March.³ Sir

Martyrologies cited in a succeeding note, it will be seen, that he was also styled Bishop.

¹ Another Ængus, who was almost contemporary with this saint, has left an elegant poem in praise of him. From this poem Colgan derives a great part of St. Aengus Ceilé De's *Acts*. That the writer of this poem was abbot at Clonenagh, as also at Disert-Aengus, is possible, and Colgan observes, that his hints are even stronger as to the latter place. The matter can easily be settled. As both places lay near each other, within the barony of Maryborough, Aengus might have been abbot over both these establishments. Disert-Aengus, which commenced with himself, may be considered simply as a cell to the older and greater monastery at Clonenagh. At *Clonenagh* and *Disert-enos*, or Disert-Aengus, Archdall has inverted the order of Aengus' transactions. After making Aengus found an abbey at Disert-Aengus, Archdall sends him to Tallaght, where, it is said, he died. Now, it is clear from the *Acts*, that Aengus was no more than a simple monk when he removed to Tallaght. As to the place of his death, it could not have been Tallaght; for, as we find in said *Acts*, he was buried at Clonenagh. That Aengus, who was panegyrist of our saint, seems to have been, as Colgan justly conjectures, abbot Aengus, surnamed the *Wise*. He belonged to Clontarf-Molua, and died in 858 or 859. See Colgan, *AA. SS.* p. 582, and also Dr. Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. n. 98, pp. 248, 249. In a succeeding note, Dr. Lanigan remarks: "Considering the Irish practice of promoting eminent abbots to the episcopacy, we need not look for any other see for him than one of the above mentioned monasteries". *Ibid.*, n. 99, p. 249.

² Mr. O'Donovan, in the Tenth Article of his edited *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, vol. i. note g., comments on the term Disert, a common topographical prefix to Irish localities. He says:—"This word, which is translated *desertus locus* in "Cormac's Glossary", and *desertum* by Colgan (*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 579), is sometimes used in ancient Irish manuscripts, to denote a hermitage, or an asylum for pilgrims or penitents. It occurs in this latter sense in the *Leabhar Breaic*, fol. 100, a. a., and in the Book of Leinster, in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 2, 12, fol. 113, b. a".—*Irish Charters in the Book of Kells*, n. (g.) p. 112.

³ "There being good reason to think that Aengus survived the year 806 Colgan conjectures that the year of his death was either 819, 824, or 830: whereas in each of them the 11th of March fell on a Friday". Dr. Lanigan's

James Ware names one or other of the years 819, 824, or 830, conjecturally, as referring to our saint's death, from the circumstance of the 11th March falling on the *feria sexta*, or Friday, at each of these dates. Professor Eugene O'Curry thinks St. Aengus Ceilé De must have died about the year 815.¹ We know not how many years he lived; but probably this saint had not attained a very advanced age, when his death occurred.

Ængus was buried at Clonenagh, according to his Acts, as given by Colgan.² But, whether he died there or at Dysartenos, is uncertain.³ If he built a monastery at the latter place, no trace of its ruins can be discovered at present;⁴ and hence, it might be a safe conjecture to suppose Dysartenos had been only a cell or hermitage, constructed by St. Ængus, for his sole accommodation and retirement.⁵

Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. chap. xx. § x. n. 100. p. 249. "Ita eodem die Martyrologium Tamlaet. *Aengussii Episcopi Hoblenii nepotis*. Marian. *Magnus Aengussius Hoblenii nepos Episcopus*. Mart. Dungall. *Aengussius nepos Hoblenii, Episcopus, est qui composuit festilogium*. In ipso etiam Aengussii Festilogio in quibusdam exemplaribus ponitur nata hac die: sed illa insulsa additio est: quae idcirco in vetustioribus exemplaribus non reperitur". Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii, n. 15, p. 583.

¹ See *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii. p. 362.

² See *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, xi. Martii, *Vita S. Aengussii*, cap. xvi. p. 582.

³ In the note already given, the anonymous scholiast says, that our saint was both educated and buried at Disert-Aengus. It is certain, however, that Aengus had been educated at Clonenagh. Colgan remarks, that the Disert named, either is not different from Clonenagh, or our saint most probably died and had been buried at the first place, his body having been afterwards translated and deposited at Clonenagh. But, he acknowledges that our annals make a distinction between both places, as in reality they were bound to do. A distance of some miles intervenes between Dysartenos and Clonenagh. The present writer is fully cognizant of this fact, and has long been conversant with the bearing and local peculiarities of both places.

⁴ Alluding to this locality of Dysartenos, however, a writer well knowing its folk-lore observes: "Not many years ago, the remains of the foundation of St. Aengus's sacred edifice were discovered by a farmer, who professed the doctrines of the Church of England. This farmer, much to his credit, reverentially would not suffer the remains to be disturbed. He re-covered with earth the stone steps that rested at the foot of the once altar, on which the holy anchoret offered the Sacrifice of the Mass. The field in which this discovery was made is near to the dwelling of Mr. James Lawler". O'Byrne's *History of the Queen's County*, chap. xxi. p. 57.

⁵ In what part of Dysartenos parish this cell, or monastery, if such, was situated, the antiquary is not likely to discover. Many remains of old buildings are yet standing in the immediate neighbourhood. If, however, I might be allowed to offer a conjecture, St. Aengus possibly selected for his cell the site on which the former Protestant church of Dysart may now be seen, as a comparatively modern ruin. When Sir Charles Coote wrote his *Statistical Survey of the Queen's County*, in 1801, he describes Dysart church, as standing "on one of the lofty hills of the same name, with a square tower or steeple, which has a very picturesque appearance". Chap. ix. § iv. p. 117. An ancient graveyard is to be found there, even yet much resorted to for the interment of deceased Catholics. No doubt, the very old parish church occupied

It is indeed very certain—as a distinguished Irish scholar and most devoted Catholic¹ well observes—that St. Aengus Ceilé De² cannot be set down for an ignorant nor a superstitious monk; but, on the contrary, he must ever be regarded as a gifted writer, deeply read in the Holy Scriptures, and in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the world. He was especially versed in that historic lore contained in what he calls enthusiastically “The Host of the Books of Erin”. Taking the Festology of St. Aengus as a purely historic tract, largely interwoven with the early civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland, there is probably no European country which possesses so early a national document and one of a character so important. A great number of the primitive Christian inhabitants and strangers, in our island, have been introduced by name into this valuable treatise. Their festival days, with copious references to the early denominations and exact situations of our old churches and monasteries, severally founded by many of them, are accurately given; and already, by means of this tract, if not all, at least nearly all, of these foundations may be or have been identified, by competent archaeologists. His other writings are hardly less valuable for their historic, national, and religious interest.

The truly learned are ever truly humble. But to raise this latter qualification to the degree of heroic virtue requires a special intervention of the spirit of wisdom. Towards our saint, God's choicest graces appear to have been vouchsafed. From his early years, he was gifted with a docile mind, an ardent love of true perfection, humility of disposition, an understanding capable of comprehending a wide circle of science, human and divine, with an imagination, fervid, brilliant, chaste, and correct, as ever gifted a poet. Our Church and country have received no inconsiderable services from the literary labours and learning of this saint, while his life had been beautifully and edifyingly consistent with his teaching and acquirements.

this site. From or near this elevated position, the ruins of Clonenagh's “seven churches” are clearly visible under favouring circumstances.

¹ See Professor Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Lect. xvii., p. 370.

² In a contribution to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the month of July, 1865, the following remarks may be found, on the Irish term céile dé, Anglicised *Culdee*. It is “used by our annalists to denote a monk or friar, even at a comparatively modern period of our history. In O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1595, we find an application of such term to the Dominicans in Sligo monastery. The reader, who desires the fullest accumulated testimonies and learned investigation, in reference to the Culdees, will examine the researchful contribution of the Rev. William Reeves, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. It has since been published as a separate tract, entitled, *The Culdees of the British Islands, as they appear in History, with an Appendix of Evidences*; Dublin. 1864”.

Some men possess dazzling qualities and acquire renown in this world, while their minds and dispositions are cold, vitiated, and corrupt; they may shine among their fellow-mortals, as the skin of the venomous snake or crawling reptile appears radiant with variegated colours, under the rays of a bright sun. On the contrary, in solitude and retirement, wishing to avoid the applause or rewards of the world, under a rude garb and exterior, our saint, like the glow-worm, luminous even through the darkness of night, has diffused a steady and an undiminished light over the obscurity of our scattered ecclesiastical records and traditions, in his own time and for preceding ages. He has likewise transmitted to us some of the most venerable remains of our ancient and holy literature, so long and so providentially preserved in Ireland and in more distant countries. Let us hope, that under the careful editorship of a competent Irish scholar, these fragments will be gathered ere they perish, that they will be committed to type, published, and thus rendered accessible to the generality of readers. While such documents serve to excite and sustain our religious feelings, they also fan the spirit of patriotism, and serve to extend still more the real fame of our beloved country. The holy Aengus Ceilé De laboured wisely and well in his generation. He has left to this day and to all succeeding generations, the heritage of his zeal, his learning, his genius, his virtues, and his noble example.

ASSOCIATION OF PRAYER FOR THOSE ADDICTED TO INTEMPERANCE.

SIDE by side with the virtues of high order which incontestably adorn the character of our people, there exist, unfortunately, some dark and painful defects. Among these the vice of drunkenness stands sadly prominent, not only by reason of its intrinsic turpitude, but also as being the source of almost all the crime and of much of the misery which have laid waste this fair land. We do not mean to dwell here upon the enormity of this vice, nor even to examine into the causes which have contributed to extend its ravages amongst us. There is, however, one feature connected with it upon which it will serve our purpose to dwell for a little. Those who are best acquainted with our people agree in admitting that among them the habit of drinking is contracted not so much through malice as through

weakness. The genial spirit of our warm-hearted people inclines them to conviviality; and mistaken hospitality on the one hand, and human respect on the other, not unfrequently lead to breaches of temperance. The downward course, which in all vices is proverbially rapid, is still more so in the present case. Temporary conversions are followed by relapses, which by degrees beat down the barriers, until what at first was, perhaps, the result of a momentary weakness, becomes a most imperious passion.

The vice of drunkenness does not decrease in our midst. The Archbishop of Westminster lately affirmed without hesitation, before a committee of the House of Commons, that, as far as England was concerned, it was decidedly on the increase; and some of the best authorities in England have confirmed his statement. We fear much that the same is true of Ireland. The evil is so insidious that it saps all the barriers which rank, wealth, position, sex even, would naturally place in the way to check its ravages. Two obvious facts, at least, tell their own tale. The amount of capital invested in liquor traffic goes on daily increasing. The immense army of public houses which subsists upon the scanty earnings of the poor, swells its numbers day by day. The public revenue resulting from this branch of trade, far from diminishing, is steadily growing. These two facts are eloquent of themselves, and appeal to all those who have at heart the welfare of the people.

Nor have they appealed in vain. As the evil has increased in magnitude, so have the efforts made by good men to counteract it been multiplied in number and efficiency. From Father Mathew's day to our own, there has been an unbroken line of zealous apostles of temperance, who have toiled incessantly in the good cause. The world has witnessed and admired the results achieved by the Archbishop of Cashel, and by the Bishops of Ferns and of Kilmore, towards putting an end to Sunday traffic in liquor. The example of these illustrious prelates has been followed by many zealous parish priests of other dioceses, whose efforts have been crowned with a success which, though merely local, has been equally splendid. The pledge; the Crusade, especially as directed by Father Richardson; and other organizations, have been most efficient. Nor have legislative measures been neglected. The Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill has obtained the approval of the best of our public men. And thus, against intemperance we find arrayed in one zealous and active army, energies public and private, influences ecclesiastical and political, whilst members of tens of thousands of afflicted households follow with their hopes and prayers the united efforts of them all.

All this is excellent, and more than excellent. St. Ignatius

counsels those who have any work to perform, that they themselves should do every thing in their power to secure its success as if they expected no help from heaven, and at the same time to look only to heavenly help for their success as if they had done nothing of themselves. Has enough been done hitherto to carry out the second portion of this counsel? According to Catholic principles, the whole matter lies in a nutshell. Not one of these organizations will be productive of real and lasting good, unless it be made fruitful by the dew of heavenly grace. Without grace they will not last, or, if they do retain a cold and formal life, they will have no virtue to curb the wayward impulses of the intemperate. No efficiency without grace; no grace, ordinarily speaking, without prayer. But the falling, the fallen, and the desperate, do they pray? do they pray for themselves in the moment of their sorest need? Alas! no. The very root of the evil in Ireland is, as we have seen, weakness of will; and weak wills lack the Christian vigour of persevering prayer.

But the Spirit of God, which teaches Catholics to bear one another's burthens, has raised up helpers for those who are hardly willing to ask help for themselves. Somewhat more than a year ago a few pious individuals belonging to the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Armagh undertook to try if a means solely spiritual might not do something towards diminishing the appalling evils wrought in Ireland and elsewhere through intemperance. The idea sprang from repeated words, and exhortations more and more earnest towards the close of his life, of the late saintly Primate of all Ireland, the Most Rev. Dr. Dixon. These words and exhortations were but the expressions of the virtue with the perfume of which his whole life was fragrant: Faith in prayer. In February, 1866, he wrote thus to the leader of the movement:

"Other troubles must also vanish before prayer, for there is no obstacle to our true happiness which prayer will not overcome, as He cannot deceive who said: 'All things whatever you ask, when you pray, believe that you shall receive, and they shall come unto you'. Hence, if we see new troubles in the distance, we must only continue to follow the invitation of our Lord, 'Ask and you shall receive, that your joy may be full'. And at the end of all, in that land where we know our own, we shall sing a song of triumph over the memory of each difficulty surmounted here below. We want faith in prayer! we want faith in prayer!"

The seed thus sown by him fell upon a grateful soil, and he lived to see and to bless its first tender growth.

In due time the first thought ripened into a plan. In April and May, 1867, an association was fully organized and approved by the present Primate, his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Kieran, to whose first pastoral, pointing to intemperance as one of the main sources of Ireland's woes, the new undertaking was a response. The following prospectus was published:

“ UNDER THE PROTECTION OF OUR LADY OF THE SACRED HEART,
WHO IS SPECIALLY INVOKED IN DESPERATE CASES.

“ A few Christians, bearing the title of ‘Children of Mary’, encouraged by the words of his Grace in the Pastoral Letter for Lent (speaking of intemperance as a vice that is now doing much harm to Ireland), have proposed an Association of Prayer as a means of combating the evil.

“ So many things are tried to do good to our dear country: why should not prayer—*United* Prayer—Prayer with *Faith*—be thrown into the balance?

“ Spiritual contributions alone are solicited; the offering to God of daily duties well performed; any act of patience, forbearance, charity, or mercy; an alms; a visit to the Blessed Sacrament; any prayer, however, short:—above all, a Mass offered, or caused to be offered, for the living or the dead, but with a view to forward the threefold end of the Association, namely:

“ 1st, To preserve and save those that are beginning to tamper with the allurements of intemperance.

“ 2nd, To obtain the conversion of those habitually addicted to this vice.

“ 3rd, To save from sudden and unprovided death those who are singularly in danger from intemperance.

“ Each person joining the Association should promise to do *something*—daily or weekly, etc.,—or *once for all*, if found less irksome. What is undertaken should be noted on each one's Billet of Association.

“ His Grace has approved the Association; and his Eminence, Cardinal Cullen, has sent its promoters a special blessing. There is also a well grounded hope of obtaining indulgences by-and-bye, to reward the zeal of the associates.

“ Armagh, first Friday of May, 1867”.

After a year's trial and success, the founders of the Association sought and obtained the blessing of the Holy Father on their work. We publish the Rescript:

“ Beatissimo Padre!

“ Alcune persone pie, avutane l' approvazione dell' Illustris-

simo Monsignor Kieran, Arcivescovo di Armagh e Primate di tutta l'Irlanda, e animate dal benvolere dell'Eminentissimo Cardinale Cullen, Arcivescovo di Dublino e Delegato Apostolico, come pure di più altri Vescovi, hanno cercato di fare una Pia Unione di Preghiera, in forma di Sodalità, per placare il Signore tanto offeso in tal paese e in tutto il Regno Britannico col vizio dell'ubbrachezza, sorgente e cagione di tanti altri peccati e pericoli, e per ottenere, dalla Divina Maestà grazie di preservazione e di conversione per tante anime periclitanti. Ora gli aggregati umilmente prostrati ai piedi di Vostra Santità chiegono per cotesta opera la Benedizione Apostolica, e per tutti quegli che vi si sono uniti, o vi si riuneranno, le sequenti Indulgenze, applicabili, per via di suffragio alle anime del Purgatorio.

“1. Cento giorni d'Indulgenza per ciascuna opera pia, fatta per i fini della Sodalità.

“2. Sette anni e sette quarantene ogni volta, che facendosi promotore dell'opera qualcuno procurerà che dieci persone si riuniscono alla Sodalità.

“3. L'Indulgenza plenaria, purché confessati e comunicati, preghino secondo l'intenzione del Sommo Pontefice, nelle seguenti Feste:—Cioè, del S. Cuore di Gesù; del Santissimo Nome di Gesù; delle cinque Piaghe; del Preziosissimo Sangue; dell'Esaltazione della Sta. Croce; del Cuor Purissimo di Maria; dello Sposalizio; di Maria *Auxilium Christianorum*; della Medesima intitolata Nostra Signora del Sacro Cuore (31 Maggio); nelle feste di San Patrizio, Protettore dell'Irlanda; di San Giorgio, Protettore dell'Inghilterra, edì San Andrea, Protettore della Scozia”.

“Ex Audientia Sanctissimi, die 26 Julii, 1868.

“Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, Pius, Divina Providentia Papa IX., referente me infrascripto S. C. de Propaganda Fide Secretario, expetitas indulgentias benigne concessit ad quinquennium juxta petita, adjectis tamen quoad primum et secundum aliquibus piis precibus, quas pro Indulgentiis plenariis sub numero tertio expressis lucrandis, fideles confessi et Sacra Eucharistia refecti, recitare debent in eadem Ecclesia, in qua communionem recipiunt.

“Datum Romae, ex Aedibus dictae S. Congregationis die et anno predictis.

“Gratis sine ulla solutione quocumque titulo.

“JOANNES SIMEONI, Secretarius.

[“Concordat cum originali :

✠ “Michael Kieran,

“Archiepiscopus Armacanus, tot. Hib. Primas.”]

In virtue of this Rescript, the members of the Association may gain the following indulgences:

1st, One hundred days' indulgence for every good work, *accompanied by prayer*, done for the ends of the Association.

2nd, Seven years and seven quarantines, to be gained by any member who shall enrol ten other persons in the Association, provided *some* prayer be said (after obtaining the ten names) to gain the indulgence.

3rd, A plenary indulgence, on the usual conditions, on each of the following feasts: The Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Precious Blood, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Holy Name of Jesus, the Five Wounds, the Most Pure Heart of Mary, the Espousals of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph, Auxilium Christianorum (May 24th), Our Lady of the Sacred Heart (May 31st), St. Patrick, Patron of Ireland; St. George, Patron of England; and St. Andrew, Patron of Scotland.

To gain these plenary indulgences, the prayers usually offered up for the intentions of his Holiness must be said in the church in which communion has been received.

That the Holy Father should have granted those liberal indulgences is a more eloquent argument in recommendation of the Association than any words of ours. We hope to see it warmly taken up by the clergy, the religious communities, and the faithful of Ireland.¹ What powerful forces for good might not be put in motion to resist intemperance, by even one *Hail Mary* or *Salve Regina*, from every Catholic in the three kingdoms or in Ireland! Few indeed can say that they have no friend in danger. And in any case many of our brothers in the faith and fellow-countrymen need our prayers. Let the strong, then, aid the weak, and let the weak, even the weakest, avail themselves of the help this Association gives them to do something for themselves.

¹ Letters containing requests for prayers or aggregation to the Association may be addressed to the Secretary, Sacred Heart Convent, Armagh. No offering in money is accepted, but those zealous for the cause may assist in paying the expenses of printing, etc.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF I. JOHN, v. 7.

(Continued from p. 29.)

V. 5. "WHO is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?"

This verse contains a dogmatic assertion, "Jesus is the Son of God", which assertion is to be proved more completely in the following verses, but which is already sufficiently demonstrated by the effects which follow from firm belief in its truth. The holiness of life which marks the orthodox believers in that doctrine, contrasted with the libertine excesses of the pretended conquerors of the world, proves that the victory over hostile powers, and therefore the possession of truth, belongs to the former and not to the latter.

V. 6. "This is he that came by water and blood, Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit which testifieth that Christ is the truth".

He is the person described in v. 6, namely, Jesus Christ. Some consider that this pronoun is connected grammatically with the word *Son of God*; it is this Son of God who came. They remark that to advance the proposition, "Jesus came by water and blood", is to advance a truism which had no need of proof, and was never denied by the adversaries. What was denied was that the Son of God came thus; and consequently it was this point that needed proof. This remark is just, but it is not accurately applied. The phrase ὁ ἐλθων, *he that came*, with the article, is equivalent to a substantive designating the Messiah. The meaning therefore is: this one (this Jesus) is the Messiah promised and expected for so many ages. He is come; and instead of calling him as before, ὁ ἐρχομενος, *he who is to come*, we are now to style him ὁ ἐλθων, since his coming is an historical fact. To remove all ambiguity, the author adds these words: *Jesus Christ*; the word *Jesus* being referred to the subject, and the word *Christ*, to the attribute. This one (Jesus) is he who is come, the Christ.

The words: *this is he that came by water and blood, not by water only, but by water and blood*, are more difficult of explanation.

Among the many opinions on this subject, three claim special attention. According to the first, the apostle alludes to our Saviour's baptism in the Jordan, and the bloody baptism of His Passion, of which He Himself said in the Gospel, "baptismo habeo baptizari". According to the second, these words have reference to the water and blood that flowed on the cross from

the Redeemer's side. The third opinion refers the passage more directly to Christian baptism, and to the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Each of these opinions has its probability, and is supported by very good arguments drawn from grammar, logical sequence, and from the historical circumstances in which the author was placed. All three more or less agree with the apostle's scope. And yet, not one of them appears to me to correspond to it fully and directly. The fact of the Incarnation itself is what the author here affirms. In the language of the Scripture, *to come*, or *to come into the world*, means one and the same thing. *Ego veni ut vitam habeant. Venit filius hominis salvum facere quod perierat.* To come in the flesh (*ἐν σαρκί*, and not *εἰς τὴν σάρκα*) is a phrase peculiar to St. John, and which expresses precisely the idea of the hypostatic union between the divine nature and the flesh. Why, then, should not the phrase, "to come in water and blood, *ἐν ὕδατι καὶ αἵματι*", have the same force? When the sacred writer makes mention here of these two substances, he does so with the visible desire of combating the errors of the Gnostics, who refused to believe that He was united with water, except with some kind of watery, mystic, celestial essence, and who refused much more to believe that He was connected with blood.

Since this error, by denying the Incarnation, entirely overturned the dogma of redemption, and, moreover, destroyed the Christian idea of Baptism and of the Eucharist, it was fitting that St. John should extirpate the evil from its very root, and thus he effects in the present place.

It may be objected that St. John has written not only *ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ἐν σαρκί*, but also *δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἵματος*. But this use of *διά* is readily accounted for. Water and blood, or in other words, human nature indicated by these elements, are the means through which Christ has drawn near to us, has become our brother, and entered into the world. This explains the use of that particle, without violence or ellipse. The apostle, however, immediately afterwards substitutes in its stead the particle *as* being more expressive and more direct against the error he condemns.

This explanation is the only one which can be sustained without supposing an ellipse, and this tells strongly in its favour. In every other explanation that has been given, a verb of some kind is more or less arbitrarily introduced to bring out the force of the preposition. *He came*, they say, to bear witness, to exercise His ministry, to redeem and sanctify men *by water and by blood*. Which of all these expressions conveys the apostle's thought? He would have filled up the ellipse himself, if any

one of these meanings were his. I admit, however, that the three above mentioned explanations belong to the apostle's meaning, but only in an indirect manner. In the first place, there is a clear allusion to the words of the Gospel: "Unus militum", etc. The strong assertion he makes to the effect that the Son of God was united to blood and water, has reference to the testimony of His own senses, and to what He saw on Calvary. This, among several other circumstances, may be a proof that the epistle was not written independently of the Gospel. Next, it is certain that St. John did not separate the idea of redemption by blood from that of the Incarnation of the Word, and that in establishing the latter dogma, his chief object is to give a solid basis to the other. This appears from the epistle itself, in which he insists so strongly on the expiatory value of the blood of Jesus Christ. Finally, we cannot doubt that he wished here and in the Gospel, to establish the dogma of Baptism and especially of the Eucharist, which were so distorted by the heretics. We have spoken of their doctrine concerning Baptism. Let us quote the following text: Ἡ γὰρ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ λουτροῦ οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστι κατ' αὐτούς, ἢ τὸ εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀμάρτανον ἡδονὴν τον λουόμενον κατ' αὐτοὺς ζῶντι ὕδατι καὶ χριόμενον ἀλάκῃ χρίσματι (*Philosoph.* p. 140, de Naassenis). And to this let us add what St. Ignatius says of them concerning the Eucharist: they abstain from it, he says, because they do not acknowledge it to be the blood of the Son of God.

We now come to the passage: "and it is the spirit which testifieth, for the spirit is the truth". Thus the Greek; the Vulgate has: "that Christ is the truth, *quoniam Christus est veritas*". Now, the latter form is not pertinent to the present scope, which is, not to throw light on the relations between Christ the Son of God and the truth, but on His relations with the humanity He had assumed. It would be better to read, "that *Jesus* is the truth", which reading, although it is found in St. Augustine's *Speculum*, has not sufficient critical support. The Greek reading, which has been generally adopted, is better in every respect. St. John had frequently appealed to the testimony which the Spirit gives to the Church and to souls that are docile to His grace. He here returns to it once more and with greater solemnity. Although the name *veritas* is more usually applied to the Word, it is here justified by the writer's object, which is to show the impossibility of false testimony. The phrase is not more surprising than others, such as, God is light, God is charity, which the apostle employs and diversifies according to circumstances and the nature of his subject. In this place it prepares the reader for the development which St.

John is to give to this general assertion, and which is the subject of the following two verses.

V. 7. "And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one".

V. 8. "And there are three that give testimony on earth; the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three are one.

This declaration, already so evident, that "the Spirit is truth", might appear to have no need of proof or of explanation of any kind. If, however, the apostle should wish to add any such proof, he should do so in a manner worthy of the God whose rights he defends. Our Lord did not disdain to have recourse to the law of Moses, who said: "In ore duorum vel trium testium stabit omne verbum". "Testimonium duorum verum est". But, through respect for His quality of Son of God, He wished to add to His own personal witness the witness of none other save that of His Father; and if at times He appealed to the testimony of John the Baptist, He took care always to add a qualifying phrase: "Habeo testimonium majus Joanne; testimonium ab hominibus non accipio, sed haec dico ut salvi sitis". Should it not, then, be surprising if His most faithful disciple, who had most thoroughly entered into His spirit and doctrine, would be so ready to place on the same level the testimony of God, who is truth itself, and the testimony of water and blood? Now, this will inevitably follow, if the seventh verse be suppressed. On the contrary, if it be admitted as authentic, the entire discourse proceeds in a broad, natural, well-ordered connection, full of dignity and majesty, and such as might be expected from St. John. The Spirit is the truth, unexceptionable not only in itself, but also according to the letter of the law. For its testimony is not a solitary one. It is identical with the testimony of the two other Divine Persons. There are three witnesses, really distinct each from each, and yet but one testimony, because there is but one divine substance, which is truth itself. And it is only after having carried us aloft to the heights where God dwells, that he gradually brings us back to the earth, and appeals to the subsidiary testimony of the Church as to an echo of that of God Himself. This process is perfectly in keeping with the spirit of St. John. I open his Gospel, and I read: "Ille (Spiritus Sanctus) testimonium perhibebit de me: et vos testimonium perhibebitis quia ab initio mecum estis". Here we have the testimony of the disciples coming after that of the Spirit, but not in the same rank, nor with equal authority. Here is the earthly testimony, the weak, but clear and distinct echo of that in heaven.

From this general though confused view of the passage, we may gather how appropriate is verse 7. Let us now enter a little more into detail, and discuss its terms one by one.

It has been objected to verse 7, that its style does not agree with St. John's. The apostle is wont to employ together the names of God and of the Word, or of the Father and the Son; but the names of *Father* and of the Word are never correlative in his writings. Moreover, it has been urged that the words, "*the Holy Spirit*", savour of the glosses, since St. John is wont to speak of the *Spirit* without any epithet. Besides, it is urged that the words, *in heaven*, are without meaning in this verse, since a testimony rendered in heaven must be inaccessible and consequently completely useless to men.

The first of these objections is not without weight, but it is urged too absolutely. In the beginning of his epistle, St. John speaks of the *Word of Life*, and then more briefly still of the Life itself, which was in the Father, with the Father, *πρὸς τὸν πατέρα*, and has appeared to us. Here we have the name *Father* used correlatively with the names *Life* or *Word of Life*; for these two appellations are designedly united here as in the preface to the Gospel, the only difference being in the use of the term *Father* here, instead of the word *God* as in the Gospel. Why, therefore, could not St. John do in the fifth chapter of his epistle what he did in the first? Especially since he had particular reasons for adopting a term, which, on the one hand, being more incommunicable to man than that of *Son*, more clearly set forth the divine nature of Him whom it described, and on the other, is more directly connected with the idea of witnessing.

And after all, the employment of the word *Λόγος* in an enumeration of the Three Divine Persons is so foreign to the traditional usages of language, that it would be much more surprising as coming from a glosser than as coming from St. John. It could be attributed to an interpolator only on the hypothesis of a premeditated attempt to imitate the style of St. John. Such an attempt would be not only unskilful but also fraudulent. It appears to be the opinion of Dr. Huther, that this attempt was made; but a charge so serious requires solid proof, and is rejected by Griesbach himself, who attributes the addition of verse 7 as the result of a mere mistake, and of the ignorance of some copyist.¹

As to the epithet *Holy*, joined to the word *Spirit*, the exami-

¹ Griesbach, however, appears to suspect the good faith of Vigilius Tapsensis, to whom he would attribute the supposed interpolation of this passage. But he does not dare to bring this accusation forward; he goes no further than to malignantly insinuate it.

nation of parallel passages from St. John would be necessary to enable us to decide the question; but as he nowhere else mentions the three adorable names together, it is not easy to come to any trustworthy conclusion. Is it not probable that St. John used the term *Holy Ghost* in pronouncing the form of baptism, and that, consequently, this expression was familiar to him, although not one of the phrases commonly used by him in his writings? Besides, even if we were to admit that this word is an addition of the copyist's,¹ there is a wide difference between the addition of an unnecessary word, and the interpolation of an entire sentence.

The third objection has still less weight. For, without having recourse to the construction "there are three in heaven who give testimony", which is natural enough, and completely disposes of the difficulty, and retaining the sense of the testimony *in heaven*, we ask what more natural than to compare that testimony to the thunder that speaks in the heavens so as to be heard by men on earth? Was it not thus that the voice of the Holy Spirit, like an impetuous wind, sounded over the supper-room? And even when the Word, by His miracles, was proving His own divinity, when in His ascension He was raised aloft in glory in the air, or when from the height of heaven He fulfilled His promise of sending the Consoler Spirit upon His apostles, did not all these manifestations of His power issue from the heavens, where he has never, even for a single instant, ceased to reside on His eternal throne?

I might add to these remarks the verse of Isaias (cap. xxxiv. 5), where the Lord, speaking of the avenging sword He has drawn against the Idumeans, thus expresses Himself: "Inebriatus est in coelo gladius meus: ecce super Idumeam descendit", etc. Whether we say of this passage that since God is in heaven, the sword He holds in His hand is there likewise, although its point touches the earth; or whether we prefer to think that heaven everywhere follows the throne of the Lord, and that when God descends to men, heaven descends with Him; or whatever other explanation we have recourse to, it is not more difficult to apply it to the verse of St. John than to that of the prophet.²

There is, therefore, no serious difficulty in connection with verse 7. I do not venture to say the same regarding verse 8.

¹ The word *Sanctus* is wanting in the most ancient texts.

² There is, however, one explanation which if true would destroy the analogy I appeal to. Somebody has said that the sword was inebriated in heaven, not with blood and carnage, but with some aromatic liquor, as a warrior strengthens himself before the battle. *Ps. lxxvii. 65.* "Excitatus est Dominus tanquam potens crapulatus a vino". But the application of such a metaphor to a sword is too forced and foreign to Biblical usage to demand any attention from us.

Obscure in itself, it has the additional disadvantage of breaking the natural connection of verse 7 with verse 9, so that if, on intrinsic grounds alone, some interpolation should be admitted, we should be induced to consider verse 8 rather than verse 7 to have been introduced into the text. What is *the Spirit* mentioned in verse 8? If it is not the Holy Spirit, the connection with verse 6, where, as we have shown, He is spoken of, is violently broken. If it be the Holy Spirit, how is He placed on the same level as water and blood?

And to what do the water and blood witness? In verse 6 they were named, not as witnesses, but as an object requiring testimony for itself, and receiving testimony from the Spirit. Could it be true, that in spite of appearances, verse 8 is at open variance with verse 6, and that its insertion is due to a desire of casting a veil over the deepest mysteries? The extreme care which the Christians of the second and third centuries took to hide from profane eyes the dogma of the Adorable Trinity, is well known to all. All are acquainted with the precaution used by the pastors of the earliest time, never to commit to writing certain formulas of consecration. The Jews and early Christians alike were accustomed to veil under a strange name the object of which they were speaking. In the New Testament, Egypt and Babylon designate the pagan world, the Roman Empire, or the city of Rome itself. In the Cabala, which is but a form of the Gnosis, the first Triad, corresponding to the Christian Trinity, is designated under a thousand different names, such as the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or under the three elements of which the breath is composed, namely, air, water, and fire (warmth), three things which make but one.

Could we not suppose that, towards the second century, the custom of having recourse to this kind of technical memory in copying St. John's text came gradually into use, and that, in this wise, the formula of verse 8 was not added, but substituted for that of verse 7? And might not this be the cause of that remarkable unanimity on the part of the ancient Fathers, who discover the Holy Trinity in the three witnesses of verse 8?

This supposition, if it were necessary to have recourse to it, would have the advantage of freeing the Church from the reproach of having lightly admitted a remarkable interpolation in the sacred text. There would no longer be any interpolation properly so called, but a simple repetition in enigmatical terms of the proposition before announced in its proper and natural terms. The only change to be made in the text would be the omission of the words *in coelo in terra*, which, in themselves, are not essential, and about which the manuscripts vary.

But although we throw out this theory for the benefit of those critics who reject verse 7, we do not intend to avail ourselves of it for our own purpose. It is not necessary; and in spite of the difficulties we have alluded to, it is not hard to explain the connection between verse 7 and verse 8.

The Holy Spirit may, in truth, be considered under a twofold aspect. In Himself, as a Divine person, consubstantial with the Father and the Son, He renders a direct testimony to the doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption. As the life-giving Spirit of the Church, speaking through and by the faithful, He renders to the same truths an indirect testimony which is unexceptionable. Now the Holy Spirit communicates Himself to the Church through three sacraments which all the faithful receive, and which all were used to receive at the very moment of their admission into the Christian community. These three sacraments, Baptism, Eucharist, and Confirmation, are here designated by the terms, of the Spirit, water, and blood. In each of these mysteries the Spirit acts, but in various ways, and these distinct graces, tending to form the one single faith and perfection of the Christian's life, are as the voice of three witnesses saying the same thing. The Spirit is named first, as being the principal witness, to whom are added the other two. It is well known, besides, that in the days of the apostles the grace of confirmation, indicated by this term, frequently preceded the reception of baptism, and manifested itself in miraculous effects, as in the case of the centurion Cornelius, and those baptized with him.

Let us now see how the sacraments indicated by the water and blood, are connected in the interpretation we have given, with verse 6.

When the apostle so strongly affirms that Christ was united to water and blood, he manifestly refers to what he himself had seen on Mount Calvary. The Gospel narrative of the passion is, therefore, the hinge on which this corresponding passage of the epistle is made to turn. Now it is this water and blood that St. John appeals to in verse 8. The purifying water of baptism is that which the Saviour shed, since it communicates its power to the natural water in which the catechumen is bathed. The blood that nourishes us in the Eucharist is literally the very blood that flowed upon the cross. If, therefore, the Church derives from Baptism and the Eucharist the grace of knowing and of loving, the strength to confess what she believes, to live and to die for what she loves, this marvellous grace, this strength, passing the strength of man, become so many invincible pledges that the material elements capable of effecting these divine results are really the flesh, the water, and the blood belonging to

God. Thus verse 8 is contained in germ in verse 6, and is but its development. Jesus has given to the Church the water, blood, and Spirit that issued from Him, the water and blood visibly from His side, the Spirit from His lips, when He said: "Receive the Holy Ghost"; and these three things together are not identical, but tend towards the same end, namely, to consummate the union of the faithful between themselves and with God, in the profession of one and the same faith, and the ardour of the same love: "Et hi tres *in* unum sunt", εἰς τὸ ἐν εἶσι. The Vulgate has *unum* without the preposition *in*; but the Greek reading is preferable. Although the three earthly witnesses resemble by agreement of their testimony the three witnesses in heaven, yet they are not one in substance; there is harmony, not rigorous unity, in their testimony, and St. John has not neglected this peculiarity.

This interpretation of verse 8 has nothing of forced about it, if verse 7 be retained in its place. The apostle has been guided by the taste for parallelism, so deeply rooted in the Jewish mind, that it forms the basis of their poetry and of their poetical prose. This love of symmetry explains how the *tres sunt* is in the masculine, whilst the three nouns that express in the Greek, water, blood, and Spirit, are neuter; it likewise explains how this idea of appealing to the testimony of water and blood, which in verse 6 is still obscure and undefined, becomes fully developed in verse 8.

Was I wrong then in laying down in the beginning of this paper, as my second assertion, that although verse 6 may, absolutely speaking, be united to verse 8, if verse 7 be removed from the text, this removal (of verse 7) would seriously injure the harmony and fulness of St. John's teaching, and the profundity of his meaning?

The third assertion is, that verse 7 is necessary to explain verses 9 and 10, which without it remain, as it were, suspended without support on which to rest.

The proof is short and easy. Verses 9, 10, speak three or four times of the testimony which God the Father has rendered to His Son, of the injury which would be done to the Son by refusing to believe that testimony, and of the impossibility of separating the Father from the Son in acts of adoration, faith, and love. The apostle does not speak in the tone of one who would prove his arguments, but of one who insists upon a proof already established, and who by appeals addressed to the conscience urges his hearers to adhere to the known truth. Now the laws of reasoning require that there should be found in the preceding verses some mention of this testimony of the Father. But where is it to be found save in verse 7? Dr. Huther has

not paid attention to this point, and has not observed that the words *ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ*, *filius ejus*, cannot possibly be understood of the Holy Spirit. And yet this is one of the most elementary truths.¹

THE CHURCH IN ABYSSINIA.

THE modern history of the Church in Abyssinia is closely linked with the apostolic career of the illustrious missionary Justin de Jacobis. He was a member of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, and in September, 1839, for the first time entered the Abyssinian territory, and took up his station in the city of Adoua. He was, as yet, ignorant of the language of the people, and knew but little of their tenets or prejudices. He therefore resolved to await in patient silence, and to prepare himself in the mean time, by a life of prayer and penance, to coöperate with the merciful designs of Providence in regard to that straying fold. The greater part of the day was spent by him in prayer in the Abyssinian church; the remainder was devoted to acquire the languages of the country. Three chief languages are spoken there: the *Gheez*, or sacred tongue; the *Tigré*; and the *Amaric*. Before four months had passed, M. de Jacobis had succeeded in mastering these difficult and apparently hopeless languages, and on the 26th of January, 1840, he assembled together a number of the priests and people of Adoua, and with an eloquence which touched every heart, addressed them in the *Amaric* tongue. His discourse has happily been preserved; it presented to his hearers, in all the vividness of the oriental style, the object of his journey to Abyssinia, and it disclosed at the same time the glowing ardour of his zeal for the conversion of souls to God. It is as follows:—

“The mouth speaks the language of the heart, of which

¹ Knopp, in a special dissertation on the meaning of these verses of St. John, from which Dr. Huther has drawn some of his arguments, has seen the force of this difficulty. To solve it he quotes the following passage from St. J. Chrysostom: *ὁρᾷς πνεύματος ἀξίαν τό γάρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργον φαίνεται, ποιοῦν Ἀνωτέρω μὲν οὖν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοὺς γεννᾷ* Hom. 25 in Joan. iii. 6. He concludes that the two expressions, “to be born of God”, and “to be born of the Spirit”, have almost the same force: *fere tantumdem valent*. A Socinian alone could imagine such an explanation. For although these two phrases may be identical when referred to the adoptive son-ship of Christians, one of them is absurd when referred to the true and natural generation of the Son of God. How can the second person of the Trinity be the Son of the third? See G. C. Knoppi *Scripta vari Argumenti*. Ed. Secunda. Halis Saxonum, 1823, t. i. p. 168.

the tongue is the key. When I open my mouth, I unlock the door of my heart. Come and see how the Holy Spirit of God has filled my soul with tender love for my Christian brothers in Ethiopia. I was in my own land; there I heard about you. I said to my father and to my mother, 'Give me your blessing, and I will go'. 'Whither?' they exclaimed, 'I want to go to my dear brothers in Abyssinia, and tell them how I love them. Yes, I leave you, O my father! I leave you, O my mother! I love you very much, but I love my brothers in Abyssinia more'. Then did they answer me: 'But we shall never see you again! The way is long—you must traverse the sea and the desert—there are tempests and serpents and lions in your path'. And I replied: 'No, we shall never meet again'; but they gave me their blessing, and said: 'Go, my son, where God calls you. Go and see your Abyssinian brothers, and tell them that we also love them, for we have sent them the son who is so dear to us'. And then I knelt and cried, and received their blessing. O my friends, what bitter tears we shed—they and I! My eyes are still dimmed with the thought. But the love I felt for you was so strong—stronger than the parting—stronger than death itself! I shut my eyes, that I might not see their tears—I shut my ears, that I might not hear their groans—and I went forth. In the midst of storms and tempests, one cry only was in my heart: 'Lord, let me see my brothers in Abyssinia before I die!' In the desert, amidst the wild beasts, one prayer only was on my lips: 'Lord, let me hear the Abyssinian voice; and then, if Thou wilt, I am ready to die.' God heard my petition—He preserved me from all evil. Now I am here, and have seen you, and I am content. Let Him grant me life, be it short or long; as many days as He gives me, I consecrate them to you: for it is for you alone that He has given them to me. My life is in your hands. If you wish for my blood, come, open my veins, and take it to the last drop; it is all yours! To die by your hands would be joy to me. But if you wish me to live, every hour of my life shall be spent for you. For you I will pray, I will study, I will toil. If you are sorrowful, I will come and comfort you in our dear Lord's name; if you are poor, I will help you for His sake; if you are naked, I will cover you with my own garments; if you are hungry, you shall have my last bit of bread; if you are sick, I will come and nurse you, and watch by your bedside; if you wish me to teach you, I will impart to you all I know. I have nothing left on earth—neither father, nor mother, nor home, nor country. There only remain to me God and my brothers in Abyssinia. Look into my heart and see! Only *He* is there, and you. For whom does my poor heart burn? For my Lord and His Abyssinian children. Therefore, I will do what you

will. If you wish me to stay with you, I will stay; to go away from you, I will go; to speak in your churches, I will speak; to keep silence, I will be mute. I am a priest, preacher, and confessor like you. Do you wish me to say Mass? I will say it;—to hear confessions? I will do so;—to preach? I will do that likewise. Do you wish me to leave it all alone? I will then do nothing. Now I have opened my heart to you, and placed the key in your hands. If you ask me who I am, I can only answer: 'I am a Christian from Rome, who loves the Abyssinians'. If any one inquires: 'Who is this stranger?' you must answer: 'He is a European Christian, who loves the Ethiopian Christians better than friends, or relations, or father, or mother; for he has left them all to come and tell them how he loves them'. I have now been for four months in your country. You have seen and known and conversed with me. Tell me if I have caused any scandal, or done you any harm? I do not think so. But if I have as yet done you no wrong, I have not until now been able to do you any good. Now, I wish to change my conduct in this respect. I want to be not only your friend, but your slave. I wish to spend myself, and be spent, for you and yours. O my Lord and Saviour, in whose presence I am, Thou knowest that I lie not!" . . .

This first discourse of M. de Jacobis produced a most striking effect. Already they had been surprised at seeing a stranger passing his time heedless of commerce or worldly cares, but wholly absorbed in prayer and conversing with God. They had felt there was something saint-like about him, and his first auditors soon became his messengers to gather together all the inhabitants to hear from his lips the difference between his doctrine and that of their own Coptic priests, for, such was the subject they asked him to treat of when he next addressed them. The following is a brief summary of this discourse, which he delivered in a public conference, and which is extracted from his own missionary journal:—

"After forty centuries of desire and sighs and tears on the part of the Patriarchs and Prophets, appeared the Messiah. What did He not do and suffer to bring men out of darkness into His marvellous light? He founded His Church in His precious Blood. To this Church He gave a head, to be His Vicar upon earth; and that head, as the Gospel tells you, was St. Peter. After preaching in Antioch, and Pontus, and Cappadocia, and Bithynia, St. Peter established his see in Rome. St. Mark accompanied him there, and was sent by him to Alexandria. He died in the year 63; and then a successor was appointed from Rome to fill the vacant see of Alexandria. On this point we are all agreed; and in this belief the first

Patriarchs of Alexandria lived and died for 450 years after the death of Christ. A holy friendship, a close and intimate relationship, existed, then, between the successors of St. Mark and the successors of the see of Peter. They were united by the most sacred ties. Listen to the voice of one of these Patriarchs: 'Whosoever does not acknowledge the Head of the Church, does not belong to the Church; whosoever is not united to the see of Peter, he is as a withered branch of a tree which men cast into fire, and it is burned'. And so they spoke and wrote and taught for centuries. But then there came a time of sorrow and division; like the sons of Jacob, one was hated by the rest, and sold and delivered up to strangers. Yet that one became powerful and mighty, while the rest were dying of hunger. And you, my brethren, how has it fared with you? Where are your Patriarchs? where are your saints? While Rome—ah! I would I could take you there with me. You would feel as your ancestress, the Queen of Sheba, did, on beholding the glory of Solomon. Why have you been separated from the parent tree? Recollect what happened when Jacob's children met again after their long and cruel separation. They fell on one another's neck with tears, and made peace—a lasting peace. Ah! if we would but do the same, and have one faith, one hope, one baptism! One faith! the faith of Jesus Christ, as preserved to us by His Vicar on earth. One love! the love of our Lord, as taught us in His Gospel. It is this faith and this love which I am come to preach, and that not for the sake of sordid gain or of gold. I seek for nothing; I fear nothing. Throw me into your vilest dungeon, deliver me up into the hands of your most cruel executioner, and then ask me, 'What I came to this country for?' I shall answer, 'For the love of you, my Abyssinian brothers, and to save your souls'. If my words please you, what prevents our being *one*? I am a Roman Catholic; be the same, as your forefathers were; and let us labour together for this people, plunged in superstition and vice, and in worse than pagan errors. If my plan displeases you, send for the executioner. I am ready and glad to die for the faith of my Lord and Master. The voice of my blood will mount to Heaven; but it will not call for vengeance on you, as did the blood of Abel, but for mercy, like the Blood of Jesus, for whose love I would joyfully give my life. And then our dear Lord will send you another preacher, not laden with sins and infirmities like myself, but holy and blameless and pure in His sight: and he will say to you the same words as mine, for truth is *one*. You will listen to his voice, and you will become one fold under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord".

The fame of this conference produced a wonderful sensation

in Adoua and throughout the surrounding territory. Many of the Abyssinian dabtaras and priests exclaimed: "This stranger is a holy man: he speaks the words of truth and reason: let him be our father". A number of conversions soon followed, and the first fruits of this distant mission were gathered into holy Church.

We must, however, leave our zealous missionary for a little while, till we learn some few particulars connected with the actual condition of the country he was sent to evangelize. Our guide shall be the distinguished traveller M. Antoine d'Abbadie, who, by parentage, is closely allied to Ireland, and who, having by twelve years' residence in Abyssinia acquired an intimate knowledge of its people, became, in a manner, the precursor of our holy Lazarist, and the means, under heaven, of securing his appointment to the apostolate of that distant country.

A barren and desolate territory stretches along the shores of the Red Sea, from Suez to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. This desert has but a few scattered towns, which owe their existence to foreign commercial enterprise, and it is only after a three days' journey into the interior that the traveller enters Abyssinia proper, and meets with inhabited districts and cultivated fields. Near Annesley Bay once stood the Grecian city Adoulis. The natives still point out its site, and tradition tells that it was swallowed up in an earthquake towards the close of the sixth century of our era. A few carved capitals and some sculptured marbles are the only remnants of its former grandeur. Not far distant is the large village of Massowah, with its hundred cabins and thousand inhabitants, so long the head quarters of the British army in the late expedition against King Theodore.

In Abyssinia proper, civilization and native wealth are concentrated around Lake Tana. On the shores of this inland sea stands Quarata, the largest city of oriental Africa, proud of its sanctuaries and its twelve thousand inhabitants. A little further on is Aringo, the cherished residence of the Abyssinian kings. Near it is Dabra Tabor, the modern capital of Abyssinia; and finally, on a spur of mountain which projects to the south, appears the once famous Gondar, which reckoned in former times a population of thirty thousand. King Theodore systematically burned this city to the ground, and of its seventeen churches, the noblest monuments of its Christian greatness, only two escaped his barbaric rage.

The territory of Abyssinia is divided among various independent tribes, all, however, yielding a nominal allegiance to the most powerful of its princes, who receives the proud title of emperor. During the first years of the missionary career of De Jacobis, Oubié, King of Tigré, bore this title of emperor; sub-

sequently it was assumed by Theodore, who ruled the fertile territory around Lake Tana. The Gallas or Oromos, the bravest of the Ethiopic tribes, proclaimed, some years ago, their independence, and their dominion now extends from the skirts of Magdala far away into central Africa. In 1840 Ras-Ali was king of Gondar; Tissu Gobazé now rules where that city stood, and his sway extends from the lower Tigray to Dambya. The population of all the united tribes of Abyssinia has been estimated at six millions of inhabitants.

In the Abyssinian court and church the *dabtaras* hold a principal place. Till a comparatively late period indeed this class was unknown. They are laymen and have no orders, and they were organized by the king as an intermediate class between the spiritual order and the temporal: they sing in the choirs, compose hymns for the festivals, and administer the temporalities of the church. They keep the clergy in a sort of slavery, and their power is so great that often, too, they are able to control the ruling authorities of the state.

The *abouna* or bishop also rules with despotic sway over the Abyssinian clergy. To prevent religious dissensions, only one bishop is permitted throughout the whole empire: moreover, he must be of the white race and a stranger to the country. On the death of an *abouna* a deputation proceeds to the Alexandrian patriarch, who resides in Cairo, to solicit the appointment of a successor, and a large sum or fine has to be paid for such an appointment. The late Abouna Salama was a Copt by birth, and had frequented in his youth the English Protestant school at Cairo. He subsequently entered a schismatical monastery in Egypt, where his incredulity and insubordination soon merited for him the reprobation of the whole community. It was at this time that a deputation arrived in Cairo soliciting an *abouna* for Abyssinia. Thirty-six thousand francs were exacted as the price of the new bishop, and the patriarch deemed himself fortunate in being able to rid his monastery of an unruly subject, by raising Salama to the exalted dignity of *abouna* in the despised and distant Abyssinia. Salama, in his new mission, gave loose reins to his vices and vague doctrines; careless of all that regarded religion, he devoted himself to commerce, and soon amassed considerable wealth by his traffic in slaves. It was he that consecrated Theodore king: but the monarch, weary of the political intrigues of the *abouna*, soon cast him into prison, where he died a short time before the late expedition to Abyssinia.

The English Protestant missionaries, about the year 1830, commenced their labours in Abyssinia. M. Gobat, a native of Switzerland, and now Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, was the first to penetrate into Gondar. He acquired some knowledge of

the language of the country, and published in Europe a very flattering account of the success of his missionary labours. A Dabtara, however, who had lived with him in Gondar, gave to M. d'Abbadie a different account of these missions: "Samuel Gobat", he said, "was a prepossessing person, who deceived one at first. I, who followed him, can affirm that he was an unbeliever, or that he pretended to be so. He proposed frightful doubts and objections in matters affecting the Christian religion, but under the form of hypotheses. He always began his strange assertions by an *if*. He did not dare to express his doubts boldly: had he done so, you know that in Gondar, at least, he would not have been allowed to continue, and he would have been denied a residence in our city". The other Protestant missionaries, however, preached more honestly and openly in Adoua and throughout the province of Tigray. Accused of political intrigues, they were repeatedly expelled from their missions, and in 1855 they at length renounced all hopes of being able to openly evangelize the country. In 1838, when they were expelled from Adoua, they had made *but one proselyte in all Ethiopia*. This was a servant who journeyed to Jerusalem with an Abyssinian schismatical priest. The clergyman, falling short of money, sold his servant as a slave, and he falling into M. Gobat's hands, was without much difficulty inspired with hatred of his former clergy and their doctrines. Another young Ethiopian, who had been sent by the missionaries to school in England, was met on his return by M. d'Abbadie: being asked whether he had adopted the Protestant creed, he replied, that 'the numerous dissensions he had witnessed among Protestants, had destroyed all religious belief in his mind'. It is thus that the only fruits of Protestant propagandism are those of doubt and incredulity. As the Protestant missionaries had proved to be a failure in the work of evangelization, it was thought that the same end might be more securely and successfully attained by secret means. M. Gobat offered to place at the disposal of King Theodore the service of some skilful mechanics, who, through philanthropic motives, were ready to settle in the country for the purpose of labouring to improve the physical condition of its people. The Abouna Salama, who knew too well the agencies of his former masters, energetically declared that this scheme was nothing less than "a pretext to plot against the faith of the Christians". Nevertheless, the wished-for permission was granted, and the "mechanics", with MM. Sterne and Plowden and a few others, were allowed to remain in Abyssinia. Very soon it was found that some of the "pious laymen", as they were styled, were by their immorality a scandal to the natives, and that, in violation of the solemn

assurance they had given, they were engaged in distributing Bibles among the natives, and in seeking to alienate the minds of the people from the tenets of the abouna. The indiscretion of these semi-religious, semi-political agents very soon led to the assassination of Mr. Plowden on the highway near Gondar, and to the arrest of six other English subjects, who were cast into chains at Magdala on the 8th of July, 1866. The letters of the prisoners disclosed to the English public that they had for their companions in Magdala fourteen others, mostly German mechanics, who were supported as *pious laymen* by some Protestant missionary society, and who were kept by King Theodore close to his own quarters. As regards the results of the labours of this numerous evangelical staff, which brought such fatigue on the British army and entailed such expense on the nation, we learn from a report of one of the English prisoners, that on one hand they professedly made mortars and other engines of war for the Abyssinian emperor, whilst on the other hand they covertly distilled brandy for the officers and soldiers, and drove a very profitable trade as slave-mongers.

It is time, however, to return to M. de Jacobis. On the 2nd of January, 1841, the prince of the country, named Oubié, having heard of his sanctity and disinterestedness and love for the Abyssinians, sent for him and received him with the greatest honours. A second summons to appear before the prince awaited him the following week. Oubié on this occasion accepted of a painting of the Blessed Virgin and other gifts, and caused the missionary to be seated on the royal carpet in the midst of the court. After the usual compliments, Oubié disclosed to M. de Jacobis the object of his summons: a new abouna had to be asked for from the Alexandrian patriarch, and it was the wish of the court that de Jacobis should accompany the embassy which was about to start for Egypt for that purpose. The devoted missionary on reflection feared lest his faith might be thus compromised, and hence replied: "Most mighty prince! I am a Catholic, and as such I will live and die. I might indeed accompany your deputation into Egypt, retaining in my heart the sacred treasure of faith; but what scandal would be given to my brethren! what sorrow to my father and master, the Pontiff of Rome! On such terms, I cannot, I will not go". Contrary to his expectation, these words did not rouse the anger of Oubié, and hence, after a short pause, he thus continued: "On the following conditions only will I accompany your deputies: I will go to Cairo, that I may strive to bring about a reunion between the Coptic Church and the See of Rome. I will go, if thereby I may gain permission to erect Catholic churches in your kingdom. I will go, if your

deputies will accompany me afterwards to Rome—if not to tender their submission to the successor of St. Peter, at least to implore his friendship and protection as the most powerful of sovereigns". And so saying, he unrolled a map to show the king and courtiers the wide domain of the pontiff's spiritual sway, extending from the rising to the setting sun.

The king without difficulty assented to these conditions, and from that moment we may date the triumph of the Catholic mission in Abyssinia. On the 21st of January, 1841, M. de Jacobis, with the royal embassy, started for Cairo. We will not dwell on the many incidents of their painful and tedious journey. Their equipment, indeed, corresponded but little with the honours which they every where received. They were badly clothed, their feet were bare, they sat on the ground, and their only bed was a bullock's skin. Their meat was eaten raw, and their only utensils were those which nature supplied. For two months they were detained in little Arab boats along the coast of the Red Sea, with nothing to distract their thoughts save the barren shores and the rugged mountains beyond, reflecting the brazen glare of an eastern sun. M. de Jacobis, however, whiled away the tedium of the voyage by imparting instruction from time to time to his fellow-travellers, and by reflecting on the marvels which God had wrought in that sea and in the surrounding desert in behalf of His chosen people.

On the 30th of April they at length reached Cairo: but here new trials awaited them. The plague at this time devastated that Egyptian capital, and all the European consulates were closed against the travellers. The object of their mission and the special privileges promised by the king to the Catholic missionary were soon bruited abroad, awakening the jealousy of the Patriarch, and exciting alarm among the schismatics of Cairo. The members of the embassy were soon threatened with excommunication: some of them fled in terror to Jerusalem: no fewer than seven others fell victims to the plague, and those that remained having received the assurance that the Abouna Salama would be appointed for the Abyssinian Church, started with M. De Jacobis for Alexandria.

The embassy, which consisted of fifty members on their arrival in Cairo, numbered but twenty-three when taking their departure for Alexandria. The heart of the zealous missionary was bent on conducting them to Rome. He felt from his intercourse with them, that their isolation, and ignorance, and prejudice were the only obstacles to their union with the Holy See, and he knew that the surest means for overcoming all these obstacles was to lead the representatives of the nation to the Shrines of the Apostles. But how were funds to be secured to meet the

expenses of such a journey? De Jacobis had hoped that through Mehemet-Ali or the French Consul, he might be able to secure some funds for the purpose; but in this he was disappointed. To a pious Italian lady, wife of M. Rosetti, resident in Alexandria, he was indebted for his chief support; and through the kind contributions of friends, together with some aid received from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, he was at length, in the month of July, enabled to set sail for Italy. A letter of De Jacobis from Malta, discloses the hopes he entertained for the happy results of this expedition: "This journey", he writes, "will change the whole idea of my poor Abyssinians, and will render the conversion of their country comparatively easy. Pray for this result. In a little while the end shall come, and we will be all united in Him to whom the redemption of these souls is so dear".

In Rome the Abyssinians were filled with admiration at the outward splendour of religion, and it seemed as if a new terrestrial paradise had been opened out before them. The Holy Father at their first audience conversed with them for a long time through the medium of Cardinal Mezzofanti and M. De Jacobis; he caused King Oubié's letter to be read and translated before him, and accepted with fatherly benevolence the presents of incense, birds, and Abyssinian products which they had brought to him. At a subsequent audience he gave to each of them medals and crosses of silver and gold, and likewise an autograph letter with several rich presents for their king. The kindness and affability of the Holy Father won the hearts of the Abyssinians, who were moved to tears, and went away contrasting the charity and love shown to them in Rome with the vexation and persecution they had experienced at Cairo.

On their way homeward, de Jacobis conducted his companions to Jerusalem to visit the holy sepulchre, and thence started once more for his loved mission of Abyssinia. Passing on their return through Cairo, they met with six other missionaries journeying on to India and China, to take the place of their martyred brethren. At Suez they witnessed the arrival of a little colony of nuns, the Sisters of Jesus, who were on their way with the Abbé Caffarel to open a school for the education of children at Agra. At Jambo they met a crowd of Hadjis returning from Mecca. "Lying on wretched mats", (it is thus M. de Jacobis describes these Mahomedan pilgrims), "sickly, covered with vermin, and half starved, no sooner did they see the green flag of our vessel, which promised them a speedy return to their own land, than they rushed upon the deck of the little schooner, regardless of the blows from the jannisaries who were endeavouring to keep them back. Only a portion of them

could be crammed into the ship, and the rest returned to shore disconsolate, to wait for the next vessel that might arrive. Seeing how their pilgrimage, the most solemn act of Mahomedan worship, is now held in discredit among the people, one could not but feel that the last hour of the Koran was at hand".

At Djedda the travellers received at length some intelligence from Abyssinia. During their absence Oubié, the King of Tigré, had been defeated by Ras-Ali, the King of Gondar. The Abouna Salama had arrived just as the war broke out, and was summoned to accompany the troops of Tigré. The abouna refused; but Oubié said to him: "The only difference between you and my other slaves is the enormous price I have paid for you in Cairo"; and Salama was forced to comply. The news of the defeat of Oubié filled our good missionary with alarm, lest all his cherished hopes might thus be blasted, and hence he resolved on hastening on without delay to Adoua. His Abyssinian companions had ere this been all received into the Church, and his caravan had been overtaken by new missionaries, destined to join him in cultivating this distant mission. He was thus enabled to leave at Massouah two priests named Bianchieri and Cyrillo: he kept with himself a lay brother named Abatini, and in the beginning of April he set out for Tigré, where he was destined to find Oubié again triumphant and peace restored. A narrative of this journey, written by de Jacobis himself to one of his order in Paris, gives a most interesting account of the country through which he passed, and of the manners of its people.:

"I am, at last, arrived (he writes), and hasten to give you an account of our long and perilous journey. There were two routes, which equally led to the centre of my mission—that of Dexa and that of Galaguora. I chose the latter, as being safer. The former passes across the desert of Samahar to the mountain of Taranta, as this St. Bernard of the Ethiopian Alps is called. I had taken this route on my first arrival in Abyssinia, and beheld that singular phenomenon by which this chain of mountains forms, as it were, an insuperable barrier between the two seasons—perpetual sunshine and incessant rain alternating every six months on the opposite sides of the range.

"Our route by Galaguora was equally striking. After leaving Laguaja, we found ourselves as in a labyrinth of mountains, the blackened cones and craters of which gave evidence of their volcanic origin. In one of the gorges, the good Frère Abatini was startled by the appearance of a fine lion; but he disappeared on our approach, and all I saw was a multitude of gazelles feeding in the valleys. After a four hours' march, we came on a stream in a little valley, where a whole army of monkeys were gathered together, both small and large. They screamed fright-

fully when we attempted to make a halt, and, retiring to the lower spurs of the hills around, effectually succeeded in making us feel that we were intruders on their domains. The next day brought us a succession of misfortunes. The Naib of Arkiko, on a pretended dispute as to the right of passage, made us pay heavily for our safe-conduct through his dominions; then four of our mules fell sick and died in a few hours of some unknown epidemic; the four that remained were already insufficient for the baggage, and were, moreover, needed for such of our party as were too ill and fatigued to continue their march. Altogether, any one coming unexpectedly on our sickly caravan would have imagined that we were the ambulance-wing of an invalided regiment.

“Towards night, our provisions were as completely exhausted as our strength. We were obliged to lie down fasting, with no beds but a mat laid on the stones, with the additional terror of the wild beasts, whom the carcasses of the dead mules had already attracted to our encampment. It was a terrible night; and, to add to our misfortunes, the black clouds began to gather ominously round us, and a heavy tropical rain drenched our clothes and put out our fire. As sleeping on these hard rocks and in this condition was impossible, I resolved to precede my companions, and resumed my march. How vividly, in the midst of a vast solitude like this, does one realise the greatness and presence of God! Full of thoughts of Him and the mercy which had followed me ever since (thirteen months before) I had begun this Abyssinian mission, I climbed up the hill, forgetful of fatigue, amidst the harmony of thousands of singing birds, and in an atmosphere embalmed with jessamine, sweet acacia, and other flowering shrubs. As I walked on, I heard a step behind me, and turning round, found a monk of Gondar who had been with me in Egypt and at Rome, Abba Gebra Tensaite by name, and who had been cured of a frightful fever in Jerusalem, where I had administered to him the last sacraments. He had come to implore me to allow him to remain with me, as he thought his cure had been miraculous. I told him that, in the present state of things in the Tigré country, I did not know if I should find even a roof to cover my head; but that if he would throw in his lot with mine, I would share with him my bed and my last bit of bread, and we would labour together for our Lord. He was overjoyed, and followed me gaily and gladly along the stony and precipitous track. All those who were with me at Rome seem to be filled with the same spirit—they only burn to become apostles in their own country; and fervent souls of this sort, under the direction of the mission, is the one object I have had most at heart. At the same time, the Abyssinian people are

proverbially insincere. The words of the Père Lobo were always recurring to my memory: 'The moment an Abyssinian shows you great affection, be assured he has determined to compass your ruin'. So, was I or was I not to believe in the protestations of my cherished friend? After mature reflection, I resolved to trust; and the result proved that I was right in following simply the dictates of my own heart.

"Towards evening we reached Waha-Negus, the most beautiful spot which heart of painter could conceive. I never saw such flowers and plants: mimosas of enormous height, and other tropical shrubs; while the birds' notes had a sweetness which I had never before heard in any country. Yet this was in the heart of an enormous desert, rarely, if ever, visited by human footstep. How miserable are man's conceptions in the face of God's works! We could hardly tear ourselves from this enchanting spot to toil up the steep mountain-ridge which separates the desert of Samahar from the pasture-lands on the opposite side, inhabited by a nomad and shepherd people called the Chohos. The bitter cold and the hardness of our couches roused us early on the 2nd of May, and we were thankful to come down into the valley of Rerié-Malé, which village we reached towards mid-day.

"In going from this desert of Samahar to Adoua, the mission-station to which we were bound, the course is straight from north to south. Here a young Scotchman met me, a Mr. Bell, bearing letters from the mission; and with him came an Abyssinian boy who had cried bitterly at my departure, and who was almost beside himself with joy at seeing me again. The news they brought was favourable. Oubié had expressed great joy at the prospect of my return, and his people were ready to receive me with open arms. The next day we crossed the mountain called Wamba, camping afterwards in a fertile valley by the side of a rushing stream, under the shade of a gigantic tree, called *mefleh*, and which is exactly like a citron or lime in flower and leaf. On the 4th of May, we arrived in Caikor, the first Christian province on the frontiers of Tigré. The mountain which separates the two countries towers above one's head in colossal proportions, and a rent in the rocks appears to afford a passage, cut in squared stones, seeming as if created by human workmanship or by the force of artillery—till the gigantic size of each stone, and the enormous masses of granite standing up on either side of the narrow passage, make one realise a Power above that of man. Caikor is a rich and magnificent plain, watered by rivers and entirely surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills. Elephants and lions abound, and we saw their traces every where. The hospitality of the people was remarkable, and made us feel instantly

that we had entered a Christian country, although these poor people retain little of Christianity but the name. Men, women, and children came out to meet the 'Abouna Jacob', as they called me, although the said 'Abouna' appeared among them with no other clothing than a poor and dirty cloth. They brought us a sheep, with abundance of milk and bread, and did every thing they could to express their joy at our arrival. I learnt, however, at this place, that the Copt 'Abouna' was intriguing right and left to prevent my return to Adoua, and had secretly sent emissaries to rob me on the way. Hardly had we left Galaguora, than we were attacked by a body of armed men, on horseback, who endeavoured to seize one of the baggage-mules. I resisted, and spoke with such authority of my friendship with Oubié, and the punishment which would follow on any wrong being inflicted either on me or on his deputies, that the villains were intimidated and left us in peace. Then came up the governor of Galaguora, who had been equally bribed by the Abouna, and who tried to extort money from me on various pretexts, in which he was foiled, and had to retreat without having been able to gratify his avarice. On the 6th May we arrived at Gouda-Falasié, where we found the whole population engaged in celebrating the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which is fixed for that day in the Ethiopian calendar, being the first Sunday after Easter. But this feast, like all others in this unhappy land, has more the character of a pagan saturnalia than any thing else. . . . We encountered continual annoyances from the emissaries of the Abouna, but God overruled all things for our safety; and on Thursday, the 13th of May, we arrived at Mariam-Senito, where we found a whole cavalcade of mules, with a crowd of our old Abyssinian friends, who had come to meet us and conduct us in great state to Adoua. And here we found every thing to encourage us for the future. Every where the Catholic spirit seems inclined to revive—the well-disposed among the people of all classes are disgusted with the liberty and license permitted by the different sects, and wish for a return to a purer faith. The kings themselves are favourable to us. Oubié, though still nominally a prisoner, has been kindly and generously assisted by his rival Ras-Aly, who gave him his liberty on parole, and will probably soon allow him to return to his own country.

"Balgada, the governor of these provinces, has begged us to come and preach to his people. The *Etchégué*, who is at the head of the monastic orders, has openly declared his veneration for our faith, and his desire to reform the religious houses. Oubié, who is far-sighted as a politician, thinks that our ministry may be of use in raising the tone of his people and securing the alliance of France; Ras protects us at Gondar; and the wisest of Ethi-

opian petty kings, Sahala Salassié, has given evidence of the most friendly feelings towards the mission. But, above all, in the hearts of the people themselves, the seed sown is beginning to bear fruit. The descriptions of Rome, spread on all sides by the deputies on their return, have dissipated a host of prejudices; and, finally, Catholicism—which, for many centuries, has been repudiated as the most criminal of heresies—now enjoys an equal liberty with the other religions established in the country. This alone is an immense point gained”.

(To be continued).

RUBRICAL QUESTIONS.

1. How many candles should be lighted on the altar at ordinary low Mass—at episcopal Mass—and at high Mass?
2. When the anniversary *de Requie* falls on a privileged day, may the Mass and *Absolutio tumuli* proceed as usual,—should the absolution be always given by the celebrant of the Mass?

1. At private Mass, by a single priest, only two candles should be lighted. This case has been repeatedly decided by the Sacred Congregation, and from the latest decisions we learn that not even for capitular dignitaries should an exception be made in this rule.

On festival days, however, and other solemn occasions, it is permitted to light at least four candles during low Mass. Thus the Minor Ritual of Benedict the Thirteenth allows more than the prescribed number on the feast of the Purification of the B. V. M., and on Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and Holy Saturday. Indeed, the use of more than two candles at Mass is prohibited only where it would imply some superior dignity in him who offers the Holy Sacrifice; but when it is intended to remind the faithful of the special recurring feast or solemnity, it is certainly not prohibited, and is quite conformable to the decree of the Sacred Congregation of 12th September, 1857, and to the usage of the continental churches.

We can scarcely suppose that our correspondent is serious when he asks whether the rubric, “*Et candelabra saltem duo*

cum candelis accensis hinc et inde", may be interpreted to mean *two at each side*; this certainly would be a very unnatural interpretation of the rubric. The decisions, however, of the Congregation of Rites set the matter very clearly at rest. Thus, when interrogated whether for vicars and prothonotaries, four candles might be used on the altar at low Mass, it replied on 9th August, 1627, *non convenire*. More than once this decree was repeated in regard to the capitular dignitaries, and on 27th September, 1659, the general decree was issued: "In missis privatis, praelati episcopis inferiores duas tantum candelas super altare adhibeant".

When low Mass is celebrated by bishops, four candles may be used. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* expressly enjoins that four candles *should* be thus lighted on the solemn festivals: "*in festis solemnibus decet apponi quatuor candelabra cum candelis accensis*". Catalani, illustrating this rubric, teaches that six candles may be lighted on such festivals at Episcopal Mass; and he adds, that though four candles are not commanded on ferial days, still they may be used to show special honour for the episcopal dignity, which rule holds good not only for bishops in their respective dioceses, but wheresoever they may offer up the Holy Sacrifice.

When a bishop celebrates High Mass in his own diocese, seven candles are lighted on the altar, emblematic of the seven 'angels of the churches', of whom the apostle speaks in the Apocalypse, and of the seven heavenly graces with which the bishop is invested to faithfully discharge his sacred duties.

At all other ordinary High Masses only six candles should be lighted on the altar; and we may remark, that a recent decree expressly condemns the practice of substituting at either side of the crucifix a candelabrum with three branches instead of the full number of six candelabra with which the altar should be adorned.

In High Masses *de Requie*, a decree of the Sacred Congregation on 12th August, 1854, permits the use of only four candles.

2. When the anniversary Office for the Dead falls on a day on which, as a rule, Mass *de Requie* cannot be said,—for instance, within the octave of the Epiphany,—then the Office for the Dead and the *absolutio* at the catafalque may be given in black vestments, but the Mass of the day must take the place of the *Requiem* Mass.

There are two points, however, to be particularly remarked in connection with this rule: 1st, The *absolutio* should in this case immediately follow the Office for the Dead, and precede the solemn Mass of the day; it is even prescribed that the cata-

falque itself in such a case should be removed before the commencement of Mass. 2nd, The *absolutio* should be given by the priest who offers up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

The first of these rules rests on many decrees of the Congregation of Rites. Thus, the question having been proposed, whether in such anniversary offices the Mass of the day might be said according to the prescribed ritual, retaining however the catafalque before the Altar, with the lighted candles, etc., the Sacred Congregation replied on the 10th January, 1852, that the Mass of the day might indeed be celebrated, but that the catafalque should be removed: "*Posse dummodo removeatur tumulus tempore Missae, ac finita circa illum absolutione*". Again, the question was discussed whether the *absolutio tumuli* might be given after the Mass of the day; and on 9th of June, 1853, a decree was published declaring that the *absolutio* after Mass was only allowed in the case of Requiem Mass, and could not be tolerated after the celebration of the Mass of the day: "*Absolutio pro defunctis, finita Missa, fieri potest tantummodo quando dicta fuit Missa de Requie*".

As regards the second rule given above, an exception is to be made only in the case of bishops. On the 12th of August, 1854, the question was proposed: "*Utrum post Missam in die obitus, alius Sacerdos a celebrante diversus accedere possit ad absolutionem peragendam?*" and the Sacred Congregation replied "*Negative, et ex decretis hoc jure gaudere tantum Episcopos*". The rubric of the Missal indeed implies that the celebrant of the Mass is the person who should perform the subsequent ceremony: "Mass being ended, if the *absolutio* is to be performed, the *celebrant* laying aside the chasuble and maniple, assumes the cope", etc. (*Rubric*, part ii. titul, 13, n. 4). There is also a decree of the Sacred Congregation on the 21st July, 1855, in the same sense, and it expressly declares, "*Congruum esse ut absolutio ad ferebrum fiat ab ipso sacerdote qui Missam celebravit, non ab alio diverso*".

Rubricists, indeed, discuss whether the privilege accorded to bishops of performing the *absolutio*, although they do not celebrate the Mass, holds only for bishops in their own sees, or whether it may be granted to all bishops who assist at such ceremonies. The Sacred Congregation however has not thought well to give any decision on that point, and it has merely issued the general Decree, that to Bishops and Bishops alone, belongs the privilege of performing the *Absolutio tumuli* in the exceptional case to which we have referred.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

Letter of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda on the use of the Latin Language in correspondence with the Holy See.

“ Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine,

“ Fuit in more positum saeculis anteactis, ut qui cum Apostolica Sede communicare deberent ad negotia ecclesiastica (exceptis illis quae ad ritus orientales pertinebant) pertractanda, vel ad gratias postulandas, ii latina lingua aut saltem italica uterentur. Nec sane eiusmodi mos gravibus destituebatur rationum momentis, cum inter coetera exigi nullatenus posset ut in tanta linguarum varietate administri aut officiales Sanctae Sedis, quae ab omnibus terrarum orbis nationibus literas aut petitiones excipit, omnium linguas legerent atque intelligerent. At vero nonnullis ab hinc annis usus invaluit ut ad Sacram hanc Congregationem Fidei Propagandae, passim scripta non solum gallica lingua (quod difficultatem vix ullam facessit) sed anglica, germanica, hollandica aliisque exarata linguis transmittantur; ex quo non raro contingit ut negotiorum sacrorum expeditio non parum dilationis patiatur. Quae cum ita sint, sane non possum quin Ill. Dominationi tuae commendem etiam atque etiam, ut nedum laicis, sed praesertim ecclesiasticis viris tibi subiectis inculcare ne praetermittas, ut quoties ad sacrum hoc Consilium literas, petitiones aut etiam acta ad causas ecclesiasticas pertinentia mittere voluerint, latinum vel italicum idioma quantum fieri poterit, adhibendum curent. Et quoniam latinam linguam commemoravi, abs re non erit animadvertere ex illius linguae neglectu gravissima per orbem Ecclesiis detrimenta obvenire. Neque enim tantum exinde difficilior evadit cum Ecclesia Romana atque aliis cum Ecclesiis variarum regionum communicatio, non solum amittitur maximum illud quo praeteritis temporibus catholici itinerantes gaudebant emolumentum, inveniendi scilicet, ubique locorum, Christi fideles quasi fratres communi patriae romanae lingua loquentes, verum etiam extranei christiano populo sensim sine sensu evadent ac fere impervii omnes tum sacrae tum profanae scientiae fontes, qui graecam praesertim linguam ignorantibus nonnisi per latinum idioma patere possunt. Quamobrem erit sollicitudinis tuae operam impendere, ut studium latinae linguae in tua Dioecesi promoveatur, cuius rei suscipiendae, op-

portunam Tibi occasionem praeberere poterit, quod praesentibus literis Ill. Dominationi tuae censui commendandum.

“Precor Deum ut Te diu sospitem servet incolummeque.

“Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. C. de Prop. Fide die 29 Septembris, 1868.

“Ill ac Revmae. Dominationis Tuae.

“Ad Officia paratissimus

“AL. C. BARNABO, Pr.

“JOANNES SIMEONI, Secretarius”

II.

Decree regarding the Blessed Scapulars, 18th August, 1868.

DECRETUM.

“Ex quo parva scapularia, quae fideles gestare solent, in sua origine et institutione aliud non sint quam scapularia variis Ordinibus Religiosis propria pro maiori Fidelium commoditate ad parvam formam redacta, enata sunt dubia a Revmo. P. Procuratore generali Congregationis SSmi. Redemptoris S. Congregationi Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum proposita solvenda, quae tam ad antiqua, quam ad recentiora Scapularia referuntur, scilicet:

I. “Utrum ad scapularia conficienda necessario et exclusive adhibenda sit *materia ex lana* vel utrum sumi etiam possit xylinum (vulgo *cotone*) aliave similis materia. Et quatenus affirmative ad primam partem, et negative ad secundam.

II. “Utrum vox *Pannus, Panniculus*, ab auctoribus communiter usurpata, sumi debeat sensu stricto, id est de sola lanea textura proprie dicta (vulgo *tessuto*), vel utrum etiam intelligi possit de lanea textura reticulata (vulgo *lavoro di maglie, tricotage*) et de quocumque laneo opere acu picto (*ricamo, broderie*) adhibito tamen semper colore praescripto.

III. “Utrum validum sit scapulare ex panno laneo coloris praescripti, quod intexta vel acu picta habet *ornamenta* pariter ex lana, sed diversi coloris.

IV. “Utrum validum sit scapulare ex panno laneo coloris praescripti, quod intexta vel acu picta habet *ornamenta ex materia non lanea*, v. g. ex serico, argento, aureo etc.

V. “Hucusque generalis viguit usus conficiendi scapularia formae oblongae vel saltem quadratae: nunc autem quibusdam in regionibus introducitur usus conficiendi scapularia formae rotundae vel ovalis, imo et multangulae: quaeritur itaque utrum

alia forma praeter oblongam vel quadratam obstet validitati scapularis.

VI. "Per multis in regionibus laudabilis viget usus a S. Sede approbatus gestandi per modum unius plura simul inter se diversa scapularia: quo in casu variorum scapularium panniculi alii aliis superpositi, duobus tantum funiculis assuuntur, ita tamen ut singularium scapularium panniculi dependeant tam a pectore, quam ab humeris. Non raro autem haec scapularia unita sic conficiuntur, ut loco plurium panniculorum diversi coloris unicus tantum in utraque funiculorum extremitate panniculus habeatur, in quo conspicitur *ornamentum intextum vel acu pictum* ex diversis coloribus ad significanda plura diversa scapularia; quaeritur, utrum haec scapularia sint valida.

"Itaque Emi patres in Congregatione generali habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 20 Iulii 1868 audito prius Consultoris Voto, rebusque mature perpensis, rescribendum esse duxerunt:

Ad. I. *Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*

Ad. II. *Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*

Ad. III. *Affirmative, dummodo ornamenta talia sint, ut color praescriptus praevaleat.*

Ad. IV. *Ut in praecedenti.*

Ad. V. *Nihil esse innovandum.*

Ad. VI. *Negative.*

"Et facta de praemissis relatione SSmo. Domine Pio Papae IX. a me infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto in audientia habita die 18 Augusti 1868 Sanctitas sua Resolutionem Sacrae Congregationis ratam habuit".

A. CARD. BIZZARRI Praefectus.

A. Colombo Secretarius.

III.

The following *Resolutions*, adopted at a public meeting in Armagh in 1824, have been forwarded to us by a kind friend. They are valuable as an historical document; but they are of especial importance at the present day as they sufficiently disprove the statement so vauntingly set forth by the champions of Protestantism, viz., that the Catholics of Ireland before the emancipation never dreamt of referring the evils of this country to the baneful source of Protestant ascendancy:—

Resolutions adopted in Armagh on the 3rd of October, 1824.

At a Meeting of the Catholics of the city and parish of Armagh, convened pursuant to requisition, and held in the Catholic School House of Armagh, the 3rd of October, 1824, the Rev. Dr. Campbell in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted ;—

1st,—That we behold with sincere and painful sorrow the humiliating and depressed condition of the Catholic people of Ireland, long subject to penal and restrictive statutes, and deprived of that participation in the constitution which is their inherent birth-right, to which every subject of these realms is justly entitled, and which was wrested from their ancestors in open violation of the faith of the most solemn treaties.

2nd,—That from this unjust and unequal state of things has sprung an insolent and domineering faction, which made its first appearance in this county, and inflicted on every portion of the Catholic inhabitants thereof the most ruthless persecution, and continues to this day so to poison the source of justice, that it is next to impossible for a Catholic to procure a fair and impartial administration of law, where an Orangeman is the accuser or the accused.

3rd,—That we are of opinion the attempts made to proselytize the Catholic children of Ireland, by introducing into parish schools, to which Catholic children are seduced to attend, books not in accordance with the Catholic doctrine, and the using of the Sacred Scriptures without note or comment as a school book, tend greatly to disturb the harmony of society, and render nugatory the donations of government for the education of the poor ; it being impossible that the Catholic pastor can permit his flock to attend such schools, where they are in danger of having their faith perverted, and in its stead principles of a vague and indeterminate character implanted in the youthful breast, leaving the soul no guide but its own wild imagination to conduct it to eternity.

4th,—That it is particularly incumbent upon us to embrace the course pointed out by the Catholic Association for ameliorating the condition of the Catholics of Ireland, and to lend our aid to the establishing of a general fund, to which the disconsolate Catholic may look as a source from which he may expect protection and relief ; and that we consider the plan suggested by the Catholic Association for the raising of this general fund by one penny per month subscription throughout Ireland, denominated, "The Monthly Catholic Rent" as best calculated to insure success, which we hereby adopt and recommend to the adoption of the several parishes throughout this County.

5th,—That a treasurer and secretary are hereby appointed for the collection of the Catholic Rent in this parish ; and that these, together with five other gentlemen, do constitute a committee for the management thereof, and to make such arrangements respecting the same as to them may appear most advisable.

6th,—That we earnestly implore our fellow Catholics of the

humbler ranks of life not to suffer themselves to be deluded by crafty and designing men to join in any secret or unlawful combination or society whatever, which produces the worst effects, and seldom fails to involve the unhappy dupes and their families in distress and utter ruin.

7th,—That that distinguished and highly respectable body, the Catholic Association of Ireland, is justly entitled to our esteem, confidence, and gratitude: to its members we hereby return our most cordial thanks, and in an especial manner to Daniel O'Connell, Esq., for his unceasing exertions in favour of his suffering fellow-countrymen and to George Ensor, Esq., whom we are proud to recognize as an inhabitant of our county.

HENRY CAMPBELL, P.P., Chairman.

CHARLES CAVANAGH, Junr., Secretary.

Doctor Campbell having left the chair and Mr. C. Cavanagh, sen., having been called thereto, it was resolved,—That the marked thanks of this meeting are hereby given to the Rev. Doctor Campbell for his proper conduct in the Chair.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1869.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE YEAR 1630.

THE following description of the diocese of Dublin, for an accurate copy of which we are indebted to an esteemed friend, was presented to the privy council of Ireland on the 1st of June, 1630. It was drawn up by Dr. Lancelot Bulkeley, Protestant archbishop of the see, and the original document, signed with his own hand, is preserved in the Library of T. C. D. (MSS. F. 3. 17).

It begins abruptly with the parish of St. Michael's, and then sketches in detail the condition of each parish of the diocese. Most of the churches are described as in a state of ruin, but indeed in many cases they were in sufficient repair for the wants of the congregation, since all the parishioners, as we are often told, still adhered to the ancient faith. Dr. Bulkeley cannot be supposed to write with any prejudice in favour of the Catholics. It was he who, in 1629, sallied forth from Dublin Castle at the head of a military troop, to seize on the Carmelite priests in their secluded chapel in Cooke Street. It fared badly with him, however, in that attempt; for, though he found a priest actually engaged in saying Mass, yet so determined were the devout people of Cooke Street, and so vigorous was their resistance to his attack, that, as Ware assures us, he was compelled "to take to his heels and cry out for help, and with difficulty saved himself by taking shelter in an adjoining house". It was in consequence of the supposed insult thus offered to the Protestant archbishop that the proclamation, to which the following report so often refers, was issued by royal authority, commanding the demolition of the Cooke Street house, and confiscating to the

state all the houses employed for Catholic purposes throughout the kingdom.

The reader will learn from the present document that, notwithstanding the royal proclamation, many such houses remained unsuppressed, and the holy sacrifice continued to be offered up in them. Happily, too, the names of the priests are recorded, and with them are frequently registered the names of the devoted families in each district who afforded a shelter and safe retreat to the clergy in these times of persecution. Many of the incidental remarks will also be found to be of the deepest interest. Thus we are told of the *great house* of the Jesuits, in St. Nicholas's parish, seized on for his Majesty—of the priest's chamber in St. Catherine's—of the *great void house covered with straw* in Garristown, and so on of other places where the holy sacrifice was offered up.

It would be interesting to contrast the state of the Protestant Church as portrayed in this official document, with its condition in earlier or in subsequent times. This, however, would require a too lengthened article. We shall be content for the present with one example. The town of Swords was a manor of the Protestant archbishop: special privileges were granted to it by Elizabeth and James the First, and everything had been done to promote its Protestant interests. Sir Henry Sydney himself tells us that, when lord deputy, he “caused to be planted there about forty families of the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion's sake: and truly it would have done any man good to see how dilligently they worked, and how they reedified the quiet spoiled castle of the town, and repaired almost all the same, and how godly and cleanly they, their wives, and children lived” (*Carew State Papers*, March 1st, 1583.) Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, we learn from the archiepiscopal report that in 1630 the gentlemen of the parish were Catholics; Mass was said in despite of the law in the house of Mr. Taylor; the priest, Father Doyle, even kept a school in the town; and the Protestant congregation was reduced to sixty individuals. This instance would alone suffice to prove the vitality of the Catholic faith in this country, and yet it is but one of the many illustrations which might be given from this official document of Dr. Bulkeley.

We now present in full to our readers this important description of the diocese of Dublin in the year 1630:

“*St. Michael's.* That parish church and chauncel are in very good repair and furnished with ornaments befitting. The most part of the parishioners are recusants, yet the church most commonly is full of Protestants, who resort thither every Sunday to hear divine service and sermon. There is one Mass-house in

that parish, which stands in the back of Mr. George Taylor's house: it is partly in St. Michael's parish and partly in St. Nicholas's parish Within the Walls: the recusants of that parish and of the parishes adjoining, resort thither commonly. The priest that says Mass there, and is commonly called the priest of that parish, is named Patrick Brangan. The free school of the city is in that parish, which is discharged by one Mr. Shortall, Master of Arts. The yearly value of the living is £60 sterling, besides casualties. Mr. Edmund Donnelan, Bachelor of Divinity, is preacher there.

“*St. John's.* That church is likewise in good repair and decency. The parishioners of that parish that are recusants frequent the above named Mass-house, and have the same man for their priest. The most of the parishioners are Protestants, and duly frequent their parish church, yet there are great store of papists there. There is one Mr. Bradwell, since the death of Mr. Hill, that dischargeth the cure diligently. The value of this benefice yearly by Act of State is £60.

“*St. Michan's.* The church is in good repair and decency. The most part of the parishioners are recusants, who go to one Browne, a priest, to hear Mass, who says Mass commonly in the houses of one Patrick White and the widow Geydon, or Geaton. Mr. John Parker is prebend there, and dischargeth the cure, for which he hath £50 per annum, and besides casualties.

“*St. Audoen's.* The church is out of repair. There are but sixteen Protestant houses in the parish, all the rest, being above three parts, are recusants. The parish is cessed by Act of State in an hundred marks yearly, but the incumbent cannot make nigh so much of it. Doctor Robert Usher is incumbent there, and serves the cure. There is a guild in that parish called St. Anne's guild, that hath swallowed up all the church means which should be for the minister and reparation of the church.

“*St. Nicholas Without the Walls.* The church is in good repair and decency: the cure now served by one Mr. Edward Parry, Master of Arts. There is a great congregation of Protestants that usually come to church. The most of the parishioners are recusants, and some of them repair to Patrick Brangan aforesaid to hear Mass, and other some to one William Donogh, a Mass-priest, who liveth in St. Thomas Street. The yearly value of the living is £40 besides casualties.

“*St. Walborough's.* The church is in good repair and decency. Mr. Hoyle, Bachelor of Divinity, is curate there. There are two hundred and thirty nine householders in that parish, all Protestants, except twenty-eight papist householders. The value of that is £60 per annum.

“ St. Nicholas Within the Walls. The church and chauncel are in good repair and decency. The most of the parishioners are papists. There are many Protestants who frequent that church in the time of divine service and sermon. There is only in that parish the great house built by the Jesuits, which is seized upon for his Majesty. Mr. John Hyde, Master of Arts, is curate there, his means there being worth £30 besides casualties.

“ St. Catherine’s and St. James’. The church of St. Catherine’s and the chauncel is in good repair and decency. There is a place in that parish called the Priest’s Chamber, lately built by one that the papists call Sir William Donnogh, who says Mass there. This house or chamber is situated over one Charles’s or Carroll’s house, a victualler. There is a school kept in that parish by one James Dunne, a papist, in the house of one John Crosby, a stabler. The church of St. James is near covered, but not glazed; the chauncel down; the tythes improprie belonging to the Swords. Mr. Thomas Smith, Bachelor of Divinity, discharges the cure and is vicar, his means there being worth £50 sterling per annum, besides casualties. The number of communicants in St. Catherine’s parish is about six hundred.

“ St. Kevin’s and St. Bride’s. The great tithes of St. Kevin’s belong unto the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick’s, Dublin. Mr. Edward Parry, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar there; and by reason of the smallness of the means thereof, it is united to St. Bride’s and some other parishes adjoining, which church of St. Bride’s is in good repair and decency, the whole means being between £30 and £40 per annum. There is a Mass-priest, named John Begg, in that parish, who hath out of every recusant’s house in that parish, being fifty, eight shillings per annum. The parish church and chauncel of St. Kevin’s is altogether ruinous. Edward Myles of Dublin, gentleman, deceased, left £5 sterling towards the building of that church; and his son, William Myles, left £5 sterling more, as can be proved by good testimony; which sum is denied by Mr. Lynch, who enjoyeth their estate; which ten pounds, with the benevolence of others who promised to bestow if the said ten pounds were received, would build up the church.

Donabrooke. The church and chauncel are in good repair and decency. There is a Mass-priest, named John Cawhell, who says Mass in that parish and in the near adjoining parishes, and especially in the towns of Merion, Dundrum, and Ballawly. The tithes of this parish and of the parish of Tany and Rathfarnham belong unto the Archdeacon of Dublin, being worth £100 per annum. Mr. Prescott, Master of Arts and preacher, discharges the cures, for which he receiveth, as he says, £12. In the parish of Donabrooke there are about fortie that go to church.

“ Swords. The church, by the neglect of the gentlemen of that

parish who are recusants, is lately fallen flat to the ground, and no part standing only some part of the bare walls. There is one Doyle, a Mass-priest who keeps school in the town of Swoordes, to whom many gentlemen's sons do resort. This priest commonly says Mass in the house of Michael Taylor of Swoordes, gentleman, whereunto there is great concourse of people on Sundays and holydays. There useth to come to church there about threescore to hear Divine service and sermon. Mr. Christopher Huetsonn is vicar there, whose means there are worth £40 per annum.

“Cloghran Swoordes. The church and chauncel is in reasonable repair, only it wants necessary ornaments within. Mass is said in that parish. The Mass-priest's name is Marcus Barnewall. Nicholas Culme, clerk, is parson, and serves the cure, his means being worth £22 per annum. All the parishioners, being about forty-eight persons besides children, are recusants, and none come to church save Mr. Maurice Smyth and his family when they reside there.

“Donabate. The church and chauncel are in reasonable good repair, but want ornaments within. Mr. John Mooney, clerk, is vicar, whose wife is, as he himself hath certified under his hand, as rank and violent a recusant as any lives this day in Christendom. He hath not certified the value of that living, nor the priest's name. The parsonage is impropriate.

“Kilsalchan. The church is out of all repair and ornaments. There are but two in that parish that come to church. There is Mass said in the house of Mr. Philip Hoare of Kilsalchan, who keeps away the glebe land from the vicar; but the priest's name is not certified. The great tithes are impropriate, and held by Mrs. Bise of Dublin and Mr. Conran of Maynstown. Mr. Robert Worrall, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar there. His means are about £20 per annum.

“Kilossery. The roof of this church wants a little repair, and all other necessities save books. Mr. Fagan, of Feltrim, is farmer of the rectory, held from the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, for which Mr. Fagan pays per annum £4 10s., being worth £80 per annum. One Richard Kelly, preacher, is curate there, and hath £5 15s. 4d. out of the small tithes, besides forty shillings more allowed by Mr. Fagan. All the parishioners, except Mr. Boulton, his Majesty's solicitor, and his family, are recusants.

“Santry. The church and chauncel are uncovered, and want all necessary ornaments. The great tithes are impropriate, belonging to the Swords. There is a vicarage endowed, worth £8 per annum. One Randal Dymock is curate there. All the parishioners, except very few, are recusants. There is one James Drake, a Mass-priest, resident at Tartaine, and commonly saith

Mass there. There is likewise his brother, Patrick Drake, a Popish schoolmaster, to whom the children thereabouts go to school.

“*Howthe*. The church is in decay, and wants slates and glazing: the chauncel well. There come thither, to hear Divine service, thirty persons or thereabouts. Mass is commonly said by one Shergall, a priest, in the house of Mr. Richard St. Lawrence, of Corston, in the parish of Howth. Mr. Christopher Huetson is prebend there, whose means there are worth fourscore pounds sterling per annum. Mr. Huetson certifies that the Lord of Howth, the heirs of Bealing of Bealingston, and others, do detain from the incumbent twenty acres of land, twelve houses, and fifty-five shillings chief rent due to him, and heretofore received by his predecessors.

“*Baldoyle*. The church is altogether ruinous; there is nothing but the bare walls. It is an impropriation. Mr. Thomas Fitzsymons, of the Grainge, is farmer to it. The tithes thereof are worth £40 per annum. One Richard Kelly, clerk, is curate, and hath but thirty-four shillings per annum for his pains. There is Mass commonly said upon Sundays and holidays in the said Mr. Fitzsymons’ house, where the parishioners commonly resort. There are no Protestants in the parish.

“*Portmarnock*. The church and chauncel very ruinous, the tithes impropriate, thought to be worth £50 per annum, held by the Lady Newcomen, Mr. Nicholas Barnewall, of Turvy, and Walter Plunkett, of the Grainge. The priest’s name is as yet unknown, but Mass is said in the said Walter Plunkett’s house. All the parishioners are recusants. Richard Kelly, clerk, is curate, who hath £6 per annum for serving the cure.

“*Balgiffin and St. Dowlock’s* are united. The churches and chauncels are ruinous and want all ornaments. The tithes are impropriate, held by Mr. Fagan, of Feltrim, and Mr. Usher, of Cromlyn. The value of the tithes is unknown to the incumbent. Richard Kelly, aforesaid, dischargeth the cure, and hath no certain allowance, only for these four years past, the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor allowed him £25, part of which he is paid, the rest (is) promised; but for the time to come he knoweth not what to have. All the parishioners are recusants, and resort to Fitzsymons’ Grainge and Plunkett’s Grainge, and some to Howth.

“*Mallahyde*. The church and chauncel ruinous. The tithes impropriate, worth £120 per annum. The said Richard Kelly is curate, and hath, for serving there, but £4 sterling. All the parishioners are recusants and go to Mass now at Mr. Talbott of Mallahyde’s house more usually than heretofore. The said Mr. Talbott of Mallahyde is farmer to the tithes.

“*Killiegh*. This parish church is altogether gone to ruin. The tithes belong to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, worth £22 per annum. They are leased to Mr. Barnewall of Dunbroe, for which he payeth £4 10s. per annum to the said dean and chapter. All the parishioners are recusants, and usually go to hear Mass to Swords. The foresaid Richard Kelly is curate there.

“*Garristowne and Palmerstowne*. The church of Garestowne (sic) is ruinous. There is in the town of Garestowne a great void house, of nine couples long, covered with straw, whereunto the parishioners resort to hear Mass. John Rooney, clerk, is vicar. Palmerstowne is annexed unto Garristowne. It is an impropriation, formed by the Lady Dungan, now married to William Archbold, Esq. The great tithes are worth £28 per annum. The vicar certifies that he had not above 20s. a-year out of it for these ten years past. The chauncel is down. Almost all the parishioners are recusants.

“*Portrauen* is an impropriation, farmed to Sir William Usher, Knight, and Mr. Bartholomew Ball, worth £20 per annum. The church and chauncel are down. The parishioners are recusants. There are ten acres of land belonging to this church, but detained by Mr. John Finglas, gentleman. Gabriel Ethe-ridge, clerk, is curate there.

“*Westpelston* is an impropriation. John Weston of Dublin is farmer. The tithes are usually set for a hundred barrels of corn per annum. William Tedder is curate, and hath but thirty or forty shillings a-year for serving the cure. The church and chauncel are down. The parishioners are all recusants saving one man called Thomas Millinton. They resort to Mass to the house of the Lady Dowager of Howth. The Mass-priest's name is Roger Begg.

“*Balmadon* is an impropriation, farmed to Mr. Patrick Barnewall of Shallon. The great tithes are worth £60 per annum. The church is in ruin, the chauncel down, and wants all ornaments befitting. There is a vicarage endowed upon the parsonage, worth seven pounds per annum, and William Tedder is vicar there.

“*Clonmethan*. The church and chauncel are up, but not decent within. The tithes belong to Richard Powell, Master of Arts and preacher, as one of the prebends of St. Patrick's, worth £40 per annum. There are not above ten or twelve in that parish that come to church to hear divine service. William Tedder aforesaid serves the cure.

“*Holliwood, Grallagh, and Nall*. The churches and chauncels are ruinous. The tithes are impropriate, worth per annum, and held by the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Moore.

There are not above eight persons that frequent divine service in that parish. Mr. John Hyde, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar of Hollywood and curate of the rest, being worth £16 per annum. Mass is commonly said in the house of Mr. Cadle (Cahill) and Mr. Cruce.

“*Luske.* The great tithes of this parish being worth near £200 per annum, belong unto the chaunter of St. Patrick’s and the treasurer of the same. The church for the most part is decayed and ruinous and wants all necessary ornaments. The chauncel is in remarkable good repair and will be made better this summer. There are two public Mass-houses, the one in the town of Luske, belonging to a farmer called Dermott, of Raheny, the other in the town of Rushe, upon that part of it which is called the land of the king, which is held by one George Delahyde. The priest’s name is Patrick Duffe. All the parishioners, being many, are recusants and none come to church except the Lord Chief Baron and his family and a few more. Mr. Edmond Donnellan, Bachelor of Divinity, is vicar there.

“*Balrothery.* The church and chauncel are out of all repair and want of ornaments. It is an impropriation farmed by Mr. William Peirse of Trestenagh. All the parishioners are recusants except fourteen who come to church. Robert Worrell, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar, whose means there are worth but £20 per annum. It is certified that Mass is said in the gentlemen’s houses of that parish, especially in Brymore and Stephenton.

“*Baldongan.* The church lieth altogether ruinous wanting a roof these many years. Thomas Doughtie, Master of Arts and preacher, is parson, whose means there are worth but £20 per annum. There is not one Protestant in the parish. There is one Mr. Clarke, as they call him, a Mass-priest, that keepeth school and sayeth Mass every Sunday and holiday in Mr. Nicholas Fitzwilliam’s house at Baldongan, unto whom all the inhabitants round about resort to hear Mass.

“*Holmepatrick.* The parish church is in good repair, only it wants a little glazing and slating. The tithes are impropriate, farmed to Sir Barnaby Bryan. The cure is served by the said Thomas Doughtie, for which he hath forty shillings per annum. He certifies that there is a stipend of £4 13s. 4d. reserved by letters patent for the curate which is detained by Mr. Derricke Hubbarts, tenant to Sir Barnaby Bryan. There are about twenty inhabitants in that parish who commonly frequent divine service. All the rest are recusants.

“*Balskadan.* The church and chauncel are in good repair. The great tithes belong to the treasurer of Christ Church. There is a vicarage endowed and lately conferred on Nicholas

Culme, clerk. It is worth as he certifies £8 per annum. There hath been Mass said in that parish every Sunday before and since the proclamation in the now dwelling house of Mr. George Taaffe, called the Grange of Balskadan, by one Patrick Connell, a Mass-priest who dwells at the Nall. The whole parishioners, being in number one hundred and seventy-eight persons, usually resort to Mass, three only excepted who usually frequent divine service.

“*Ballebaghall.* The church and chauncel are much out of repair. The tithes are impropriate, estimated to be worth five score packs of corn per annum, belonging to the Swords. Gabriel Etheridge, clerk, is curate, who had the small tithes, being worth £5 per annum, for serving the cure. All the parishioners are recusants. The curate certifies that there was wont to be paid by the Lord Deputy, or Lords Justices of the Kingdom, to the curate, by way of concordatum, the sum of £3 sterling, of which he is behind these four years.

“*Newcastle Juxta Lyons.* The great tithes belong to the Archdeacon of Glendalough. The church and chauncel are in good repair. There are about thirty that come to church to hear divine service. All the rest are recusants. Robert Jones, clerk, is curate there.

“*Clondalkan.* The parish church is indifferently repaired. The rectory belongs to the Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Mr. Joseph Ware, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar there, who diligently dischargeth his duty, his means being worth there £20 per annum. He certifies that Mr. Browne, of Nealston, is a great abettor and maintainer of friars and priests, who usually come to his house.

“*Esker.* The church is altogether ruinous: nothing up but the walls. The great tithes belong to the Dean of St. Patrick's. The vicarage, by reason of the nearness of it to Clondalkan, is united to Clondalkan, the said Mr. Ware being vicar of both, whose means there are worth £20 per annum. Mr. Lamoruke Nottingham, of Ballyowen, is a principal abettor and maintainer of priests and friars in that parish, who resort to his house.

“*Lucan.* The rectory is impropriate, worth besides the king's rent, £10 per annum. The church is in good repair; the chauncel is ruinous. There are not above five in that parish that come to church. Thomas Keating, clerk, is vicar there, whose means there, as he certifies, are not above £4 per annum, and whose wife is a recusant.

“*Tassagarte.* The tithes belong to Mr. Cleburne, prebend of Tassagard, it being the corpes of his prebend, worth £30 per annum. Robert Jones serves the cure under the prebend, and with an allowance from him. The church is fallen down. There

are about thirty of that parish who come to hear Divine service to the parish church of Rathcoole, because the parish church is down: all the rest of the parishioners are recusants.

“*Kilmatalloy.* The tithes belong to the corpes of the prebend, which is held by the Lord Archbishop of Dublin by commendam, worth £40 per annum. The church is now a-building (*i.e.* being built); the chauncel is in good repair. There are not above twelve in that parish that frequent Divine service: all the rest are recusants. Robert Jones, clerk, serves the cure, who hath all the small tithes for an allowance from the prebend. The curate certifies that there are forty acres of land belonging to the church to repair it, which are withheld by Mr. William Rowles, who took away the evidence of the church.

“*Aderge.* The tithes of Aderge belong to the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick’s Church. The Lord of Ranelagh doth farm it from them. Robert Jones, clerk, doth serve the cure. The church wants repairs. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Raconle.* The tithes belong to the Dean of St. Patrick’s. The church is in good repair. John Hughes, Master of Arts, is vicar there, worth £14 per annum; Robert Jones serves the cure for him, for which he hath £4 per annum. There are thirty that frequent Divine service: all the rest are recusants.

“*Callioghston.* The church is ruinous, and hath been so these thirty years. Sir Richard Greame, Knight, deceased, and now his executor, hath the tithes of that parish, and Mr. Fitzsimons, of the Grange, under them, but by what title the curate doth not know. The foresaid Jones is curate, who hath but twenty-five shillings per annum for serving the cure. He certifies that there was a vicarage endowed there, but it is swallowed up by the said Mr. Fitzsimons. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Tany.* The tithes belong to the Archdeacon of Dublin. The church is ruinous; there are only two householders in that parish that come to church. There is one John Cawhell (Cahill), a priest, that commonly says Mass at Dundrum and Ballawly. Mr. Richard Prescott, Master of Arts and preacher, serves the cure. The Archdeaconry of Dublin is worth per annum a hundred pounds sterling.

“*Tawlagh and Templeoge.* The tithes of Tawlagh belong to the Dean of St. Patrick’s, Dublin. The church and chauncel are in good repair and decency. There are between three and four score that frequent Divine service and sermon. There is Mass frequently said in the parish of Tawlagh, *viz.*, in the towns of Ballyneskorney, Balliman, Kilnarden, and Jobstown, sometimes in one man’s house, sometimes in another, in those towns. The tithes of Templeoge are impropriate. Sir William Parsons, knight and baronet, is farmer. The church is ruinous. John

Hogben, clerk, serves the cure, which is worth £5 per annum. The priests are maintained and Mass frequently said in the houses of Adam Talbott of Belgart, Barnaby Rely (Reilly) of Timon, Mrs. Ellenore Talbott and Mrs. Henry Talbott of Templeoge, and Pierse Archbold of Knocklin, which Pierse Archbold doth maintain a Popish schoolmaster in his town. The said Hogben is Vicar of Fawlagh, which is worth £20 per annum.

“ *Cromlyn*. The church and chauncel are in good repair. The one-half of the tithe belongs to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, the other half to the petty canons of the same. The whole tithe is worth about £30 per annum. John Hughes, Master of Arts, one of the petty canons of St. Patrick's, discharges the cure. All the parishioners, for the most part, are recusants.

“ *Rathfarnam*. The church is ruinous. The tithe belongs to the Archdeacon of Dublin. There are about sixty persons that frequent divine service.

“ *Whyte-Church*. [No returns.]

“ *Creagh*. [Id.]

“ *Balleformott*. [Id.]

“ *Palmerstowne*. [Id.]

“ *Finglas*. The church and chauncel are in very good repair and decency. The parsonage is the corpes of the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's. There is a vicarage endowed upon the parsonage. Mr. Robert Willson, Bachelor of Divinity and preacher, is vicar, the vicarage being worth £20 per annum. The number of communicants the last Easter, was about one hundred and fifty. There is a common Mass house, frequented publicly since the proclamation, in the town of St. Margaret's, in the said parish, yet divers priests, Jesuits and Friars, whose names the vicar cannot yet learn, have recourse unto the houses of Sir Christopher Plunkett, knight, Robert Barnewall of Dunbroe, Esq., Henry Sedgrave of the Little Cabragh, gentleman, and Thomas Warren of Harristown, yeoman, as their chief maintainers, adherents, and abettors.

“ *Cloghran-Hydert* is an impropriation of the city of Dublin, the tithes thereof being worth £20 per annum. The said Mr. Willson is curate there, who hath but forty-five shillings per annum for serving the cure. There is never a Protestant in the whole parish.

“ *Castleknocke*. The church is ruinous. The great tithes belong to the prebend of Castleknocke. One Roger Goode, preacher, is vicar there, his vicarage being worth twenty marks per annum. The most of the parishioners are recusants, yet the last Easter there were above twenty communicants. There are two priests, the one named Mr. Harris, the other Patrick Gargan, who commonly frequent that parish.

"*Clonsillagh*. The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes are impropriate. Mr. Luttrell, of Luttrellstown, is farmer, and the foresaid Roger Goode is curate. There is one Thady Duffe, a Popish schoolmaster in that parish.

"*Mallahydert* is the corpes of the prebend of the same. The said Goode is curate. The church and chauncel are ruinous.

"*Cowlocke*. [*No returns.*]

"*Ratheny*. [*Id.*]

"*Clontarfe*. [*Id.*]

"*Drumconragh*, alias *Clonturke*. [*Id.*]

"*Ballimore*. The tithes belong and are divided between the treasurer of St. Patrick's and the chaunter of the same, being nearly worth £60 per annum. The church and chauncel are not in repair. The cure is served by Silvester Cooley, minister, who certifies that he hath the small tithes for serving the cure. There are but very few Protestants in this parish. The priest's name that sayeth Mass in this parish is Walter Fitzgerald.

"*Holliwood*.—*Wicklow*. The church and chauncel are fallen down to the ground. The tithes of the rectory, being worth £16 per annum, belong to Apollo Waller, Master of Arts, who is parson. One Maurice Mulconry, Bachelor of Arts, is vicar, whose vicarage is worth £8 per annum. There is in this parish and Donard, some sixteen that frequent divine service.

"*Donard*. The church and chauncel are fallen down to the ground. The rectory is impropriate, held by the Lord Viscount Netterville, being worth £16 per annum. The foresaid Maurice O'Mulconry is vicar there, it being worth £8 per annum.

"*Donoghmore-o-Maly*. The church and chauncel are down to the ground. The tithes being worth about £30 per annum, belong to Mr. Michael Belarby and Mr. Robert Willson, prebend thereof. Patrick Maguire, clerk, is vicar of the same, which is worth unto him about £8 per annum. All the parishioners except Mr. Charles Vallentine are recusants.

"*Yago*. The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes belong to Mr. Doughtie, prebend thereof, set for £18 per annum. There are some five Protestant families that frequent Divine service. Matthias Wattson, Master of Arts and preacher, is curate, who hath for serving the cure but forty shillings per annum.

"*Tipperkevin*. The church is fallen down. The tithes, being worth £26 per annum, belong to the corpes of the prebend. Sylvester Cooley aforesaid is curate, who hath £4 per annum for serving the cure. The foresaid Walter Fitzgerald, the Mass-priest, sayeth Mass in that parish. Sir Robert Oglethorpe, Knight, and Alexander Eustace, of Dowdisstowne, are great abettors and maintainers of priests.

“*Ramoore.* The church and chauncel are down. The tithes are impropriate, worth about £60 per annum. All the parishioners, except Mr. Peisly, are recusants. William Pilsworth, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar there, it being worth £16 per annum. There is a priest in that parish who says Mass commonly in that parish.

“*Burgage.* The church is fallen down and the chauncel uncovered. The tithes, being worth £10 per annum, belong to the Chaunter of St. Patrick's, Dublin. All the parishioners are recusants except Mr. Art Kavanagh. The foresaid Silvester Cooley is curate, who hath the small tithes, being worth about £5 per annum, for serving the cure. Nicholas Casey, a Mass-priest, dwelling at Fartwell, says Mass commonly in that parish.

“*Boyestowne.* The church and chauncel are out of repair. The tithes, being worth about £16 per annum, belong to the lord archbishop of Dublin *ad mensam*. Silvester Cooley, clerk, is curate there. All the parishioners are recusants. Donnogh M'Donnell Oge, of Tulfarris, is a great abettor and maintainer of priests. There is one Walter Fitzgerald, a Mass-priest, that says Mass in the said Donnogh's house and in other places.

“*Cottlanstowne.* The church and chauncel are in good repair. The tithes, being worth about £10 per annum, are held by Sir Thomas Hibbotts, knight. The said Cooley reads prayers to Sir Thomas Hibbotts when he is there, and hath no certain stipend except what Sir Thomas pleases to give him.

“*Donlavan.* The church and chauncel are uncovered. The tithes, being worth £30 per annum, belong to Mr. William Goulburne, prebend thereof. All the parishioners are recusants. Patrick Magwire, clerk, is curate there, who hath £5 per annum for serving the cure.

“*Giltowne and Brenockston.* The church of Giltowne is down. The tithes are impropriate, being worth, as is certified, £100 per annum, held by Sir James Carroll, knight. The foresaid Mathias Watson is curate, who hath but four pounds for serving the cure. There are three Protestant families in that parish that come to church to Kilcullen, where the said Watson preacheth. The foresaid Walter Fitzgerald, and one Leishan, a priest, do usually frequent those parts. The tithe of Brenockston is set for £3 per annum, and belongs to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's.

“*Balliboght.* The church and chauncel are fallen to the ground. The tithes are impropriate, held by Sir Henry Bealinge, knight. The value is not certified by the curate, Maurice O'Mulconry aforesaid, who hath but fifteen shillings for serving the cure.

“*Tipper and Heynstown.* The church of Tipper is roofed,

but not in repair. The tithes thereof belong to the lord bishop of Clonfert, who is prebend thereof, being worth about thirty pounds per annum. The foresaid Silvester Cooley is curate there, who hath four pounds for serving the cure. There are two Mass-priests that say Mass in that parish, the one named Laurence Sutton, and the other David Sutton.

“*Killheele and Kilbride.* These two are two impropriations held by Mr. Allen, of St. Wollstan's. The churches and chauncels are very ruinous.

“*Bray.* The church is somewhat ruined by the last great storm. The chauncel is in reasonable good repair. The tithes are impropriate, held by William Plunkett of Dublin, Esq., being worth £65 sterling per annum, who allows to Mr. Simon Swayne, vicar thereof, the small tithes, being worth but £8 per annum. There are but sixteen in that parish that frequent divine service. Every gentleman thereabout hath a priest or a friar for their domestic chaplain, and maintains and abetts them, viz., Theobald Walsh, of Carrickmaine, doth relieve and abett one Turlogh Reily, a Mass-priest, and one Patrick Comin, a friar, who celebrate Mass, and execute their function in his mansion house of Carrickmayne, frequented by neighbouring towns publicly: Mr. Robert Barnewall, of Shankill, doth likewise relieve and abett one Teige O'Murroghowe, a friar, and Mary Barnewall, his own sister, being a nun, which friar says Mass in the Castle of Shankill: Joane Eustace of Ouldcourt, widow, doth likewise abett and relieve one Dermott Byrne, a Mass-priest, who celebrates Mass in her mansion-house of Ouldcourt: William Wolverston, of Stillorgan, Esq., during his abode there hath one John Cawell, a Mass-priest, to celebrate Mass in his house. Besides that, divers times, since the proclamation of the first of April, the Vicar of Bray hath seen, as he certifies, swarms of friars in those parts who were relieved and entertained by the said gentlemen, seldom returning to their convents without the benevolence of the poorer sort, to the great impoverishment of the people.

“*Delgany.* The church and chauncel are down. Thomas Gilbert, Master of Arts and preacher, is parson thereof. The tithes, being worth £60 per annum, are in lease with Justice Maynard, with a reservation of £20 sterling to the parson. William Cornwall, clerk, serves the cure, who hath but £4 per annum. There are but four in that parish that come to divine service.

“*Newcastle Mount Gyntgan.* The church is down; the chauncel covered, but not decent within. The great tithes are impropriate, held by John Wolverston, worth £150 per annum. William Cornwall is vicar there, whose means are worth but

£15 per annum, part of his means being kept from him by the said John Wolverston. There are but four-and-twenty that come to church in that parish.

“*Stagony.* The church and chauncel of Powerscourt, where the parishioners visit now, are in very good repair and decency. The great tithes, being worth £50 per annum, belong to Ambrose Aingier, Master of Arts and preacher, prebend thereof. There is one Peter Birmingham of Churchtowne, that is a great abettor of Popish priests; he entertains them in his house, and hath Mass commonly said there. George Leisley, Master of Arts and preacher, is curate there, who hath £20 per annum for his pains. There are in that part about two hundred that usually frequent divine serviee.

“*Rathmichael.* The church is in repair, but not decent within. The chauncel is almost down. The great tithes, being worth £20 per annum, belong unto the corpes of the prebend. Simon Swayne, clerk, is vicar there, which vicarage as he certifies is worth but £8 per annum. There are but eight persons that frequent divine service besides the vicar and his family.

“*Killcole.* The church and chauncel are both in great decay and altogether unfurnished. The great tithes being worth £50 per annum, are held by Mr. Francis Dade. William Cornewall aforesaid is curate, who hath but £5 per annum for his pains, as he certifies. There are but two in that parish that frequent divine service.

“*Kilmakinocke.* The church of Kilmakinocke wanteth a roof and all other ornaments befitting, saving a book of Common Prayer and a font. The tithes are impropriate, worth about £48 per annum, belonging unto Mr. Dongan, who allows the small tithe, being worth £8 per annum, to Thomas Davis, clerk, curate thereof for serving the cure. There are not above four in that parish that resort to church to hear divine service. James McFelim, of Killrone, George Archbald of Glencormacke, and Cahir O'Toole, of Kilmahinocke, are great abettors and harborers of friars and priests, and have Mass said commonly in their houses by one Dermott Byrne, a Mass-priest.

“*Connagh.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes belong *ad mensam Archiepiscopi Dublinensis*; being long since leased out among other things for a small rent, they are now held by Mr. Francis Dade, worth about £30 per annum. The said Thomas Davys is curate there, who hath £6 per annum for serving the cure. There are but fourteen poor laborers that frequent divine service. Mr James Walshe, of Connagh, keeps both friars and priests in his house to say Mass there, and doth abet one Garret Warren, a Popish schoolmaster, in the town of Connagh, to teach the principles of that religion.

“*Tullogh.* The church of Tullogh is somewhat ruined by the late storms. The roof of the chauncel is almost down. The tithes being worth about £64 per annum, belong to Christ Church, Dublin. The said Simon Swayne is curate, who is allowed the small tithes amounting to £5 per annum for serving the cure. There is not one in that parish that resorts to church to hear divine service.

“*Kilternan.* The church and chauncel are down. The tithes are impropriate, belonging to Sir Thomas Fitzwilliams, worth £23 sterling per annum. The foresaid Symon Swayne is curate, who is allowed the small tithes, being worth £5 per annum, for serving the cure. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Clonkeene alias Grainge.* The church is somewhat uncovered with the late storms. The tithes belong to the vicar of Christ Church, worth £80 per annum. The said Symon Swayne is curate, who is allowed £7 sterling for serving the cure. The number frequenting divine service exceeds not twenty-four persons.

“*Dalkey.* The church is ruinous, the chauncel hath no roof. The tithes being worth £18 per annum, are impropriate. William Morris Loyd, clerk, is curate, who is allowed £4 per annum for serving the cure. There is not one that cometh to church but the said curate's family, saving that in fishing-time there are many English and Scots that come to morning and evening prayers.

“*Mounctowne.* The church and chauncel are in good repair, but want decency and some necessities within. The tithes are impropriate, worth about £100 per annum, belonging unto Sir Gerrott Aylmer, Knight, Mr. Henry Chivers, of Mounctown, and Mr. John Fagan, of Feltrim. The said Maurice Loyd is curate who hath but five or six pounds per annum for serving the cure. There is a house in the town of Mounctowne converted from a dwelling house to be a Mass-house, as is gathered by the curate, from the fact that first it is commonly called the Mass-house; secondly, by the report of Turlough Reily, the Mass-priest, that it was bestowed upon him; and lastly, by the continual use of saying Mass therein. And when the gentlemen thereabout, viz., Mr. Henry Chievers, of Mounctowne; Mr. James Goodman, of Laghnaston, and Mr. Henry Walshe, of Dalkey, be pleased to have Mass said in their own houses and castles, they have it, and that not seldom, where the people of the parishes about resort, no less than they use to do when they go to the Mass-house aforesaid.

“*Killenyn.* The church and chauncel of Killenyn want a roof and ornaments. The tithe belongs to the Dean of Christ Church, being worth £24 per annum. The said Morris Loyd

is curate, who is allowed for serving of the cure £6 per annum. There is not any Protestant in that parish. The said curate certifies that there is a house lately given by Mr. James Goodman, of Laughnanstown, to be a schoolhouse, who keepeth a young man, a Papist, there, to teach his own children and his neighbours' children.

“*Dromkey and Castle M'Adam.* The church and chauncel are down. The tithes belong to Thomas Richmond, clerk, rector of Dromkey, being worth about £15 per annum. There comes not any to church there saving the rector's own family. He certifies that John Joyce, of Wicklow, and divers others, detain from him his glebe land and several other things belonging to his parsonage, and that he is not able to sue for his right, he being very poor. Alexander Tode, of Ballemoninge, in the parish of Castle M'Adam, doth abet and releave one Patrick M'Atere, a Mass-priest, who sayeth Mass every Sunday in his house, whereunto all the neighbours commonly resort; as also one Edward Quyn, a young Mass-priest, intituled the pastor of Dromkey, sayeth Mass every Sunday in the parishes of Dromkey and Wicklow, unto whom three or four hundred of the parishioners resort to hear Mass.

“*Wickloe.* The church and chauncel of Wicklow are covered, but as yet are not decent within. The great tithes belong to Apollo Waller, prebend thereof, worth £200 per annum, but leased to Sir William Usher, Knight. Mr. Balthazar Fox, Master of Arts and preacher, is vicar thereof, which vicarage is worth £40 per annum. He certifies that there are divers things swallowed up now by laymen from him, which belong to his vicarage, which have been partly in his own possession and partly in the possession of his predecessors, vicars of Wicklow, viz., two parcels of land adjoining to Wicklow, called by the names of *Maudelins*, which in former times hath been an oratory, and *Farren Eglus*, both of which are detained from the Church by one James Byrne, of Ballenurrin, gentleman, a Papist. There is also a parcel of land called *Glanely*, held by one Denis Coniam, of Glanely, which land was alienated by his father, Hugh Coniam, some time vicar of Wicklow. There is a public Mass-house erected in the parish of Wicklow, in a village called Kilmurry, upon the land of Teige-Oge-Byrne, of Ballenvalla. There are also divers other houses in the parish of Wicklow where the priests have and do, notwithstanding the proclamation, celebrate mass; as in the house of Cormucke Quyn, of Monishrewly, gentleman; Edward Walshe, of Clonmanige, Esq.; Bran Byrne, of Courtfold, gentleman: Bran Byrne, of Kilboy, gentleman; and Denis Coniam, of Glanely. The names of the several Mass-priests that exercise their functions in the forenamed

houses, viz., one Edmond Quyn, educated in one of the friaries in Dublin; Cale O'Conly, who was questioned for the murder of Mr. Pont; James O'Trenor and Patrick O'Connell, two northern men. There are a hundred threescore and odd in the parish of Wicklow that frequent the church to hear divine service and sermon.

“*Einshboen.* The church is down; the chauncel was built within these two years, and covered with slate, but it hath lately been blown down by the great storms. The tithes, being worth £80 per annum, belong to William Bulkeley, Master of Arts and preacher, rector thereof: Nicholas Whyte serves the cure. All the parishioners are recusants, except Laurence Bradshawe, of Donganston, and his family. There is one James Trew, a Mass-priest, that says Mass in the gentlemen's houses of that parish.

“*Rathdrome.* The church and chauncel of Rathdrome are in repair. The great tithes are impropriate, worth £20 per annum. Sir William Parson, Knight and Baronet, and Sir William Usher, Knight, are farmers or lessees to the mayor or sheriff of Dublin. After the murder of Mr. Pont, late vicar, leaving no means to maintain his wife and children, the mayor, *i.e.*, Alderman Barry, and sheriffs presented Robert Pont, son to the said Mr. Pont, to be vicar, the vicarage now not-exceeding £10 per annum. Theobald Doyle, clerk, serves the cure for him. The parishioners for the most part are recusants, except the soldiers who now lie in garrison at Moycredin in the *Ranlaghs*.

“*Glandelagh and Derelossory.* The churches and chauncels are altogether out of repair. The tithes belong to the lord archbishop; worth £40 Irish per annum, but leased among other things to the lord of Ranelagh: Nicholas Whyte is curate, who is allowed £5 per annum for serving the cure. There are no Protestants in that parish. There is a Mass-priest called Sir Neale, who commonly says Mass within that parish; besides, on St. Kevin's day, there do infinite number of people and great store of friars and priests resort to Glandelagh to go in pilgrimage, and there offer unto the priests and friars.

“*Killmacowe, Templemichael, and Kilbride.* The churches and chauncels of all three are altogether ruinous. The great tithes belong *ad mensam Archiepiscopi Dublinensis*, all worth about £40 per annum, but leased out long since for a small rent. The foresaid Nicholas Whyte is curate, who hath £6 10s. for serving the cure. All the parishioners are recusants. The Mass-priests' names that frequent these parishes and commonly say Mass there are Daniel O'Dowlan and James O'Trenery.

“*Enorely.* The church and chauncel are altogether ruinous. The great tithes, being worth £23 per annum, are impropriate. The Lord Esmond is farmer. The said Whyte is curate, who hath three pounds sterling for serving the cure. There are not

above six or seven that come to church. The foresaid Mass-priest, James O'Trenery, doth say Mass in this parish.

“*Killpoole.* The church and chauncel are altogether ruinous. The great tithes, being worth £24 per annum, are impropriate. John Holverston, gentleman, is farmer. Mr. Balthazar Fox, aforesaid, is curate there, who is allowed the small tithes, being worth £3 per annum, for serving the cure.

“*Arckloe, Templereny, and Killenoy.* The church of Arklow wants some covering. The chauncel is in good repair, only it wants ornaments within. The great tithes are impropriate, worth about £40 per annum. Mr. Balthazar Fox is vicar there, whose vicarage is set for £17 per annum, out of which he allows to one Nicholas Whyte, curate there, £5 sterling per annum. There are about twenty Protestants in the parish of Arklow. The vicar certifies that he is informed that there is a Mass-house erected upon the land of Ballerahan. The Mass-priest that says Mass in that parish is named Sir Donnell. The rest (i.e. Templereny and Killenoy) are chapels belonging to Arklow.

“*Inch and Kilgorman.* The church of the *Inche* is ruinous, but the chauncel is in good repair, only it wants ornaments. The great tithes of both belong *ad mensam Archiepiscopi Dublinensis*, worth £16 per annum. John Leigh, clerk and preacher, is vicar of the *Inche*, whose vicarage is worth £12 per annum. There are in that parish about fifty or sixty that frequent divine service. As for Killgorman, the church and chauncel are altogether in decay. Theobald Doyle, clerk, is vicar there, whose vicarage is worth but £4 per annum, and, as he certifies, there are about twenty that go to church in that parish.

“*Ballintemple.* The church and chauncel are very ruinous. The great tithes are impropriate; Sir William Parsons is farmer. Theobald Doyle, aforesaid, is curate, who hath, as he certifies, twenty shillings per annum for serving the cure.

“*Killahurler.* The body of the church is in good repair, but the chauncel is down to the ground. The tithes belong to the Dean of Christ's Church, being worth £15 per annum, which are leased to Brien M'Edmond and Gilpatrick M'Melaghlin for two boatloads of wood per annum. They allow the curate but thirty shillings per annum.

“*Athy.* The church and chauncel of *Athy* are in good repair. The tithes are impropriate, worth £36 per annum, in the possession of George Walker and Nicholas Mulhale. There are about one hundred and fifty that frequent divine service. William Pinsent, Master of Arts and preacher, is curate there.

“*Kilberry.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes, being worth £120 per annum, belong to the Dean of St.

Patrick's, but in lease with Thomas Greames, Esq. The said William Pinsent is curate, for which he is allowed but £6 per annum. There are about a dozen families in that parish that frequent the church of Athy to hear divine service and sermon.

"*Raban, alias Churchtowne.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes, being worth a hundred marks, are impropriate, in the possession of the executors of Sir Walter Dongan, baronet, deceased, out of which they allow the said Mr. Pinsent for serving the cure but £4 per annum, besides the book-money. There are likewise twenty Protestant families in that parish that frequent the church of Athy as aforesaid.

"*Nicholston.* The church and chauncel are ruinous, the land waste, and nobody liveth on it.

"*Moone.* The church and chauncel are ruinous, the tithe being worth £50 per annum; the tithes are impropriate, in the possession of William Archibold, Esq., who allows the said Mr. Pinsent, for serving the cure, but fifty shillings and the book-money. There is but one Protestant family in this parish.

"*Tanckardston.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes, being worth £30 per annum, belong to Thomas Hövendon, Esq. Edmond Hynde, clerk, is curate, whose stipend is but £4 per annum for serving the cure.

"*Monmahenocke.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes belong to the Lord Bishop of Kildare, being prebend thereof. Edmond Hynde, clerk, serves the cure under his lordship. All the parishioners are recusants.

"*Castledermott.* The body of the church is partly ruinous. The chauncel is reasonably well repaired, but wants all necessary ornaments. The great tithes, being worth four score marks sterling per annum, are impropriate. John Walshe, clerk, is vicar, the vicarage being worth forty marks sterling per annum. There are but three families that frequent divine service in that parish. There is one Michael Dullroy, a Mass-priest, that sayeth Mass in that parish.

"*Killea.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes, being worth £30 per annum, are impropriate, and belong to Walshe Peppard. The foresaid Edmond Hynde is vicar there. All the parishioners are recusants.

"*Graingenossnalvan.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes are impropriate, valued at £14 per annum. Sir Nicholas Whyte is farmer, who alloweth thirty shillings per annum to the said Hynde for serving the cure. All the parishioners are recusants.

"*Bealan.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes, being worth £16 per annum, are impropriate. Sir William Parsons, knight and baronet, is farmer. The said Hynde is

curate, who is allowed fifty shillings sterling for serving the cure. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Killhelan.* The body of the church is ruinous, the chauncel is repaired, but wants necessary ornaments. The tithes are impropriate, being worth £24 per annum. John Walshe aforesaid is vicar there, his vicarage being worth £12 per annum. All the parishioners are recusants. There is a priest that sayeth Mass in that parish, called Andrew Dullroy.

“*Tymolin.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes being worth £24 per annum, belong to Sir Gerrott Aylmer, farmer thereof. The foresaid John Walshe is curate, and is allowed fifty shillings for serving the cure. The parishioners are all recusants, and the foresaid Andrew Dullroy is the Mass-priest there.

“*Grany.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes, being worth £41 per annum, are impropriate. John Walsh aforesaid is curate, who was allowed formerly by Sir Gerrott Aylmer, impropriater, but forty shillings for serving the cure, who now hath taken away the same, and will allow nothing. The parishioners are all recusants. The said Andrew Dullroy is Mass-priest there.

“*Norroghmore.* The church and chauncel are ruinous, and want all necessary ornaments. The tithes are impropriate, worth four score pounds per annum, held by Mr. Maurice Eustace, impropriater. Nicholas Walshe, clerk, is vicar there, who hath only the small tithes, being worth £15 per annum. All the parishioners are recusants. There is one Morris Dowlinge that sayeth Mass in that parish commonly.

“*Calvestowne.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes are impropriate, worth £60 per annum, held by one Peter Sarsfield, impropriater. Edward Jones, clerk, is vicar there; it is worth to him £6 per annum. There are about fifteen Protestants, all poor men, in that parish.

“*Ouske.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes belong to Edward Jones aforesaid, rector of the same, being worth £10 per annum. There are not above seven persons that frequent the church to hear divine service.

“*Fontstowne.* The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes are impropriate, worth £40 per annum. Henry Bell, preacher, vicar there, the vicarage being worth £12 or £14 per annum. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Killecullen.* The church and chauncel are in reasonable good repair, and what is wanting will soon be amended. The tithes, being worth £120 per annum, belong to the Chaunter and Chancellor of Christ Church, Dublin. Mathias Watson, Master of Arts and preacher, is curate there, who is allowed

£6 13s. 4d. for serving the cure. There are in that parish sixteen Protestant families. Shane Lishawe and Walter Fitzgerald, both Mass-priests, frequent that parish and say Mass there.

“*Leixlippe*. The church and chauncel are ruinous. The tithes are impropriate, worth ... per annum. Mr. Gerrott Whyte is farmer; Thomas Keatinge, clerk, is curate. For serving the cure he hath £4 per annum. All the parishioners, except one or two families, are recusants.

“*Confie*. The church and chauncel are in good repair. The tithes, being worth ... per annum, are impropriate, held by Mr. Fagan of Feltrim. The said Keatinge is curate; for serving the cure he hath £4 per annum. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Donacanper*. The church and chauncel are in reasonable good repair. The tithes are impropriate, worth ... per annum, held by Mr. Allen, of St. Wolston's; the said Keatinge is curate.

“*Trisledillon*. [No returns.]

“*Straffan*. The body of the church is ruinous; the chauncel is well covered, but wants glazing and necessary ornaments. The tithes, being worth £36 per annum, are impropriate, belonging to Mr. James Duffe of Dublin, merchant. Edward Pierse, clerk, is vicar there, whose vicarage there is worth £12 per annum. There are not above ten persons that frequent divine service in that parish.

“*Teagtoe*. [No returns.]

“*Laraghbrine*. The church is in good repair, but the roof of the chauncel is uncovered. The tithes are worth £100 per annum, belonging to Mr. John Parker, prebend of Mynothe; the foresaid Thomas Keatinge is vicar there, the same being worth £10 per annum. All the parishioners are recusants.

“*Kildroght*. [No returns.]

“*Killadowan*. [No returns.]

“*Kinneigh*. The church and chauncel are altogether ruinous. The great tithes, being worth £18 per annum, belong to the Lord Bishop of Kildare and the Vicars Choral of St. Patrick's. All the parishioners are recusants. James Kean, clerk, is vicar there, his vicarage being worth £9 per annum; John Walshe, clerk, serves the cure for him, for which he hath £4 per annum.

“LAUNCELOT DUBLIN”.

THE SECOND EVE.

A CYNICAL philosopher might ask the self-evolving hierophants of the "Bible-and-the-Bible-only" school, what importance, if any, they may attach to the last verse in the last chapter of St. John's gospel. Did the son of Zebedee and Salome undertake to supply,—if not all, at least the most salient,—omissions of the synoptics? or, confining himself to the polemical occasion of his writing, choose from his unlimited store of theanthropical facts only what was essential to establish the philosophy of the Divine Spirit against the Cerinthian myths, and to confound the Nicolaites and the rest of "antichrists"? What about the "many other signs" that "are not written in this book"? The divine mystagogue is of opinion that the world itself could not contain the "many other things"—if they were written; and this assertion must *ex rei natura* be extended to the three synoptical gospels; and thus, at the very outset, the "*written* word, the only rule", etc., is reduced to an absurdity. If we extend our faith to the things that *are* written because we know the disciples' testimony to be true, for the same formal reason we should believe in the "many other things" *not* written, were they but known to us. And if this be true of facts, may it not also be true of theoretical truths? of the innumerable preachments and explanations, the doctrinal applications of, the immediate and mediate deductions from, those truths or first principles? Christianity had already taken possession of the known world ere the Evangelists or Sacred Epistolographers had written a single line; so that the question resolves itself simply to this: Is there, or is there not, from the history of dogma an *à priori* evidence, strong and indefeasible, in favour of Tradition, as bringing unto us, and bearing on to the end of time, a floating mass of unwritten truth? Again, is not *your* theory of the written word expressly condemned by the written word itself? and do you not more conform to the Demiurgos of the platonics than to the Logos of John, by that very *contradictio in terminis*—"The Bible and the Bible only"—that silly old maid and effete foster-mother of the "no-popery" cries, of which we have had so gushing a plenitude in these latter days? That the "moral contents of Christianity" are alone of any real importance, is a first principle of that school of which Strauss and Renan are the representatives; this, however, would not be an answer, but a mere evasion of our philosopher's query. If his biblical friends were of sufficiently stoical a temperament, they would fall back on the saving clause of old about "all things under the sun", etc.; or perhaps on the principle which Voltaire adopted from a heathen author,—which would

be, by the way, but a legitimate conclusion from their own first premiss,—that “incredulity is the beginning of wisdom”. Our imaginary philosopher himself would be the last person to expect a more satisfactory parry to his cruel hit. His question answered itself; between Catholicity and pyrrhonism there is no medium. Mid the darkness, then, that covers the earth, and the mist the people, we look around for a suitable oasis whereon to rest while we apply our principles. The star of Jacob has arisen to guide our path; the Catholic world is all astir; “*ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum*”; and we are compelled to follow in the wake of Melchior, Gaspar, and Balthassar, over the dreary desert, on to the Cave of Bethlehem! Here at once is recognized the second great epoch in the theological history (so to speak) of man. The old order is reversed; the “first-born of every creature” comes to new-create man’s first creation, and the mercy of the second seasons the justice of the first. This is no prosopopoeia; we are in presence of the Second Adam; and we see thus early the force of the doctrinal truth of St. Paul’s antitheses in his epistle to the Romans and his first epistle to the Corinthians. But does not this fact immediately force upon our observation another one, not inconsequential, because necessarily correlative? Another syncretism is presented in the person of the second Eve,—“They found the Child with Mary”. On reading the 15th verse of Genes. iii. with this simple sentence, the inseparable connection of the two contrasts, alluded to, becomes evident. We assert then, in the first place, that there is no doctrinal point more strongly affirmed by Tradition than the antithesis between the first and the second Eve. This will lend additional interest to a further consideration as to the natural consequences of such antithesis. As to the bibliolaters to whom, in the beginning of this article, we adverted, we merely say here—“*tua res agitur paries cum proxinus ardet*”. But to men of “High Church” tastes we might say: Give up at present the thought of reviving the dreams of Usher; do not declare Rome the intruder, and Augustine, sent from thence, a schismatic; feel your way; instead of basing your apostolical foundations merely upon a vague text of St. Paul, or an epigram of Martial, let us appeal to those of whom we all boast as the parent stock—let us call up the spirits of the mighty dead who witnessed for Christianity in the first two or three centuries; we may all become syncretists for the nonce, and hear what *they* have to say, and see how far we are their kinsmen in the matter. If we take the patristic literature of the prae-Nicene period, the predominant, substantive idea of the Blessed Virgin is universally this: she is the Second Eve. In one of the latest flowers of his own golden anthology, Dr. Newman justly calls this the

“rudimental teaching of antiquity”; and indeed, for didactical purposes, this aspect of the Virgin’s person and office may be said to have held the place which, after Ephesus, was assigned to “Theotocos”. To understand the *rationale* of the title “Second Eve”, we must recal to mind the supernatural relation of Adam and Eve to their posterity, and their own mutual relation in the Fall. With Adam, as the head and representative, lay the actual, immediate fate of the human race. Eve was given to him as a coadjutor; but her co-operation was not *necessary* for good or evil. Her specific relation to the human race was implied in that title of her dignity, “Mother of all the living”. Thus far in *theory*. Now, although Eve, as a non-necessary cause, would not *à priori* be expected to determine, even mediately, the good or evil of our spiritual destiny, yet, *de facto*, she became the *efficacious* cause of the evil; the whole thing may be morally ascribed to her, by reason of her active, positive, sufficient agency in regard to Adam, the *necessary* cause;—that is to say, judging *after* the event, Eve’s part was a condition *sine qua non*. Now, the “woman” mentioned in the 15th verse of Genesis iii., is, according to the doctrine of antiquity, Mary, the mother of the Second Adam—the “seed of the woman”; hence the title of “Second Eve”. If we compare the *history* of the Fall with the prophecy in the 15th verse of same chapter of Genesis, the exegetical result is to come to one inevitable conclusion, that, viz., the parts of the various actors are to be diametrically *reversed*, relatively to the result of each. Eve entered upon her office in a state of absolute sinlessness and grace; she failed; she inaugurated the reign of sin. Mary entered upon the *same* office; she did *not* fail, but inaugurated the reign of Grace. The second Eve then, of necessity, should be equally endowed as the first; should be from the very beginning created in sinlessness and grace to fit her for the office. It would be an alogism to say that thus much, at least, was not required from the nature of the case *in se* and absolutely, as well as relatively, in the parallelism of the Fathers. We have referred to the active agency of the first Eve. The active parts, likewise, of the second Eve and the Second Adam in the work of restoration were synergistic. As the history of the Incarnation stands, Mary is a *sine qua non* to its accomplishment. She could not then be *less* than Eve; the Mother of God too could not be less than the mother of men. The second Eve was to crush the serpent, as the serpent crushed the first Eve; but for this the second Eve could *never* be in his malefic power, as the first was; that is to say, the *antecedent* grace,—necessarily given in the cases of both Eves for their person and office,—while it failed in the first instance, should be triumphant in the case of the second

Eve. And this is simply and solely the Immaculate Conception. Of the first Eve it is written,—“bone of my bone”; of the second Eve,—“full of grace” (κεχαριτωμένη).

In referring to the Fathers, we select passages to be reckoned “*non numero sed pondere*”; and will but indicate the substantive sense in each, referring our readers to the originals.

St. Justin M. (A.D. 120—165), *Tryph.* 100; Irenaeus (120—200), *adv. haer.* iii. 22, 34; Tertullian (160—240), *De Carn. Christ.* 17. These three fathers represent respectively Palestine, Asia Minor and Gaul, Africa and Rome. Justin speaks of the Virgin as the means whereby the work of the serpent was undone. Irenaeus, the disciple of Polycarp, who was the intimate associate of St. John, says that the Virgin was “to the whole human race the cause of salvation”. The testimony of Tertullian is to the same effect,—that Mary “blotted out” Eve’s fault, etc. As Dr. Newman, in his answer to the “Eirenicon”, points out, these fathers speak of the Virgin not as a mere physical instrument, but as an active agent and responsible cause, co-operating in the privileges of her *personal* sanctity, as well as in the privileges of her dignity as Mother of God. In Justin and Tertullian we have witnesses of the received doctrine in the East and West. That this doctrine should be found by them extended over so extensive an area before the year 200, so similar in all its parts, so complete in its unity, is an evidence of its apostolical origin. In matter of Tradition, the earlier the testimony, the more valuable and weighty it is; and in the whole range of prae-Nicene literature there is nothing that can be brought to impinge on the testimony of these fathers, but everything to corroborate it.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (315—386) says that life came from the Virgin as death came through Eve. (Cat. xii.) St. Ephrem, the Syrian, gives testimony to the same effect (Op. Syr. ii. p. 317–8), and also describes (Op. iii. p. 607) Mary as the agency whereby we are “translated from death to life”. St. Epiphanius is witness for Palestine and Egypt for the fourth century. Commenting on the antitheses in the title and office of the first and the second Eve, this great Father does not hesitate to say: “Eve became a cause of death to man,...and Mary a cause of life” (Haer. 78).

St. Jerome, too, witnesses for the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. There is hardly one of his didactical works bearing ever so remotely on our subject, that will not be found replete with such sayings as: “Death by Eve, life by Mary”; “by one woman death, by one woman life”, etc.; so that the reader could almost fancy himself in the midst of St. Paul’s fifth chapter to the Romans. This testimony of St. Jerome is cosmo-

politan. "I do not know", says Newman, "whose testimony is more important than St. Jerome's, the friend of Pope Damasus at Rome, the pupil of St. Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, and of Didymus in Alexandria, a native of Dalmatia, yet an inhabitant, at different times of his life, of Gaul, Syria, and Palestine" (Op. cit.).

St. Peter Chrysologus, one of the five hundred fathers of the oecumenical Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) says that Mary "obtained peace for earth, glory for heaven, salvation for the lost, life for the dead", etc. (Serm. 140); and the whole context explicitly declares her to have a real, causal, *ex opere operantis*, co-operation in the restoration of her race to its primordial life. We have arrived at the age of Augustine. But as this great doctor has been traduced by Calvin and other writers as being opposed to the received doctrine of the Church relative to the second Eve, we defer the review of this father's testimony to a future article, wherein we purpose likewise to speak of the testimony of the Scholastics, and the difficulties which beset their path, in treating of this feature of the second Eve. The fathers we have called up were the bulwarks of Christianity in their day, and the witnesses to the world of its moral and dogmatic order; and their evidence is quite clear on all or any given point of doctrine which we profess to receive from the very morning of the One, Catholic, Universal Church. We boast, as Homer says, to be braver than our fathers; would that we had the semblance of a boast to their ancient piety and fervent faith.

(*To be continued.*)

THE CHURCH IN ABYSSINIA.

WE parted with M. de Jacobis in the north-east frontier of Abyssinia. Oubié, the King of Tigré, having made peace with Ras-Aly, had a little time before returned victorious to his kingdom, and now gladly joined with his subjects in welcoming back the zealous missionary to the former field of his labours. The reports of those who had accompanied De Jacobis to Rome, won for him new claims to the gratitude of the Abyssinians. They had hitherto revered him as a holy man; they now moreover honoured him as an ambassador of their own monarch, and as the friend of the Sovereign Pontiff, whose paternal love for the Abyssinian Christians was the general theme of their

discourse. The harvest was indeed ripe, and M. de Jacobis was not slow in gathering it into Holy Church. Among his converts was the granddaughter of the former Emperor Tecla-Ghiorghis, who, though married to a Mussulman prince, now abjured her errors, and, together with all her slaves, embraced the Catholic faith.

Still more important for the interests of the mission was the conversion of Dr. Schimper, a German scholar of great ability, who was sent to Abyssinia by the Society of Natural History at Wurzburg, and had resolved to settle permanently in Tigré. He was very intimate with the king, and soon after his conversion, obtained a grant for the Catholic missionary of a large territory called Antichio, as a site for a college and a centre for the Catholic missions in Abyssinia. This was one of the most fertile districts of Tigré, comprising some villages, and about 4000 inhabitants, and Oubié in his grant enacted that it should be exempt from all taxes, and even freed from the passage of troops. De Jacobis regarded this royal gift as a source of many future blessings for his mission, and in one of his letters he styles it "a perfect Eden for produce of all kinds which the mercy of God has awarded to our infant Catholic colony".

Many of the inmates of the Abyssinian monasteries became also disciples of our missionary, and subsequently laboured with him devotedly and fervently for the conversion of the natives. The account given by De Jacobis of these monasteries, so long unknown to Europe, is full of the deepest interest. Writing to his old friend, M. Spaccapietra (now Archbishop of Smyrna), he says:

"There exists in Abyssinia, as I have before mentioned, a succession of mountains, often eleven or twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, the ascent of which is only by a steep, stony, and narrow path, often mysteriously hidden in the folds of the ravines which cover their rugged sides. On the summit of hills like these, the convents are invariably placed,—partly as sanctuaries in case of danger, but also with the additional advantage of the perfect quiet and absence from worldly turmoil, so essential to monastic life. I was anxious to visit these monasteries, which are perched on the frontiers of the country as if to act as its bulwarks and lighthouses in the midst of the flood of paganism which threatens to overwhelm it.

"The first I attempted was that of Doma. The 'Amba' which forms its pedestal is a magnificent mountain of white quartz, out of the shelves of which spring forth the most glorious flowering shrubs, especially the *quelqual*, a kind of euphorbia, and a singular variety, growing in the shape of an enormous chandelier.

"This plant is as characteristic of Abyssinia as the palm is of Egypt, growing every where in the greatest luxuriance.

"The river Najoc washes the base of this mountain, which is wonderfully fertile; and from thence a precipitous path led up to a gigantic rock standing out from the hill like a fortified bastion,—when the track seemed suddenly and unaccountably to lose itself and disappear. This rock formed the *clôture* of a convent of Abyssinian nuns who have the care of a little sanctuary hard by, which is a favourite place of pilgrimage to the devouter portion of the peasants. The superior came to speak to us from the other side of the enclosure, which nature certainly has made next to impregnable,—but said that they were never allowed to ascend to the hermitage above, to which there was apparently not even a goat-track".

He then minutely describes his ascent to the upper monastery, and thus continues:

"I found myself on a plateau of about 2000 feet in width, of no great depth of soil, but still susceptible of careful cultivation,—thus giving it the appearance of a garden suspended between heaven and earth. Olive, juniper, and sycamore trees, overhanging the precipice, shaded the little cemetery on the right. After going over the monastery, I visited the church, built out of the ruins of a sanctuary destroyed in the fifteenth century by Gragne, the Attila of Abyssinia. At a glance I saw that the architect must have been a European, both from the nature of the plan and from the absence of any Oriental character about the building. Close to the church are sunk 150 cisterns, arranged in a rectangular shape, and supposed to have been the work of the Emperor Caleb in the fifth century. Further on were the grottoes of the hermits. A young monk took me to the one where the famous Abouna Tecla-Haïmanot spent his life of penitence and prayer. My age prevented my being able to get into this grotto, which is almost inaccessible; but my guide swung himself up into the cave, and, speedily reappearing, produced an enormous stone which tradition affirms Tecla put on his head when he passed the night in prayer.

"Another of the cells presented fewer difficulties, and I scrambled in. On the rock, which had been hollowed out to serve as a bed, was the impression of a man's shoulders and back, supposed to have been miraculously left in the stone.

"At Bizen, which was the next monastery I visited, a confused mass of granite rocks heaped one upon the other, of colossal size, add to the savage nature of the hermitage. Exhausted by the fatigues of the ascent, and by a two days' fast, it was with difficulty that we dragged our limbs to the foot of a great wooden

cross, the only specimen of the kind in Abyssinia, which marks the approach to the convent. This welcome sign seemed to give us fresh life; and after a short halt we crawled on, through a grove of olive and juniper, to the summit, passing by the usual fine cisterns, which, unfortunately, were dry, though cut in granite and carefully lined with cement. Now the poor monks are dependent on rain-water for their supply, which is often stolen from them by the elephants, who scale their fortress during the night for that purpose.

“From the summit of this convent all that part of Abyssinia which was once Christian lay stretched as in a map at one’s feet; the ruins of fourteen churches, which formerly were dependent on this great monastery of Bizen, filled one’s heart with sadness and sorrow. Mahometanism and idolatry have crushed out the Christianity from this beautiful and fertile district. I could not but feel the truth of the reflection of M. de Montalembert, that wherever the monastic orders have kept their faith pure, they have been the centres of religion and civilisation; while their demoralisation has been invariably followed (as is so lamentably the case in the East) by a corresponding destruction of all faith and *morale* among the people. The evil, in this case, has reacted on its authors. Although the hermitage remains, it is virtually deserted, save by a handful of religious, who are up and down the country; so that it is only on occasions of great feasts that they meet for the celebration of the divine office. Thus this, which was formerly called the ‘Holy Mountain’, is nearly abandoned; and the people’s curse rises up to the heights from whence truth has ceased to descend.

“But the most interesting of all these convents is that of Guenda-Guendé, which we had reserved for the last of our excursions.

“On turning to the south-east, by the plain of Agamié, you come suddenly on the most fearful-looking mountain to be seen, I should think, on earth. I scarcely know how to describe it, except by trying to make you imagine a terrific explosion of molten metal, which, thrown up in a vertical jet of eight or nine thousand feet in height, pours down its liquid streams of lava right and left, which there harden and become of the colour of rusty iron. No dew from heaven or stream from earth irrigates its barren and pitiless sides, which are bereft of all vegetation, and stand out naked and brazen in the glare of the burning tropical sun. In a crevice, split by some convulsion of nature out of the flank of this terrible mountain, popular tradition affirms that a famous dragon lives, known by the name of Gabella. Until the monks, by prayer, had exorcised this monster, and forced him to remain in his den, young girls were constantly offered up

by the superstitious peasantry to appease his wrath. Absurd as these legends are, they are universally believed in Abyssinia; and certainly the nature of the place, and the volcanic crater on which the monastery is built, might give rise to many such delusions. The great depth of the crater, the sulphureous air you breathe, and the venomous reptiles which swarm in the caves, entitle it to its appellation, the 'Lake of Dragons'.

"Mamer Walda Ghiorghis, the present abbot of this monastery, is a man of the finest instincts, and far better educated than the monks in Abyssinia generally are. The moment he heard of our arrival, he came out in his abbot's dress, with his community, to welcome us into his monastery. He covered the floor of his church with rich carpets, and received us with great ceremony, seated on a curule chair called a 'Wambar'; he is one of the few Abyssinians to whom this privilege is awarded, and etiquette exacts that he shall not leave it even in the presence of the king. To the right of the hall of audience, where we had been received, repose the ashes of King Sabagadis and his children. This wonderful man did not live to fulfil all that was foreseen at the beginning of his reign; and at the very moment when Balbi wrote that 'his genius would raise Abyssinia to the position of a great power', Sabagadis, kneeling with the cross in his hand, was receiving his death-wound from the spear of a Gallas enemy. The most beautiful ornaments in the church of Guenda-Guendé are the gifts of this wise and generous prince.

"The next day, we were introduced to the library of the monastery, where there is the largest known collection of Abyssinian works. I discovered that this treasure-house contained all the books in the Gheez dialect which have ever been written. There is also a magnificent copy of the theological work, so celebrated in Abyssinia under the name of *Haimanouta Abau*, and which bears a most curious witness to the truth of the Catholic and Roman Church on the very points which modern heretics deny. There is, likewise, a very important passage on the Holy Ghost 'proceeding from the Father and the Son'; but at the word *Wawald* (*Filioque*), some modern hand has scratched out the text, without, however, having been able altogether to efface the original letters. But the happiest result of our visit was the conversion of the abbot Mamer Walda Ghiorghis himself and six of his monks, who, long ago convinced of the errors which had crept into the Abyssinian belief, only waited for an opportunity to abjure them, and declare themselves one with us. To silence the calumnies of our enemies, Ghiorghis did not hesitate to say to them 'To combat the Catholics with any hopes of success, you must begin by leading the Christian lives they do'. The good abbot wished to be received at once, and only reasons of

prudence induced me to postpone the event for a few months. His holy and ascetic life had caused him to be held in universal esteem by the Abyssinians—even apart from the perpetual fast which his position exacted. To explain this, I should mention that abstinence from flesh meat and strong drinks forms part of the rule of these monks; but in the universal laxity which has crept into their order, they have come to the conclusion that such a regimen is impossible to flesh and blood, and so have contrived a novel and almost comical way of evading it. In choosing a superior, they make him take an oath that he will observe to the letter the severe penitential rule and the rigorous fast enjoined by their order, *on behalf of the rest of the community*. So that, in fact, the abbot pays in his own person the debt due from all! The moment he has accepted these hard conditions, he is watched by one and all with never-ceasing vigilance, and the smallest infraction of the rule is visited by instant deposition from his high office.

“Before closing this letter, I will say one word of the public education of Abyssinia, which is exclusively confined to these convents, and which is very important, as bearing on the future state of this country.

“What in Europe we call school, or college, or university, is comprised here in the universal denomination of *Debra*. No *Debra* can be governed by a lay body—each must be attached to a church and convent; therefore, when you hear of *Debra Damo*, *Debra Metemek*, and the like, it signifies the college and convent of St. John, or whichever saint may be its patron. The professors are priests, and generally monks; though sometimes men called *Defteras*, or masters-laureate, are selected by the emperor for special branches of instruction. To these colleges princes and people equally come and share in the public instruction: it is *entirely gratuitous*, and the maintenance of the professors rests with the *Debra*. The miserable pittance awarded to them is four *amulié* a year (the *amulié* being equivalent to half a dollar), and twenty-four measures of wheat, of fifty pounds’ weight.

“You can imagine, therefore, the misery in which these poor doctors and professors live; but what is still more incredible is the amount of privations to which a young man will submit so as to reach the higher grades of science. Without speaking of the personal service, often of the most menial character, rendered by the pupil to his master—a service, however, which their filial affection for their tutors seems to make sweet and easy to them—the student leaves his home and family, carrying on his back the sack of pease or meal which is to be his whole subsistence during his college term; and, when that is exhausted,

his only resource is to beg in order to live; add to this, that the length of the course of study exacted is perfectly despairing. The course embraces seven years consecrated to learning the *Ziema*, or chaunt of the Church; nine years for the *Suasuo*, or grammar and dictionary of the Gheez language; four for the *Kenié*, or poetry; and ten for the *Quédusan-mezahft*, or sacred books of the Old and New Testaments. Civil and canonical law, astronomy, and history are also included in the course of instruction given, but few students have the courage to embark in them. After all, this labour results in little science save one, and that is in their knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures”.

The fame of M. De Jacobis did not long remain confined within the limits of Tigré, and petitions soon came to him from the Gallas and other tribes to the south and west, praying him to go and preach to them the saving doctrines of eternal life. His first excursion was to the Wareb river and the territory of Mensa. He was accompanied by the lay-brother Abatini, and two native priests, whom he had reconciled to Holy Church. They had only proceeded a short way, when they were surrounded by some hostile tribe in the valley of Sarawé, and carried off to a filthy dungeon near the town of Gouda-Falasié to await the final sentence of the heads of the tribe. Here, however, help came to them from an unexpected quarter. We shall allow the missionary himself to detail the circumstances of his release, and the chief incidents of his subsequent journey:

“When I first arrived in Abyssinia, I had traversed part of this country, and the inhabitants of a little town called Gouda-Falasié had shown me kindness, and guided me through a defile in the mountains to the residence of another tribe, formerly Christians, and named Candida. The whole of the desert of Sennaar seemed there as if stretched at our feet; while, at the conflux of two streams, the little island of Meroé remains, famous in ancient times as the cradle of Egyptian civilisation.

“The boa-constrictor abounds in this district. His prey is the antelope, or *agazen*, which he watches for at the river-banks, his tail curled round a tree,—the rest of his long body being undistinguishable from the colour of the earth, to which it assimilates; and then fascinating his victim with his eyes, which are of wonderful beauty, in a moment its whole body is engulfed in the monster’s jaws. He takes eight days to digest a feast of this sort, when he vomits the bones of his prey; and at that time the natives are sometimes able to compass his destruction. But to return to my story.

“Whilst passing through this district, we came on the ruins of an old abbey, and the people said to me; ‘Why not come and

settle yourself here among us, and rebuild this convent? we will gladly make over to you the stream and the surrounding territory, and you could do what you pleased with it'. It was a tempting offer; but how accept it? Wishing to temporise, I replied: 'But why don't you begin by rebuilding your church, which was burnt by the enemies of Sabagadis? I will gladly help you to begin it, provided you are not subjects of the Abouna Salama'. 'Help us to rebuild our church', they exclaimed with joy, 'and we will have no other Abouna than the one you shall set over us'. This was no sooner said than done. We made plans, and with difficulty scraped together a few dollars; every man put his shoulder to the wheel; and in a few months a very decent church was completed, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. All this was known in the neighbourhood; and as the dungeon into which we had been thrust was only a few miles from Gouda-Falasié, the news of our captivity rapidly spread, and a detachment of young men flew to our rescue. In the meantime, we had the consolation of giving some little instruction to the children who crowded round our prison, so that we almost forgot our chains; and having been able to effect the cure of two or three sick people—one especially, in an almost miraculous manner—the current of public opinion began to turn in our favour.

"Then arrived the youth of Gouda-Falasié, and they made the day of our deliverance one of real triumph. Men, women, and children threw themselves at our feet, imploring the blessing of 'the founders of the church of Mary', as they called us; nor could they sufficiently express their sorrow for the bad treatment to which we had been exposed. From this place, where God had so marvellously protected us, we came to the village of Ad-Counci in the Amazon, and to the river Mareb, one of the supposed smaller sources of the Nile.

"From thence we arrived at the village of Wachi, which was to be a kind of head-quarters for our mission, and took possession of a long, low, smoky house which had been prepared for us, but which was redolent with the smell of goats, besides other nuisances. However, by dint of cleaning and purifying the rooms with the sweet-scented juniper, we managed to divide the space, and turn it into a little college, where community-life could be more or less maintained. I spent every spare moment in translating the large Catechism into Gheez, and also the Psalms, for the *Dejteras*, who crowded round us for instruction. A knowledge of the language used in the sacred books of Abyssinia is absolutely essential to the Ethiopian missionary, from the passion of the people for theological discussions, and the controversies which are always the subjects of conversation.

“The peasantry of this and the surrounding villages were in great distress at the time of our arrival, owing to the raids which had been made amongst them by the defeated troops of Oubié, who had ravaged their homes, and carried fire and sword into this hitherto peaceful district.

“But we were not destined to remain long in our provisional college of Wachi. The tribe of Mensa claimed our promised visit; so, in spite of the gloomy prognostications of our new converts, and discouraging accounts of the almost impassable nature of the roads, and the difficulty of finding water, we left the hill-country, and proceeded on our route towards the plain.

“I will say nothing of our equipment and personal appearance. A good coat in this country exposes a man to almost certain robbery, if not death. Our only chance was to go utterly unprovided with any thing. Generally a mule or horse carried the cow's skin which served as the missionary's bed, with the sack of flour and the bottle of water which formed his commissariat. But here these things were luxuries not to be thought of. With bare feet and head, a coarse bit of canvas on our shoulders, and a walking-stick with an iron point, we started on our expedition.

“At midnight we found ourselves descending into the plain of Mensa, which lay stretched 6000 feet below our feet. Our way led by frightful precipices, which the uncertain light of the moon rendered more alarming. The soil was painfully slippery, and forced us to look almost all the time at our feet; but here and there we came on magnificent ravines of wild and savage beauty which I have never seen equalled; while, at other times, we looked down on valleys so desolate that they seemed as if stricken by a curse.

“When we neared the village, our suite took a martial attitude, winding their one garment round their loins; and, with a buckler of elephant's hide and a lance at rest, they proceeded, with quick and dignified steps, to the hut of Cantiba, the chief man of the tribe. Mensa was the abode of four thousand souls, most of whom were shepherds; rough, wattled, circular cottages, surrounded by palisades of wood to keep out the wild beasts, and with strange, grotesque mausoleums in the centre, made up the village. Lowering spear and buckler, Achilles, the head of our little escort, entered Cantiba's dwelling. This man was a descendant of the royal and sacred family from whom emanated the whole Abyssinian race; but nothing remains to them now save the hereditary title. He is small, but well proportioned, with a complexion like that of an Italian: he is dignified in manner, and his long white hair, well anointed with cow's grease, fell on his neck and shoulders and added to his venerable appearance.

"Although our arrival was unexpected at that time, he received me with great courtesy; but, after a little conversation, said, 'My affairs will compel me very soon to leave the country, and after I am gone there would be no safety for you; so that you had better return to Wachi before my departure'. This was a civil but decided way of getting rid of us; however, I could not bear the idea of having come so far in vain, and so I went in and out among the people to see if I could not produce some religious impression. Several of the women knelt to beg my blessing, and the children, as usual, crowded round me. Encouraged by their questions, I opened my little store of needles and pins and medals, and gave them some. Then I entered into conversation with the elder ones, and asked them if they had ever heard of Jesus. 'No', they replied; 'we never heard His name before'. Then I began to tell them His history, and they became at once engrossed by it, and when I stopped exclaimed, 'But why must you go?'—an expression uttered by a man of venerable aspect who had been listening too, and who I found was the brother of Cantiba. I replied to him, 'Because your brother wishes it'. He answered, 'I am married, and to a Mahometan, but we want to become Catholics and to be baptized at once'. I began his instruction, and in the middle of it Cantiba came in. 'I have just held a council', he said, 'with the elders of our tribe, and we bid you welcome: we want to be taught by you, and to be baptized as soon as harvest is over; the *doura* is now ripe. If you cannot stay with us now, we will come and fetch you a little later, for we want to become Christians'. Here was indeed a harvest ready to our hand, for which to thank God and take courage.

"I found the people living in great misery: the most beautiful sites in the place are occupied by the tombs, which, with their cylindrical form and the abundance of quartz in the stone from which they are constructed, have a very beautiful effect when seen from a distance. Their funerals are conducted with great pomp: dressed in black and with dust on their heads, the hired mourners or 'weeping women' execute a dance round the bier, increasing in velocity like that of the dancing dervishes, until they drop from sheer exhaustion and fall into the arms of the 'women of consolation', as they are called, who receive them. They have a curious custom relating to robbery, reminding one of the laws of the Spartans. When a theft (say of cattle) is committed, the suspected person is brought before the ancients; if the theft be clearly proved, he is made to refund the number of cows stolen, but receives a dollar for each from the proprietor to make him more careful in future.

"From Mensa we went to the convent of Debra Bizen. The

country through which we passed was so beautiful, that I could not resist stopping to sketch it. Do not be surprised; in Abyssinia, the missionary learns to do every thing,—to be mason, carpenter, and architect one moment—butcher, baker, and cook, the next. We won't say much of the excellence of the work, but the best maker upon earth is necessity. From Debra Bizen we came down into the desert of Samahar, and to the village of Emkoullou. Our steps pressed the soil which, two centuries before, had been watered by the blood of the confessors whom the impious Fasilidas had given up to the barbarity of the Turks. Two nights after, by a beautiful moonlight, in crossing the desert we came on a band of brigands. To attempt to escape was impossible—the 'Bogos' as they are called, brandished their long lances, and surrounded us on all sides. I could do nothing but simply commend our little party to God's mercy, and prepare for death. Suddenly Achilles's name was mentioned. He was known to the band, who instantly lowered their spears, and after a few words exclaimed, 'Fear nothing, we are friends'. At Emkoullou we baptised several men of the 'Gallas' tribe, transacted the affairs of our new mission, and then went on to the province of Agamié, where, with the permission of the prince, Oubié, we had purchased a site for a church and presbytery—one of the most beautiful in the whole country. The air there is pure and delicious; a limpid stream rushes down the glen, which is well wooded and gives a grateful shade. After a few months' labour shared in by the whole community, our little mission-house and chapel were completed and ready for the reception of twenty-four scholars. We have built another church on part of the property of the celebrated abbey of Guenda-Guendé, whose abbot earnestly desires to be reconciled to the Church, as well as his whole community, of whom six have already been received. Here I met my dear old friend M. Montuori, on his way from Khartoun—where he had founded the college—to Gondar, where he was about to purchase a site for the new mission in that town. On the road from Sennaar to Gondar he came on a wood called the Wood of Lions. Bones scattered here and there, and one or two bodies partially devoured, made the party feel that it was rightly named. All of a sudden they heard the low and terrible roar of the king of beasts. The mule on which M. Montuori was mounted, mad with fright, turned right round, and faced the enemy. Not being able to pull him in, he had no alternative but to throw himself off, falling on his head with such violence that he was left for dead. M. Blondel, consul-general of the King of the Belgians, nursed him with such care that he recovered—the mule alone falling a victim to the foe. Such are some of the perils of the missionary's life".

The next tribe visited by M. De Jacobis was the *Irobs*, a pastoral people, and claiming for themselves the palm of antiquity among all the tribes of Abyssinia. A young man named Tecla, belonging to this tribe, had already joined the mission in Tigré, and under his guidance, our missionary started for the town of Alitiena where the ancients of the tribe were at this time assembled. He then laid before the Irob chiefs the doctrines of faith, and fervently exhorted them to renounce their schism, and to return to the bosom of Christ. To his inexpressible consolation, it was soon announced to him by the president of the assembly that they had resolved to profess the Catholic faith, and that this should henceforth be the religion of their tribe. M. De Jacobis resolved therefore to remain for some time in the Irob territory, and his letters present many interesting details connected with this simple and devoted people:

“In a few days, M. Biancheri and I are going to start two rough tents made of sail-cloth, like the native ones. Until now, we have crept into the little dens or caverns which the shepherds use while guarding their flocks, or else slept in the wood huts of the Irobs, which are made of boughs of juniper and sycamore for the dwellings of the elders of the tribe alone are constructed of mud and stone, with a mortar of cow’s dung. But, however miserable the Irob habitations may be, there is no doubt about the cordiality of your reception; their welcome goes straight to one’s heart. The best corner of the hut, the cleanest cow-skin, is instantly placed at your disposal. It is thus, cross-legged, that the missionary sits and catechises his new converts; not without, I must own, sundry contortions in his efforts to catch the vermin which swarm round him and about him, and from which it is impossible to escape. The little instruction generally ends with prayer and the recitation of the Rosary. Then we have supper; which, in honour of the missionary, becomes a solemn feast. First, they bring the fattest goat and present it. I go through the form of accepting it; but then, knowing the poverty of these poor people, I intercede for its life, and suggest that it should be reserved for a more important occasion. Then they produce the *gonfo*, which is a kind of soup of oat-flour swimming in butter. Oat-cake is looked upon as a great delicacy by the Irobs, for they never taste wheat. This *gonfo* is served in a great bowl of sycamore wood, and is the only substitute for meat. Then the women retire, for it is not the custom for their sex to eat with their masters. The men, sitting in a half-circle, set to work and devour this soup, having no spoon but their hands, which they thrust into the butter at every mouthful. This is the only thing which never fails; and when one flatters oneself that one may eat the oat-cake alone, the master of the

house instantly pours in more butter from a little keg which he holds in his hand. As king of the feast, I ought to set the example on these occasions; but I confess being unable to swallow it, and my guests save me the trouble by finishing it in a few moments. Then follows the *lahano-han*, a *sorbet* very much liked by the Irobs, who drink it in what they call a *dagohda*, a cup made of fine plaited straw, manufactured by the women. The plaiting of these vessels is so close and even, that not a drop escapes. These cups are of a cylindrical shape, and, with smoke and dirt, are of the colour of ebony. When filled, the natives take a burning brand from the hearth and plunge it into the liquid, stirring it about till the milk rises in a scum to the top, when it is handed round to the company. Then the conversation begins to get animated, and goes on increasing in noise and vigour till the end of the feast. The supper over, and evening prayers said, the missionary lies down to sleep on his cow's skin, which he does as well as the noise and the vermin will allow him. The natives themselves sleep on the bare ground. As to their dress, they formerly wore the white linen common to the Indians, and which they called *berghella*; but since the communications with the sea-shore have been interrupted, they content themselves with a kind of rough cloth made in Abyssinia, which they pay for in kind; that is, with the butter and honey which abound in their country.

“Some patience is required to bear with the minute examination of every thing belonging to you which is the consequence of these friendly and hospitable receptions. Nothing escapes their notice or their touch in your room or about your person; and having at last satisfied their curiosity, they lie down by your side and whistle in your ear the different tunes with which they lead their cattle to pasture or home again to milk; sometimes interrupting their whistling to break out into a song in praise of a favourite bullock or heifer, the names of these animals being carefully introduced. The music ended, the Irob suddenly starts up and goes out without ever wishing you good-bye. But trying as these proceedings may be, there is a compensation for the little exercise of patience and temper in the docility with which the people will follow your instructions, and the good-will they show on every occasion. The missionary needs far less than this to induce him to overlook any amount of apparent indiscretion.

“News is conveyed among the the Irobs in an original but efficient manner. Carrier-pigeons, beacon-fires, and the like, are the usual resources of a primitive people. But here they have another and perhaps more satisfactory method. By a law dating from the earliest times, they claim the right to stop any passing traveller on the road, and to question him as to the current news

of the day or of the district through which he had passed; and the said traveller is bound to satisfy their curiosity to the full. In the same way, the questioner is compelled to reply to any inquiries that may be made by the passer-by, and to give him all the local gossip of the place. This itinerant journalism, though inconvenient to a stranger, is very valuable to the people of the country; and I am bound to say, that in fidelity and exactness it greatly surpasses the ordinary European newspapers, just as the image reproduced on the looking-glass is more faithful than any painted picture.

“Perhaps I shall weary you by my long descriptions of these tribes; but it is difficult to make you understand otherwise the nature of our daily life. You may, perhaps, exclaim, that a missionary’s existence among them has few compensations; but I assure you it is far otherwise. Not to speak of the spiritual joy of seeing so many souls brought to the knowledge of our Lord, and the consolations which God bestows on these who devote themselves to an Apostolic life (of which I feel myself utterly unworthy), there are many material pleasures; as, for instance, in the excessive beauty of the scenery and the flowers, the luxury of fresh milk when one is thirsty, and even the thick soups which one finds so delicious when fainting with hunger.

“But the good dispositions of the people, their gratitude and personal affection, are very cheering to the missionary’s heart. Is it not edifying to see a little goatherd of seven or eight years old, to whom you have taken some pains to explain the catechism, holding a small class of children of his own age on the mountain-side, of his own accord, and then presiding, with wonderful recollection and piety, at the evening devotions of his family? or to see old men die in the holiest and best dispositions? or to receive entreaties from young men to be prepared for holy orders? I was very much touched one day at hearing a boy, when asked ‘what he wished for most on earth’, reply, ‘I wish that our dear father, whom God has sent us, may live as long as Abié (the Abyssinian Mathuselah), so that at the hour of my death, I may have the joy of receiving the last Sacraments from him, as my elder brother did, who died in his arms’.

“They are positively *greedy* for religious instruction; from the little child of three years old, who can scarcely speak, to the old grandmother on whose knee he is sitting. It has moved me to tears to hear the old shepherds and the young soldiers on the hill side reciting together the Rosary or the Litanies, the lowing of the cattle mingling with their voices, as if ‘every thing that had breath’ were ‘praising God’.

“Such are the joys of our life, dear and reverend brother. I thank God that, in spite of my forty-six years, I still have strength

to climb these mountain-sides, to be cheered by the sight of such faith, and to preach our holy religion. The great difficulty we have to contend with here is in the purchase of land for churches and missions. Every acre belongs, not to this or that individual, but to the district, or to the whole province. Therefore, to get so large a number of people to agree as to the terms is next to impossible. However, God has turned the hearts of many towards us. Grants of lands have been freely made, on many unexpected occasions, for these purposes; so that we must hope for a similar extension of our work throughout the country".

ANCIENT HYMN TO SAINT MAC CARTHEN, BISHOP AND PATRON OF CLOGHER.

THE following Hymn in honour of St. MacCarthen was recently discovered in an old MS. of the Diocesan Library of Cashel, and was inserted in the *Cashel Gazette*, December 19th, 1868. It is probably the hymn which, as we learn from Ware, was composed by Patrick Culin, Bishop of Clogher, who died in 1534. "Our prelate (writes Ware) was accounted a person of considerable knowledge, both in antiquities and poetry, and was the author of a hymn of ten stanzas in metre, in praise of St. MacCarthen, first Bishop of Clogher, which is extant in manuscript among the collections of the late Archbishop King" (Ware's *Bishops*, page 187). It is not difficult to explain how this hymn, with other monuments of the see of Clogher, found its way to the archives of Cashel. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, Miler Magrath, for a short time Bishop of Clogher, preferred the favours of the crown to the blessings of Divine faith, and, renouncing the faith of his fathers, received as his reward from his royal patron the see of Cashel. We hope that further researches in the Cashel library will bring to light the ancient Registry of Clogher, which was also extant in Ware's time, and other MSS., to illustrate the history of that see which was founded by St. Patrick himself, and for centuries numbered among its sainted bishops some of the brightest names that are registered in our annals.

HYMNUS IN LAUDEM ST. MAKARTINI,

*Episcopi Clocherensis et fundatoris Monasterii Clocherensis, qui
obiit 9 Calend. Aprilis An. 506.*

Festum dignum celebrantes
Sanctum virum venerantes
Makartinum et laudantes
Exaudi nos Trinitas.

Est confessor fide plane
Virgo fertur castitate
Martyr fatur sponte fame
Apostolus prædicans.

Qui peccati nescit fraudem
Et prælati vita tandem
Trinitati tulit laudem
In multis miraculis.

Sordes mentis formidabat
Stultas gentes castigabat
Quod exemplis solidabat
Per virtutis opera.

Laborantes in dolore
Supplicantes cum amore
Sed lætantes sunt favore
Precibus que præsulis.

Cæcos surdos salutavit
Et immundos lepra lavit
Moribundos suscitavit
Makartinus Pontifex.

Infirmantes visitabat
Expirantes suscitabat
Plures gentes baptizabat
Cum Sancto Patricio.

Sancto Deo quasi vivit
Jesu Christo obedivit
Mundo victo post exivit
Ad æternam gloriam.

Hic in terris fuit fortis
Nunc in cœlis bonæ sortis
Nos a pœna diræ mortis
Makartinus liberat.

Deus Trinus qui est unus
 Quique nobis præstat munus
 Quo sit clerus hic securus
 In perenni gloria. Amen.

RUBRICAL QUESTIONS.

1. "WHEN a priest goes on an ordinary sick-call, should he commence at the *De Visitatione et Cura Infirmorum* of the Ritual, or after hearing the sick person's confession begin at the *Ritus Communicandi ad Infirmum*, omitting the other? Both practices are pursued by different priests in this district. Please say which is right.—W. M'D."

The title *De Visitatione et Cura Infirmum*, in our small ordo or compendium, is taken, with a few slight additions, from the Roman Ritual (same title). We do not think that this title refers merely to what are commonly called "sick-calls" in this country: it appears rather to be an exhortation and instruction to those having care of souls, as to the general solicitude and care they should have of the sick. The details, so far as certain forms of prayer and specific rites are described, appear to constitute one of the *Sacramentaria* of the Church rather than to have any proximate relation to the administration of a sacrament, and are left in this respect very much to the discretion or judgment of the parish priest. I say in this respect, for it is obvious that the portion of the Instructions Nos. 1 to 17 inclusive, are nothing more or less than the essential or positive duty of the parish priest, which, no doubt, is substantially observed in this country according to the circumstances, *ex. gr.* the length of the illness, the need in which the sick person stands of instruction, consolation, or exhortation, etc. The *rite* or *form* is, on the other hand, not generally used. We know, however, of some venerable priests who have, occasionally at least, observed it in all its details. So much being premised, if our correspondent means to ask, "Whether a priest attending a *sick-call*, where the last Sacraments are to be administered, is to commence with the observances and prayers under the heading *De Visitatione et Cura Infirmorum* in our Compendium or Ordo?" we reply plainly in the negative. If he wishes to refer to other circumstances, *i.e.*, "when the sacraments are not to be administered", not knowing just now what authority there is for the minor, but

in themselves very appropriate additions to the Ritual which appear in our Ordo, our reply would be, *Servetur Dispositio Ritualis Romani (hoc titulo)*. In addition, however, to the sense in which we have previously discussed the proposed question, it may be perhaps understood as seeking to elicit opinion on the relative merits of two practices—one, in accordance with which the three Sacraments of Penance, the Holy Viaticum, and Extreme Unction, together with the Benediction *in art. mortis*, are conferred at one visit; which, however, need not necessarily be supposed to be the first and only one: the other, according to which distinct visits are paid for each of the above occasions. The first of these practices—of course not speaking of cases of urgency—is very objectionable, and when conjoined with the abuse of bearing the Blessed Sacrament to the sick, except in cases where the priest prudently believes it necessary for the purpose of administering the Holy Communion or Viaticum, is still more reprehensible. Extreme Unction and Viaticum should also, except in cases of urgency either affecting the sick person or the priest, who in an extensive parish may not easily return from a great distance with the holy oils, be administered at distinct visits. As to the *Benedictio in artic. mortis*, it should be observed that, when administered immediately after either of the foregoing sacraments, *it is necessary*, according to recent declarations of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, that the *Confiteor*, etc., should be repeated.

2. Another correspondent asks us: "Can a curate who says two Masses on Sunday accept an *honorarium* for either Mass?" The answer should be manifest from what we laid down in a late number. The curate, who is not obliged *ex-officio* to offer up Mass for his flock, may accept an *honorarium* for the first Mass. In the poorer districts he may, by permission of his bishop, accept it also for the second Mass. As this question of the *honorarium* for the second Mass has given risen to some controversy, we will publish, in the next number, the circular of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda on this subject.

3. "At Low Mass on Sundays, may four candles be lighted?" The use of four candles is allowed *ratione festi*.

DOCUMENT.

I.

Letter of our Holy Father Pius the Ninth to the Bishop of Montpellier on some Modern Systems of Education.

A SYSTEM of high-schools for ladies having been established in France some short time ago, the Bishop of Montpellier consulted His Holiness as to the course he should pursue in regard to such schools. The reply of His Holiness sets forth the many dangers involved in such a system, and shows that it is nothing more than a new phase of the infidel education with which Continental Freemasons seek to destroy every germ of faith and feeling in Catholic youth. The decision of our Holy Father is of importance for ourselves at the present moment, as it seems that efforts are being made, not only by Freemasons, but also by many bearing the highest titles in the Established Church, to introduce a similar educational institution into Ireland, and to attract Catholic ladies to its schools:

“Venerabili Fratri Francisco, Episcopo Montispeessulani.

“PIUS PAPA IX.

“Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

“Gratulamur tibi, Venerabilis Frater, quod adversus novas insidias rectae puellarum educationi structas vocem extuleris, et procacitatem fregeris, qua nuper, institutio, cujus perniciem luculenter graviterque demonstraverant Venerabiles Fratres tui, non modo cujusvis suspicionis expers audacter renuntiata est, sed utilissima et commendanda, tum quod id testetur prudens docendi ratio per praeteritos menses adhibita à praeceptoribus, tum quod rei patrocinium et regimen à Principe Foemina piissima susceptum omne plane discrimen ab ipsa amoliri videatur. Verum haec nihil omnino demunt de vitio institutionis, quae pro idoneis probisque matribus-familias societati parat foeminas manca et inani scientia tumentes; nihil de defectu catholici spiritus, quo dumtaxat mens et affectus rite informari possunt, quique in tota institutione desideratur; nihil de malitia, qua religiosa posthabetur educatio, ne cujuslibet erroris conditio deterior esse existimetur, et ut omnibus par deferatur honor; nihil denique de periculis, quibus muliebris pudor in publicum productus objicitur. Ad haec vero nemo non videt, prudentiam illorum qui, uti asseritur, praeceptiones suas intra debitae severitatis et modestiae fines paulisper continuerunt, fieri nequire vadem pruden-

tiae aliorum, nec fortasse ipsorummet in diuturniore muneri sui exercitio, et in diversis auctorum scriptis scientiaeque inventis exponendis. Moderatrix vero et patrona, quantumvis pia, sollicita, sagax, non ubique praeesse posterit, nec omnia singillatim inspicere; multoque minus emendare valebit intrinseca institutionis et methodi vitia. Dolendum sane est, iis omnibus machinationibus, quae hactenus adhibitae fuerunt ad corrumpendos adolescentium animos, accedere nunc eas, quae pubertatem alterius sexus contaminent. Obsta pro viribus, Venerabilis Frater, tanto religionis, animarum et patriae detrimento; novosque animos inde sume, quod non modo tecum habeas Venerabiles omnes Fratres tuos, piosque universos, sed et quotquot integritatem morum, morales muliebris sexus virtutes, veramque familiae utilitatem sartas tectas servari desiderant. Faustum Nos episcopali sollicitudini tuae exitum ominamur; ejusque auspicem et praecipuae nostrae benevolentiae pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi tuaeque Dioecesi universae peramanter impertimus.

“Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die 25 Novembris, 1868, Pontificatus Nostri Anno XXIII.

“PIUS PAPA IX.”

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.

THE ASSOCIATION OF PRAYER FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE
INTEMPERATE.

To the Editors of the Record.

Armagh, December 20th, 1868.

“GENTLEMEN,

“The founders and members of the association feel deeply grateful for the article contained in your number for December, and you will no doubt deem it your best reward to find that, in consequence, applications for tickets, etc., have been made from at least six counties in Ireland, in all of which there is good hope that the association will spread; and, thanks to the *Record*, the thousands of members it already numbered in sixty-eight, may be hundreds of thousands in sixty-nine. Several applicants, however, are in error about the work so far as to call it a “Temperance” Association: would you at some future day aid in clearing up this one little point—a very important one for the

end in view. The association is one of **PRAYER**, not of *Temperance*, and founded on confidence in the power of prayer; founded too with a view to get *all* to pray—the strong for the weak, and the weak for themselves. I fear some of your readers overlooked the concluding sentence last month. Several have asked for tickets in order to establish a temperance society. This is a mistake; ours is a different work totally, and I am sure a few words from you will clear up all doubts and misunderstandings. The good who will *pray*, who will aid in saving friends and strangers, the known and the unknown, must form the bulk of the association; but none are more welcome or more desired than those whose one chance, for time and beyond it, lies in prayer.

“With the utmost respect and gratitude, we are, Rev. Gentlemen, your humble servants,

“The Members of the Association of **PRAYER** for the **CONVERSION** of those addicted to *Intemperance*”.

II.

Institution for Poor Converts.

It may be useful to some of our readers to know that an “Institution has been established for poor Catholic convert ladies”. We cannot better make known its purport and advantages than by inserting its circular, which has just come to hand:

“The special object of this religious work, directed by the Nuns of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, is to aid young convert ladies, and Catholics persecuted for the faith, who may be compelled to leave their families and seek an asylum in a foreign land.

“To this end the religious are at all times ready to receive for a certain period, converts who feel the necessity of further religious instruction, and who are glad to find it under the protection of a convent home.

“They offer to give at the same time, to such young persons as may desire it, and to the children of converts, the advantages of a liberal education and careful training, which may qualify them ultimately to undertake the duties of teachers and governesses, or enable them in some honourable way to provide for their own maintenance, and thus escape the destitution which in too many cases follows upon their reception into the true Church.

“The ordinary course of education pursued in the convent comprises English and French in all their branches; music and drawing; plain and ornamental needlework. Foreign languages are taught by natives. The religious instruction is superintended by a resident chaplain appointed by the Bishop of Versailles.

“In order to extend the benefits of this institute as widely as

possible, the expenses of the pension are limited to very moderate charges for board, as also for furnishing the trousseau. These charges can be regulated by mutual consent, according to the age and circumstances of each applicant.

"To all who are thus trained in the convent, every aid will be afforded in procuring them suitable situations in respectable Catholic families, and in assisting them when out of employment, or in sickness.

"The call for an institution of this nature has long been felt, from the fact that great numbers of these young converts are exposed to dangerous temptations, perilous alike to their faith and morals, from their inexperience, want of resources, and isolation on their arrival in a foreign country, where they are strangers alike to the customs and language of those around them.

"The convent is situated in a beautiful and elevated position called Les Bruyères, between Sèvres and Bellevue, near Paris. It is distant from Paris fifteen minutes by railroad. Being close to the capital, and yet in the midst of the most picturesque country, surrounded by large and beautiful gardens, it offers all the most important conditions for health, convenience, and an agreeable residence.

"Patrons or benefactors, willing to contribute to this work by their means or personal influence, participate as auxiliary members, by virtue of a recent grant of His Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth, in all the indulgences and spiritual favours, as well as in the masses and prayers offered by the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, canonically established in the convent chapel, an affiliation from the Archconfraternity of the same name in Rome, which has existed above two hundred years, and has been largely indulged by the Sovereign Pontiffs Pius the Seventh and Pius the Ninth.

"Patrons and benefactors are entitled to place a child under fifteen years of age for every yearly subscription of £12. A donation of £20 entitles the donor to the education and maintenance of a young person for three years.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1869.

GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.

NO. IX.

WHAT is the true meaning of the Mosaic Days? This question brings at once before us the second branch of the inquiry in which we are engaged; and it will, therefore, form the subject of discussion in our present paper. At the outset we have to notice that a very remarkable diversity of opinion prevailed on this subject among the early Fathers of the Church. Some modern writers seem to think that the meaning of this word Day is so plain and obvious as to leave no room for doubt or controversy; that a Day can be nothing else than a period of twenty four hours, marked by the succession of light and darkness; and that in this sense the Mosaic narrative was universally understood until quite recently, when a new explanation was invented, to meet the requirements of modern science. All this, however, is far from true. The meaning of the word Day, in the first chapter of Genesis, has been, in point of fact, a subject of controversy from the earliest times. And Saint Augustine tells us that the question appeared to him so difficult that he could pronounce no decisive judgment upon it. "As to these Days", he says, "what kind they were, it is very difficult, nay, it is impossible to imagine, and much more so to explain".¹

¹ "Qui dies cujusmodi sint, aut perdifficile nobis, aut etiam impossibile est cogitare; quanto magis dicere". *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. xi. cap. 6.

Again: "Arduum quidem et difficillimum est viribus intentionis nostrae, voluntatem scriptoris in istis sex diebus mentis vivacitate penetrare". *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. iv. cap. 1.

Nevertheless, this great Doctor, having long pondered over the subject, and considered it on many sides, does not hesitate to express his own opinion. And in this opinion he departs very widely, indeed, from the literal and obvious interpretation. He maintains at great length,¹ as we had before occasion to observe, that God created all things in a single instant of time, according to the words of Ecclesiasticus, "He who liveth for ever created all things at once".² And thus he is led to infer that the Six Days commemorated by Moses were in reality but one day; and this not such a day as those which are now measured by the revolution of the sun, for we find three successive days recorded by Moses before the sun appeared in the Heavens. It was in fact nothing else than that one single instant of time in which all things were created together.³

Nor was this opinion peculiar to Saint Augustine. At the very dawn of the Christian Era it was set forth by Philo the Jew;⁴ and afterwards it was maintained by Clement of Alexandria,⁵ and by Origen.⁶ The great Saint Athanasius

¹ See *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. iv. capp. xxvi.-xxxv. Lib. v. cap. i. n. 3, and cap. iii. n. 6.

² *Ecclesiasticus*, xviii. 1.

³ "Ac sic per omnes illos dies unus est dies, non istorum dierum consuetudine, intelligendus, quos videmus solis circuitu determinari atque numerari; sed alio quodam modo, a quo et illi tres dies, qui ante conditionem istorum luminarium commemorati sunt, alieni esse non possunt. Is enim modus non usque ad diem quantum, ut inde jam istos usitatos cogitaremus, sed usque ad sextum septimumque perductus est; ut longe aliter accipiendus sit dies et nox, inter quae duo divisit Deus, et aliter iste dies et nox, inter quae dixit ut dividant luminaria quae creavit, cum ait, 'Et dividant inter diem et noctem'. Tunc enim hunc diem condidit, cum condidit solem, cujus praesentia eundem exhibet diem: ille autem dies primitus conditus jam triduum peregerat cum haec luminaria illius diei quarta repetitione creata sunt". *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. iv. cap. xxvi. "De quo enim Creatore Scriptura ista narravit, quod sex diebus consummaverit omnia opera sua, de illo alibi non utique dissonanter scriptum est, quod creaverit omnia simul (*Eccles. xviii. 1*). Ac per hoc et istos dies sex vel septem, vel potius unum sexies septiesve repetitum simul fecit qui fecit omnia simul. Quid ergo opus erat sex dies tam distincte dispositeque narrari? Quia scilicet ii qui non possunt videre quod dictum est, 'Creavit omnia simul'; nisi cum eis sermo tardius incedat, ad id quo eos ducit, pervenire non possunt". *Ib.* cap. xxxiii.

⁴ "Tum igitur omnia simul sunt condita. In quo quidem universali opificio necesse erat servari ordinem". *De Mundi Opificio*, Edit. Francofurti, p. 14. This passage may, at first sight, appear somewhat obscure; but the meaning of it is made clear enough when we read elsewhere in the same writer: "*Rusticanae simplicitatis est putare, sex diebus, aut utique certo tempore mundum conditum. . . . Ergo cum audis: 'Complevit sexto die opera', intelligere non debes de diebus aliquot, sed de senario perfecto numero*". *De Legis Allegor.* Edit. Francofurti, p. 41.

⁵ *Stromatum*, Lib. vi. Edit. Bened. p. 291; Edit. Migne, *Patrum Graec. Cursus Completus*, vol. 9, p. 370-5. See also *Dissertatio de Libris Stromatum* by the learned Benedictine, Nicholas le Nourry, Cap. viii. Artic. 1.

⁶ "Quod autem prima die lucem, secunda firmamentum creaverit, tertia aquae quae sub coelo erant, in suis fuerint collectae receptaculis, atque ita terra solius naturae administratione suos fructus protulerit; quod quarta creata fuerint luminaria et stellae, quinta vero natatilia, sexta demum terrestria et

seems to throw the weight of his authority in the same direction, when he says, speaking of the Creation, that "no one thing was made before another, but all things were produced at once together by the self-same command".¹ And after the time of Saint Augustine this figurative interpretation was defended by Saint Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, in the course of the fifth century,² and by Procopius of Gaza in the sixth.³ In the days of the schools we find it approved by Albertus Magnus,⁴ and treated respectfully by Saint Thomas;⁵ and later still,

homo, haec omnia, prout facultas tulit, in nostris in Genesim commentariis explicavimus. Quin et supra contra eos qui obrio sensu Scripturam interpretantes asserunt sex dies ad creationem mundi insumptos fuisse, adduximus hunc locum: 'Iste est liber generationis coeli et terrae quando creata sunt, in die quo fecit Deus coelum et terram'. Contra Celsum, Lib. vi. Edit. Bened. pp. 678, 679. Edit. Migne, *Patr. Graecor. Cursus Completus*, vol. 11, p. 1390: for the passage referred to at the close of the extract see p. 1378. The Commentary upon Genesis of which Origen here speaks no longer exists, but the following passage has been preserved. "Aliqui jam absurdum existimantes Deum architecti more non aliter, quam plurium dierum labore, fabricam valentis absolvere, intra multos dies mundum perfecisse, uno cuncta momento ac simul extitisse aiunt, et hinc illud adstruunt; ordinis autem causa, et ut series constet, dierum et rerum quae in illis factae sunt, numerum dictum putant. Hi probabiliter sententiam stabiliunt ea auctoritate qua dictum est: 'Ipse dixit, et facta sunt; ipse mandavit, et creata sunt'. S. lecta in Genesim, Edit. Bened. p. 27. Edit. Migne, *Patr. Graec. Cursus Completus*, vol. 12, p. 98. Again, in his Treatise *De Principiis*, Lib. iv., he says: "Quis igitur sanae mentis existimaverit primam et secundam et tertiam diem, et vespeream, et mane sine sole, luna, et stellis, et eam quae veluti prima erat, diem sine coelo fuisse?" Edit. Bened. p. 175. Edit. Migne, vol. 11, p. 378. See also P. Danielis Huetii *Origeniana*, Lib. ii. cap. ii. Quaest. 8, § 6. Edit. Migne, vol. 17, p. 979.

¹ "Cum ex supra dictis constet, nullam e rebus creatis prius altera factam esse, sed res omnes factas uno eodemque mandato simul extitisse". *Oratio II. Contra Arianos*, n. 63. Edit. Bened. p. 418. New Edition, p. 528. Edit. Migne, *Patr. Graecor. Cursus Completus*, p. 275.

² Or, speaking more strictly, we should say the author of a Commentary upon Genesis belonging to a very early period of the Church, ascribed by some to Saint Eucherius, and usually published with his works. This author says, no doubt, that God first, in the beginning, created the substance of all things, and afterwards developed the various forms on successive days (Gen. ii. 4): but then he tells us expressly that the substance did not precede the forms by any priority of time, but only by priority of origin. (Gen. i. 2). Thus his view coincides pretty nearly with that of St. Augustine, whose words, indeed, he seems to borrow. "'Terra autem erat inanis et vacua'. Id est, adhuc informis erat ipsa materia: quia necdum ex ea coelum et terra, necdum omnia formata erant, quae formari restabant: haec enim materia, ex nihilo facta, praecessit tamen res ex se factas, non quidem aeternitate vel tempore, sicut praecedit lignum arcam; sed sola origine, sicut praecedit vox verbum, vel sonus cantum: nam 'qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul'". Edit. Migne, *Patr. Latin. Cursus Completus*, vol. 50, p. 894.

³ In *Genes.* cap. ii. See Pererius in *Genes.* cap. ii. v. 4, n. 179.

⁴ Videtur mihi Augustino consentiendum". *Summa* 5. 1, Quaest. 12, art. 6. See Pianciani, *Cosmogonia Naturale*, p. 23.

⁵ *Summa*, pars. 1. Quaest. 74, art. II.: Also in an earlier work, *Super Libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi Commentarius*, Distinct. xii. art. I. and III. Having explained the opinion of Saint Augustine that there was no real succession in the order of time between the various works of the creation, but that all were created together; and also the opinion of other Holy Fathers, that there was

adopted by Cardinal Cajetan in his commentary on the Book of Genesis.¹

It will be said, perhaps, that we are here arguing against ourselves: these eminent writers are in favour of reducing the days of Creation to one single point of time; whereas it is our purpose to stretch them out to periods of indefinite length. But no: our object just now is not precisely to establish our own hypothesis, but rather to prepare the way for its discussion. We want to show that we are quite free to abandon the popular view of the Mosaic Days if there be good reason for our doing so. And it seems to us that we have abundantly established this point by a long list of eminent ecclesiastical writers, who, without any note of censure, have diverged very widely from the common interpretation. No doubt they have shortened the time, and we want to lengthen it. But in this they agree with us, that the Days of Creation are not, of necessity, days in the ordinary sense of the word. Nay, Saint Augustine goes farther and maintains, from the evidence of the Sacred Text itself, that they cannot be understood in this sense.²

Having thus cleared away a serious difficulty that seemed to obstruct our path, we may proceed without hesitation to the direct object of our inquiry. The burden of proof, let it be remembered, is not with us, but rather with those who contend for Days of twenty four hours. They must prove that this word Day in the first chapter of Genesis means a period of twenty four hours, and *can mean nothing else*. If it *may* be understood in a wider sense, consistently with the usage of Scripture, that is quite enough for us. We are perfectly at liberty to adopt an interpretation which, on the one hand, the Sacred Text fairly admits, and on the other, the discoveries of Natural Science would seem to demand. Let us examine, then, the arguments that are usually adduced in favour of the popular interpretation.

Throughout the first chapter of Genesis the Hebrew word יום (*yom*) is everywhere employed by Moses to designate the Days of Creation. And many writers contend that the use of this word is, in itself, evidence enough that he spoke of days in the common sense of the term. It is plain, they say, from the

a real succession, he continues thus: "Prima ergo opinio [Sancti Augustini] magis convenit rationi, nec est contra Scripturam; quia ea quae in Scriptura ordinem temporis importare videntur, ad ordinem naturae Augustinus refert: secundo vero magis convenit Scripturae secundum suum superficiem. Quia ergo utraque a Sanctis patrocinium habet, utramque sustinendo, objectionibus hinc inde factis respondendum est". Loco citato, art. 1. *Solutio*.

¹ Ad cap. i. v. 5. See Pererius in *Genes*. cap. v. 4, n. 179.

² See *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Lib. iv. capp. xxvi., xxvii.: also Lib. i. capp. x., xi., xii.

usage of Scripture that the word יום (*yom*) had a fixed and certain meaning in the Hebrew language; the same precisely as that which we now attach to the English word Day. Sometimes, when contradistinguished from night, it was applied to the period of light, from sunrise to sunset; otherwise it meant the civil day of twenty four hours, measured by the revolution of the Sun. Moreover, it had unquestionably attained this meaning at the time when Moses wrote, and therefore it could not have been employed by him in any other sense.

This argument rests upon a false foundation. It is true, no doubt, that the word יום (*yom*) was more usually employed in one or other of the two senses just explained;—that is to say, (1°) for the period of light from sunrise to sunset, or (2°) for the period of twenty four hours corresponding to a complete revolution of the Sun. But, for the validity of the argument, it would be necessary to show that, beside these two senses, there is no other in which the word may be fairly understood, conformably to the usage of the Hebrew language. Now this has never yet been proved. On the contrary, the Scripture affords abundant evidence that the word יום (*yom*) had a third meaning quite different from the other two; that it was freely used to designate a period of time much longer than a common day, and generally of uncertain and indefinite duration. A few examples will be interesting, we hope, to our readers.

In the second chapter of Genesis Moses, having completed his account of the Creation, says (v. 4): “These are the generations of the Heavens and the Earth when they were created, in the Day (יום, *yom*) that the Lord God created the Earth and the Heavens: (v. 5) And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew”. There is a good deal of controversy about the precise meaning of this passage. But one thing at least appears to be plain, that the word יום (*yom*) is not used to designate a day of twenty-four hours; nor yet the period of light from sunrise to sunset; but rather the whole period of the Creation. On this point almost all our best commentators are agreed. “It is manifest”, says Venerable Bede, “that in this place the sacred writer has put the word Day for all that time during which the primeval creation was brought into existence. For it was not upon any one of the Six Days that the sky was made and adorned with stars, and the dry land was separated from the waters, and furnished with trees and plants. But, according to its accustomed practice, Scripture here uses the word Day in the sense of time”.¹ Saint Augustine gives even a wider

¹ “Aperte intelligi quia diem hoc loco Scriptura pro omni illo tempore ponit quo primordialis natura formata est. Neque enim in unoquoque sex dierum celum factum est et sideribus illustratum, et terra est separata ab aquis, atque

expansion to the word when he writes: "Seven Days are enumerated above, and now that is called one Day in which God made the Heavens and the Earth, and every green thing of the field; by which term we may well suppose that *all time is meant*. For God then made all time when He made creatures that live in time; and these creatures are here signified by the Heavens and the Earth".¹ Molina on the same passage says: "Learned writers tell us commonly that Moses in this place puts the word Day in the sense of Time, just as in the passage of Deuteronomy, 'The day of perdition is at hand'. . . . And elsewhere in Scripture Day is often used for Time".² Bannez, too, concurs in this opinion. "The word Day", he says, "can be understood *for any duration whatsoever*".³ Pererius, answering an objection taken from this text, says that "Day is put for Time, as is *frequently done in Scripture*".⁴ And Petavius not only adopts this interpretation, but contends that it is conformable to the usage even of the Greek and Latin writers.⁵ He gives an example from Cicero against Verres: "Itaque cum ego *diem* in Siciliam perexiguam postulavissem, invenit iste qui sibi in Achaiam *biduo breviorē diem* postularet". Here, then,

arboribus et herbis consita; sed *more sibi solito Scriptura diem pro tempore ponit*; quomodo Apostolus cum ait, 'Ecce nunc dies salutis', non unum specialiter diem, sed totum significat tempus hoc quo in praesenti vita pro aeterna salute laboramus". *Hexaemeron*, Lib. i. in *Gen.* ii. 4. Edit. Migne, *Patr. Lat. Cursus Completus*, vol. 91, p. 39.

¹ "Superius septem dies numerantur, nunc unus dicitur dies, quo die fecit Deus coelum et terram, et omne viride agri, et omne pabulum, *cujus diei nomine omne tempus significari bene intelligitur*. Fecit enim Deus omne tempus simul cum omnibus creaturis temporalibus, quae creaturae visibiles coeli et terrae nomine significantur". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Lib. ii. cap. iii. n. 4.

² "Dicunt Doctores communiter, Moysem eo loco sumpsisse *diem pro tempore* juxta illud Deuteronomii xxxii., juxta est dies perditionis, . . . et alibi saepe, in Scriptura sumitur dies pro tempore". *In primam partem, De opere sex dierum*, D. I. See Pianciani, *Cosmogonia Naturale*, p. 27.

³ "Dies potest accipi pro quacumque duratione et mensura". In *Summa pars 1, Quaest. 73*.

⁴ "Nec officit huic sententiae, quod paullo superius ex cap. ii. Geneseos prolatum est, 'In die quo fecit Dominus Deus coelum et terram'. Ibi enim *dies pro tempore, sicut crebro fit in Scriptura, positus est*". In *Gen.* cap. ii. v. 4.

⁵ "Postquam Moyses sex dierum opificium toto primo capite descripsit, mox in sequenti summam univarse colligens, 'Istae sunt', inquit, 'generationes coeli et terrae, quando creatae sunt, in die quo fecit Dominus Deus coelum et terram'. Quae verba non unius diei mentionem faciunt, ut quibusdam videtur; qui primum diem designari putant, in quo factum illud est, praeter lucem, quod initio libri Moyses explicat, 'In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram'. Sed eam nos opinionem minime probamus, ac supra docuimus, *diei nomen* istic usurpari pro tempore: quod apud Graecos Latinosque, non minus quam Hebraeos, usitatum est. Exemplo sit Ciceronis illud ex libro secundo in Verrem: Itaque cum ego diem in Siciliam inquirendi prexiguam postulavissem, invenit iste, qui sibi in Achaiam *biduo breviorē diem* postularet'. Igitur cum dixisset, *in die*, id est tempore illo, factum esse coelum et terram, hoc est perpolitum et elaboratum esse sex continuis diebus", etc. *De Opificio Sex Dierum*, Lib. i. cap. xiv., sect. 1.

is an instance in which Moses himself uses the word Day (יֹמ, *yom*) not in the ordinary sense, but for a long period of time;—for all that time, whatever it may have been, which elapsed from the first act of creation to the close of the Six Days

Another striking example occurs in the prophet Amos. “Behold, the days are coming, saith the Lord God, and I will send forth a famine into the land: not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord. And they shall wander from sea to sea and from the north to the east: they shall go about seeking the word of the Lord, and shall not find it. In that *day* (יֹמ, *yom*) shall the fair virgins and the young men faint for thirst”.¹ Every one will see at a glance that the word Day in the latter part of this passage does not mean a day of twenty four hours. It evidently refers to the whole period during which the calamities here foretold were to be inflicted on the Jewish people. What that period was may be a question of dispute. By some it is taken for the time of the Babylonian captivity; by others for the present age of the world, in which the Jews are wanderers on the face of the earth, without a prophet and without a pastor, thirsting for the word of God, and seeking it in vain. But, in any case, it is clear from the opening words, “Behold the days are coming”, that it was a period not of one day only, but of many.

Then we have those well known words addressed by God the Father to His Eternal Son: “Thou art my Son, this *day* (יֹמ, *yom*) have I begotten thee”.² The Son of God was begotten by the Father before all ages; and the *day*, therefore, on which He was begotten, cannot be a common day of twenty-four hours, but must rather be the long day of Eternity without beginning and without end.

This text, we know, is sometimes applied to the day of our Lord's Resurrection; and sometimes, too, to the day of His Incarnation: nor do we want to deny that it may be thus rightly explained in a secondary and mystical sense. But in its literal sense we think it plainly refers to the Eternal Generation of the Son. This meaning is sufficiently implied by the word *begotten*, which cannot be understood with propriety, except of that Generation by virtue of which Our Divine Lord was from Eternity the natural Son of God. Moreover, this is the sense in which the passage is adopted by Saint Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews. Wishing to show that Our Lord has received by inheritance a name more excellent than any given to the Angels, he argues thus: “For to which of the Angels hath He said at any time, Thou art my Son, this *day* have I begotten thee”?³

¹ Amos, viii. 11, 12.

² Psalm, ii. 7.

³ Hebr. i. 5.

Now it seems to us that, unless we understand these words of the Eternal Generation, the point of the Apostle's argument is completely lost. The Angels are sometimes called in Scripture the sons of God; but they were only the *adopted sons*, whereas Our Lord was the *natural Son* by His Eternal Generation. Consequently it was no other than the Eternal Generation which made the name of Son more excellent when applied to Christ than the same name when applied to the angels.

Again, it is quite a common thing, with the prophets generally, to use the word יָוֹם (*yom*) for the season of tribulation and affliction, though the same may have extended over a period of many days or even many years. Jeremias employs it in this sense when he describes so vividly the manifold calamities that were impending over the ill-fated Babylon. "I have caused thee to fall into a snare, and thou art taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware of it: thou art found and caught because thou hast provoked the Lord. The Lord hath opened His armoury, and hath brought forth the weapons of His wrath: for the Lord the God of hosts hath a work to be done in the land of the Chaldeans. Come ye against her from the uttermost borders: open, that they may go forth that shall tread her down: take the stones out of the way, and make heaps, and destroy her: and let nothing of her be left. Destroy all her valiant men, let them go down to the slaughter: woe to them, for their *day* (יָוֹם, *yom*) is come, *the time* of their visitation. The voice of them that flee, and of them that have escaped out of the land of Babylon: to declare in Sion the revenge of the Lord our God, the revenge of His temple. Declare to many against Babylon, to all that bend the bow: stand together against her round about, and let none escape; pay her according to her work: according to all that she hath done, do ye to her: for she hath lifted up herself against the Lord, against the Holy One of Israel. Therefore shall her young men fall in her streets: and all her men of war shall hold their peace in that *day* (יָוֹם, *yom*), saith the Lord. Behold I come against thee, O proud one, saith the Lord the God of hosts: for the *day* (יָוֹם, *yom*) is come, *the time* of thy visitation. And the proud one shall fall, he shall fall down, and there shall be none to lift him up: and I will kindle a fire in his cities, and it shall devour all round about him".¹ And in the following chapter:—"Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will raise up as it were a pestilential wind against Babylon, and against the inhabitants thereof who have lifted up their heart against me. And I will send to Babylon fanners, and they shall fan her, and shall destroy her land: for they are

¹ Jeremias, cap. 1. vv. 24-32.

come upon her on every side in the *day* (יֹמִי, *yom*) of her affliction".¹

In another place the same prophet applies the word יֹמִי (*yom*) to the whole duration of a long campaign carried by on Nabuchodonosor against Pharaoh Nechao, king of Egypt. "Prepare ye the shield and buckler, and go forth to battle. Harness the horses, and get up, ye horsemen: stand forth with helmets, furbish the spears, put on coats of mail. What then? I have seen them dismayed, and turning their backs, their valiant ones slain: they fled apace, they looked not back: terror was round about, saith the Lord. Let not the swift flee away, nor the strong think to escape: they are overthrown and fallen down, towards the north by the river Euphrates. Who is this that cometh up as a flood; and his streams swell like those of rivers? Egypt riseth up like a flood, and the waves thereof shall be moved as rivers, and he shall say: I will go up and will cover the earth: I will destroy the city and its inhabitants. Get ye up on horses, and glory in chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Ethiopians and the Lybians, that handle the shield, and the Lydians that handle and bend the bow. For this is the *day* (יֹמִי, *yom*) of the Lord the God of hosts, a *day* of vengeance that He may revenge Himself of His enemies: the sword shall devour, and shall be filled, and shall be drunk with their blood: for there is a sacrifice of the Lord God of hosts in the north country, by the river Euphrates. Furnish thyself to go into captivity, thou daughter inhabitant of Egypt: for Memphis shall be made desolate, and shall be forsaken and uninhabited. Egypt is like a fair and beautiful heifer: there shall come from the north one that shall goad her. Her hirelings also that lived in the midst of her, like fatted calves are turned back, and are fled away together, and they could not stand: for the *day* (יֹמִי, *yom*) of their slaughter is come upon them, the *time* of their visitation".²

The prophet Ezechiel, too, furnishes a forcible illustration when he thus foreshadows the course of a second expedition against Egypt undertaken by the same prince:—"Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will set Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon in the land of Egypt: and he shall take her multitude, and take the booty thereof for a prey, and rifle the spoils thereof: and it shall be wages for his army; and for the service he hath done me against it: I have given him the land of Egypt, because he hath laboured for me, saith the Lord God. In that *day* (יֹמִי, *yom*) a horn shall bud forth for the house of Israel, and I will give thee an open mouth in the midst of them:

¹ *Id.*, li. 1, 2.

² *Id.*, xlv. 3-10, 19-21.

and they shall know that I am the Lord".¹ And a little further on:—"For the *day* (יִּוֵּם, *yom*) is near, yea the *day* of the Lord is near: a cloudy *day*, it shall be the *time* of the nations. And the sword shall come upon Egypt: and there shall be dread in Ethiopia, when the wounded shall fall in Egypt, and the multitude thereof shall be taken away, and the foundations thereof shall be destroyed. Ethiopia, and Lybia, and Lydia, and all the rest of the crowd, and Chub, and the children of the land of the covenant, shall fall with them by the sword. . . . And they shall know that I am the Lord: when I shall have set a fire in Egypt, and all the helpers thereof shall be destroyed. In that *day* (יִּוֵּם, *yom*) shall messengers go forth from my face in ships to destroy the confidence of Ethiopia, and there shall be dread among them in the *day* (יִּוֵּם, *yom*) of Egypt: because it shall certainly come".²

Once more, this word is applied to the period of Our Lord's life upon earth, and even to the whole duration of the Christian Church. Sophonias, for example, thus foretells the coming of the kingdom of Christ. "Wherefore expect me, saith the Lord, in the day of my resurrection that is to come, for my judgment is to assemble the Gentiles, and to gather the kingdoms. . . . From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia shall my suppliants, the children of my dispersed people, bring me an offering. In that *day* (יִּוֵּם, *yom*) thou shalt not be ashamed for all thy doings, wherein thou hast transgressed against me: for then I will take away out of the midst of thee thy proud boasters, and thou shalt no more be lifted up because of my holy mountain. . . . Give praise, O daughter of Sion: shout, O Israel: be glad and rejoice with all thy heart, O daughter of Jerusalem. The Lord hath taken away thy judgment, he hath turned away thy enemies: the King of Israel the Lord is in the midst of thee, thou shalt fear evil no more. In that *day* (יִּוֵּם, *yom*) it shall be said to Jerusalem: Fear not: to Sion: Let not thy hands be weakened. The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty, He will save: He will rejoice over thee with gladness, He will be silent in His love, He will be joyful over thee in praise".³

And Isaias: "Is it not yet a very little while, and Libanon shall be turned into a charmel, and charmel shall be esteemed as a forest? And in that *day* (יִּוֵּם, *yom*) the deaf shall hear the words of the book, and out of darkness and obscurity the eyes of the blind shall see. And the meek shall increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel".⁴ That this passage refers to the time of the Christian Church there can be no doubt; for our Lord Himself appeals to

¹ *Ezekiel*, xxix. 19-21.

³ *Sophonias*, v. 8-11, 14-17.

² *Id.*, xxx. 3-9.

⁴ *Isaias*, xxix. 17-19

it in proof of His Divine mission: "Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen. The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again, the poor have the Gospel preached to them".¹

We may trace this use of the word even in the New Testament. Our Lord says, arguing with the Jews: "Abraham your father rejoiced that he might see my *day*: he saw it and was glad".² Saint Paul, too, though writing in the Greek language to the Corinthians, does not hesitate to adopt a passage from Isaias, in which the same meaning is conspicuously brought out: "And we helping do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For He saith: In an accepted time have I heard thee, and in the *day* of salvation have I helped thee. Behold, now is the *acceptable time*: behold, now is the *day of salvation*".³ And finally, Our Divine Lord, in His last touching address to the city of Jerusalem, applies the word Day to the season of grace and mercy: "When He drew near, seeing the city, He wept over it, saying: If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy *day*, the things that are to thy peace; but now they are hidden from thy eyes. For the days shall come upon thee; and thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and straiten thee on every side".⁴

So much, then, for the first argument. From the numerous examples we have given it is plain enough that the word יום (*yom*), in Scripture language, was often used for a period of many days, and even many years; nay sometimes for a period of many centuries. If so, Moses was free to use it in this sense. And consequently, as far as the word itself is concerned, it affords no conclusive proof that the Days of Creation were days of twenty four hours only: we may hold them to be long and indefinite periods of time, without departing in any degree from the established usage of Scripture.

But it is urged,—and this is the second argument,—that, whatever may be the meaning of the word יום (*yom*) elsewhere, in the first chapter of Genesis it must mean a day of twenty four hours. For, we are not merely told that there was a *first day*, and a *second day*, and a *third day*; but each day is in a manner analysed by the sacred writer, and its component parts set forth for our instruction. *There was evening and there was morning*, he says, the first day; *there was evening and there was morning* the second day; *there was evening and there was morning* the third day; and so on. Now if the word were understood of those indefinite periods we have been speaking about, there

¹ *Matth.*, xi. 4, 5.

³ *II. Cor.*, vii. 1. 2.

² *John*, viii. 56.

⁴ *Luke*, xix. 41-43.

would be no meaning in the analysis: for it could hardly be maintained that each of those periods had but one evening and one morning like an ordinary day. Furthermore, it is argued that there is a peculiar appropriateness in this phrase, which goes far to confirm the common interpretation. Amongst the Jews it was usual to compute the civil day from sunset to sunset. The civil day began then with the evening. And accordingly Moses, in describing the Days of Creation, puts the evening first, and says: There was evening and there was morning the first day; there was evening and there was morning the second day; and so for the rest.

All this reasoning seems to us unsatisfactory and inconclusive. In the first place, it is not a fact, as would seem to be supposed, that the civil day is made up of evening and morning. The evening and the morning do not make the whole day; they are only certain periods of the day. Neither do they mark the limits of the day: for, though it is quite true that, in the computation of the Jews, the civil day began with the evening, it certainly did not end with the morning. If, then, by the word Day Moses here meant the civil day of twenty four hours, how is this clause to be understood, There was evening and there was morning the first day? It cannot mean that the evening and the morning put together made up the first day: for this is not a fact. It cannot mean that the evening marked the beginning of the day, and the morning marked its close: for the period included between the evening and the morning is not the day but the night. What does it mean then?

Many writers seem to suppose that the evening and the morning are intended by Moses to designate the night and the day;—that is to say, the whole period of darkness and the whole period of light, which put together make up the civil day of twenty four hours. If the text could be explained in this way, it would fit in, no doubt, much more appropriately with the theory of ordinary days than with the theory of indefinite periods. But the text *cannot* be explained in this way. The evening is *not* the whole period of darkness, and the morning is *not* the whole period of light. No English writer could say, with propriety, that the Day is made up of the evening and the morning. Neither could Moses have meant to say this in the first chapter of Genesis: for the Hebrew words *לילה* (*Ghereb*) and *יומ* (*Boker*), which are found in the original text, have a meaning not less fixed and definite than the corresponding words *evening* and *morning* in the English language.

To prove the truth of this assertion by an investigation of all the passages in the Hebrew Bible in which these words are found, would be a tedious and uninteresting task. But it may

be easily tested in another way. If the words גֶּרֶב (*Ghereb*) and בֹּקֶר (*Boker*) were ever used to mean not strictly the evening and the morning, but the whole period of night and the whole period of day, this fact would surely have become known in the course of time to some of the many eminent and accomplished Hebrew lexicographers. We ask, then, is there one Hebrew lexicon of note which assigns the sense of *night* to the word גֶּרֶב (*Ghereb*) and the sense of *day* to the word בֹּקֶר (*Boker*). For ourselves we have searched several of the best of them, and we have not found a single one that even hints at such an explanation.

Perhaps, however, some of our readers might be unwilling to accept the authority of lexicons as conclusive on a point of this kind; seeing that lexicons very often represent but imperfectly the full power of a language. Well, then, there is another process, and a simple one enough, by which they may demonstrate the inaccuracy of our statement, if inaccurate it be. Let them produce any passage from the Hebrew Bible in which the words גֶּרֶב (*Ghereb*) and בֹּקֶר (*Boker*) are employed to designate the whole night and the whole day. If they fail to do so,—and as far as we are aware no such passage has yet been discovered,—then surely we may fairly contend that the interpretation which thus explains the words in the first chapter of Genesis cannot be regarded as certain: nor can the argument founded on that interpretation be received as conclusive.

There is a text in the eighth chapter of the prophet Daniel which might, perhaps, appear, at first sight, to militate against our opinion. The prophet had a vision in which it was foreshadowed that Antiochus Epiphanes should come and prevail against the Jews, and should profane the temple of God, and should abolish the daily sacrifice. And one of the Angels in the vision is heard asking of another, for how long should the daily sacrifice cease, and the sanctuary remain desolate. And the answer is given in these words: “Unto *evening—morning* (גֶּרֶב גֶּרֶב בֹּקֶר *ghad ghereb boker*) two thousand three hundred; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed”.¹ Now this is commonly understood to mean that the daily sacrifice should be abolished for two thousand three hundred *days*. And therefore it would seem that, in this passage, the *evening and morning* are used to signify the *whole civil day* of twenty four hours.

We will not dispute the correctness of the interpretation which is here set forth, although the words of the Angel are explained in a very different sense by many eminent commentators. But we think that the passage, even when understood

¹ Dan., viii. 14.

according to this interpretation, cannot fairly be brought in evidence against us. The evening and the morning do not make up the whole day: but they occur once, and only once, in each day. Therefore a period of many days may be properly signified by noting the recurrence of the evening and morning a certain number of times. And in point of fact a usage of this kind seems to prevail in most languages. The common word *fortnight* in English affords a good illustration. It signifies a period of fourteen nights and days: yet it does not specify the recurrence of fourteen days, but only the recurrence of fourteen nights. Again the poet says:

“Fair was she to behold, that maiden of seventeen summers”.

Nobody would argue from these examples that the word *summer* means a period of twelve months; or that the word *night* means a period of twenty four hours. And so, in the case before us, the recurrence of the evening and morning two thousand three hundred times may be pointed out to mark a period of two thousand three hundred days, although the evening and morning are not the whole day, but only certain parts of the day. Nay more, we fancy we can see a good reason why the Angel in the vision should single out the evening and the morning for special notice. He had been asked about the profanation of the sanctuary and the abolition of the daily sacrifice. Now it was in the evening and the morning that the daily sacrifice was wont to be offered. And the Angel seems to answer: The evening and the morning shall return two thousand three hundred times; and there shall be no evening and morning sacrifice: but after that time the sanctuary shall be cleansed and the sacrifice restored.

So far we have been arguing from the common usage of Scripture that the evening and the morning mentioned in the history of the Creation cannot mean the whole night and the whole day. But there is a special objection against this interpretation from the history of the Creation itself. The fifth verse in the first chapter of Genesis runs thus: “And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning the first day”. In the first sentence it is recorded that God, having divided the light from the darkness, gave to each its proper name: He called the light, Day, and the darkness, Night. Is it not highly improbable that, after this announcement, the sacred writer would himself, in the very next sentence, employ names altogether different, if he wished to designate the period of light and the period of darkness?

We are not maintaining that the phrase under consideration—"there was evening and there was morning the First Day"—cannot be explained in the hypothesis that the Days of Creation were days of twenty four hours. But we do contend that it affords no conclusive proof in favour of that hypothesis; because even in that hypothesis the meaning of the phrase is still doubtful and obscure. For ourselves we candidly confess we can offer no explanation that seems to us, in any system of interpretation, altogether satisfactory. We may be allowed, however, to call attention to an opinion put forward by Saint Augustine, which fits in very appropriately with the doctrine that the Days of Creation were long periods of time. The distinctions of evening and morning, he says, are not to be understood in reference to the rising and setting of the Sun, which in point of fact was not created until the fourth day; but rather in reference to the works themselves that are recorded to have been produced. In this way the evening will naturally represent the bringing to an end of the work that had been accomplished; and the morning, on the other hand, the coming in of the work that was to be.¹ This opinion was afterwards adopted by Saint Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, who seems almost to borrow the very words of Saint Augustine;² and also by Venerable Bede, who says: "What is the evening, but the completion of each work? and the morning, but the beginning of the next?"³ In the twelfth

¹ "Tres enim dies superiores quomodo esse sine sole potuerunt, cum videamus nunc solis ortu et occasu diem transigi, noctem vero fieri solis absentia, cum ab alia parte mundi ad orientem redit? Quibus respondemus, potuisse fieri ut tres superiores dies singuli per tantam moram temporis computarentur, per quantum moram circumit sol, ex quo procedit ab oriente quousque rursus ad orientem revertitur. Hanc enim moram et longitudinem temporis possent sentire homines etiamsi in speluncis habitarent, ubi orientem et occidentem solem videre non possent. Atque ita sentitur potuisse istam moram fieri etiam sine sole antequam sol factus esset, atque ipsam moram in illo triduo per dies singulos computatam. Hoc ergo responderemus, nisi nos revocaret quod ibi dicitur, 'Et facta est vespere et factum est mane', quod nunc sine solis cursu videmus fieri non posse. Restat ergo ut intelligamus, in ipsa quidem mora temporis ipsas distinctiones operum sic appellatas, vesperam propter transactionem consummati operis, et mane propter inchoationem futuri operis; de similitudine scilicet humanorum operum, quia plerumque a mane incipiunt, et ad vesperam desinunt. Habent enim consuetudinem Divinae Scripturae de rebus humanis ad divinas res verba transferre". *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Lib. i. cap. xiv. n. 20.

² *Comment. in Genes.* cap i. v. 4. It is uncertain, as we before observed, if this commentary is the genuine work of Saint Eucherius; at all events it is the production of some learned and Catholic writer of the fifth or sixth century. His words run thus:—"Vespere conditae creaturae terminus; mane initium condendae creaturae alterius". Edit. Migne, *Patr. Latin. Cursus Completus*, vol. 50, p. 897. And again in v. 10 et seqq.:—"Si quarto die facta sunt luminaria, quomodo tres dies jam ante fuerunt? nisi ut intelligamus, in ipsa hora temporis ipsas operum distinctiones ita appellatas; vesperam propter transactionem consummati operis; mane propter inchoationem futuri diei; in similitudinem humanorum operum quod plerique mane incipiunt et in vesperam desinunt". *Ib.*, p. 899.

³ "Quid est vespere, nisi ipsa perfectio singulorum operum? et mane, id est

century we find it again set forth by Saint Hildegarde, who was considered by Saint Bernard, as well as by Pope Eugenius the Third, to have been gifted with the spirit of prophecy.¹ This interpretation, it is true, does not explain the words *evening* and *morning* according to their literal signification: but then the metaphorical sense it ascribes to them is both simple and appropriate; more especially if we understand the word *Day* in the sense of a long and indefinite period. As the morning literally means the break of day, and the evening its decline, the Sacred Writer might, not inaptly, have employed these words to represent metaphorically the opening and the close of the various works which are ascribed to each successive period in the history of the Creation.

It may be observed, moreover, that this explanation seems quite in accord with the etymology of the Hebrew words עֶרֶב (*Ghereb*), and בֹּקֶר (*Boker*). The latter is formed from the root בָּקַר (*Bokar*), to lay open, and used to signify the morning, because in the morning the light of the sun is, as it were, unveiled, and laid open to the earth. Hence, the word might be applied with much propriety, in a metaphorical sense, to the unfolding of the various works of God, as each new period was, in its turn, ushered in with a new act of creation. On the other hand, עֶרֶב (*Ghereb*) seems to be derived from עָרַב (*Gharab*), to mingle, and has probably come to signify the evening, as the famous Hebrew scholar, Aben Ezra, suggests, because, in the uncertain light of evening, the forms of external objects lose their distinctness of outline, and become, in a manner, blended together. And so this word might have been employed, not unfitly, to represent the close of each period in the creation, which was marked, as geologists tell us, by the gradual dying out or extinction of the various forms of life peculiar to that period. Anyhow, in following the opinion of so ancient and so venerable an authority as Saint Augustine, we cannot be charged with unduly straining the Sacred Text to meet the exigencies of modern science.

The next argument is founded on a passage in Exodus, to which we have had occasion already to refer: "Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the

inchoatio sequentium?" *De Sex Dierum Creatione, De Prima Die.* Edit. Migne *Patrum Lat. Cursus Completus*, vol. 93, p. 210.

In another place he says: "Vespere autem in toto illo triduo, antequam luminaria essent, consummati operis terminus non absurde fortasse intelligitur; Mane autem futurae operationis significatio". *In Pentateuchum Comment. Gen.* cap. i. Migne, vol. 91, p. 194.

¹ "Sex enim dies, sex opera sunt; quia inceptio et completio singuli cujusque operis dies dicitur". *Epist. ad Colonienses.* See Fianciani, *Cosmogonia*, p. 34.

Sabbath of the Lord thy God: thou shalt do no work on it, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy beast, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made the Heavens and the Earth, and the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it".¹ We are to work upon six days, and to rest upon the seventh; *because* in six days God accomplished all the works of the creation, and rested on the seventh. There can be no mistake as to the meaning of this commandment. The six days on which it is lawful to labour are, beyond all doubt, six days in the common sense of the word; six days of twenty-four hours each; and the seventh day, on which it is forbidden to work, is a day of the same kind. But the example of God's labour and God's rest is set forth in the text as the pattern after which this law of the Sabbath was framed. And, therefore, the six days in which God furnished and embellished the earth must have been likewise six days of twenty-four hours each. This argument is regarded by many writers as decisive.

To us, on the contrary, it seems by no means necessary to understand the days on which God laboured and rested in precisely the same sense as the days on which it is enjoined that we should labour and rest. The example of God is, no doubt, represented in the Sacred Text as the reason for the Jewish Sabbath: six days shalt thou labour, and rest upon the seventh; *for* in six days the Lord made the Heavens and the Earth, and rested on the seventh. But, suppose for a moment that the days of the creation were long periods of time, will not the significance of this reason still remain unchanged? As God, in the great work of the creation, laboured for six successive periods, and then rested for a seventh, so shall you likewise do all your work during six of those successive periods into which your time is divided, and rest upon the seventh.

In support of this view, we may observe that the Jews were commanded to abstain from work not only every seventh *day*, but also every seventh *year*". "Six years thou shalt sow thy ground, and shalt gather the corn thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it alone, and suffer it to rest, that the poor of thy people may eat, and whatsoever shall be left let the beasts of the field eat it: in like manner shalt thou do with thy vineyard and thy oliveyard. Six days shalt thou work: the seventh day thou shalt cease, that thy ox and thy ass may rest; and the son of thy handmaid and the stranger may be refreshed".² And in another place we read: "When you shall have entered into

¹ *Exodus*, xx. 9-11.

² *Exodus*, xxiii. 10-12.

the land which I will give you, observe the rest of the Sabbath to the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and shalt gather the fruits thereof; but in the seventh year there shall be a Sabbath to the land, of the resting of the Lord: thou shalt not sow thy field, nor prune thy vineyard. What the ground shall bring forth of itself thou shalt not reap: neither shalt thou gather the grapes of the first fruits as a vintage; for it is a year of rest to the land: But they shall be unto you for meat; to thee, and to thy manservant, and to thy maid-servant, and to thy hireling, and to the strangers that sojourn with thee, to thy beasts of burden, and to thy cattle, all things that grow shall be for meat".¹ The seventh year, then, according to Divine command, was a year of rest among the Jews, just as the seventh day was a day of rest; and it is evident that the one precept, no less than the other, was founded on the great example of God's rest when He had finished the work of Creation. We are satisfied, therefore, that whatever may have been the length of those six days in which God laboured, and of the seventh day on which He rested, His example might still be properly set forth as the model on which the law of the Sabbath was founded.

It is urged, however, that in this passage of Exodus, we have the same word יום (*yom*) applied in the very same context to the six days of the Creation and to the six days of the week; and we can hardly suppose that the inspired writer would pass thus suddenly from one meaning of the word to another and a very different meaning, without giving any intimation to his readers of such a transition. If this argument is a good one, we can only say that it completely oversets the opinion of those against whom we are contending. In the fifth verse of the first chapter of Genesis we read: "And God called the *light Day*, and the *darkness* he called *Night*. And there was evening and there was morning the first *Day*". Now, those who reject the theory of long periods maintain that, by the word *Day* in the latter part of this verse, is meant the whole civil day of twenty-four hours; while it is plain that, in the earlier part of the verse, the same word *Day* is emphatically applied to only a part of that period—that is, to the time of light as distinguished from the time of darkness. Therefore, they are themselves, in fact, upholding an interpretation which supposes the inspired writer to pass from one meaning of the word *Day* to another, without any intimation of a change of meaning.

But we do not want to shrink from dealing with this argument on its own merits. The principle on which it is founded seems to us unsound, and inconsistent with the evidence of the

¹ *Leviticus*, xxv. 2-7.

Sacred Books themselves. It is quite a common thing, we contend, in Scripture, for the writer to pass from one meaning of a word to another without any explicit indication of such a transition, when, as in the case before us, the two senses, though different, are analogous: the one being, as it were, the figure, or the symbol, or the pattern, of the other. A few examples will make this quite clear. In the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians we read as follows: "For the charity of Christ presseth us: judging this, that if one *died* for all, then all were *dead*; and Christ *died* for all".¹ Here, when it is said that "all were *dead*", the meaning is, that all men were *dead spiritually* by sin; whereas, in the clause immediately preceding, and in the clause immediately following, the same word is used in its literal sense for the death of Christ upon the cross. And yet the Apostle, though he thus passed from the literal to the metaphorical sense of the word, and then back again from the metaphorical sense to the literal, gives no express indication of these transitions.

Again, in the Gospel, when a certain man, being called by our Lord, said: "Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father", Jesus reproved him in these words: "Let the *dead* bury their *dead*; but go thou and preach the kingdom of God".² There is some difference of opinion amongst commentators as to the exact meaning of this phrase. But whatever interpretation be adopted, it seems evident from the context that the *dead to be buried* were those who were literally dead; whereas the *dead* who were to *bury them* were manifestly *not* those who were literally dead, but those who were dead in some analogous or metaphorical sense. Another example occurs in the twentieth chapter of Saint John. Christ says to His Apostles: "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God".³ When He says, "I ascend to my Father", the meaning is, "to Him who has begotten me from all eternity". When He adds, "and your Father", the meaning is, "to Him who has *adopted* you for His children". Here, then, the word Father is first used in the sense of a natural father, and immediately after in the sense of a father by adoption, without any explicit declaration of a change in meaning.

The Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans furnishes an instance in which this transition from one meaning to another occurs in the case of the word *Day* itself: "The night is passed, and the *day* is at hand. Let us, therefore, cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly as in the *day*".⁴ The word *Day*, in the earlier part

¹ II. Cor. v. 14, 15.

³ John, xx. 17.

² Matt., viii. 22; Luke, ix. 60.

⁴ Rom., xiii. 12, 13.

of this passage, is used by Saint Paul for the Day of Eternity which is to follow the darkness of this life; while, in the next sentence, it means clearly the period of light between sunrise and sunset. Another illustration of the same kind occurs in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians. "But you, brethren, are not in darkness that that *day* should overtake you as a thief; for you are all the children of light and the children of the *day*".¹ No one familiar with the language of Scripture can doubt that the first *day* here is the Day of Judgment; and it is quite plain that the second *day* is *not* the Day of Judgment.

Our next example, and one most appropriate to our purpose, is taken from the prophet Amos: "And it shall come to pass in that *day*, saith the Lord God, that I will make the sun go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear *day*".² This prophecy is commonly referred by the Fathers to the time of our Lord, when the earth was darkened in the clear day on the occasion of His crucifixion; but some eminent authorities, with Saint Jerome at their head, explain it of the Captivity in Babylon. Either interpretation will suit our argument. The sacred writer first employs the word Day for a long period of time, and afterwards proceeds to use it in its more ordinary sense, without giving his readers any express intimation of such a transition.

We hope it is now pretty clear that neither the reason assigned for the institution of the Sabbath Day, nor the particular form of words in which that ordinance is set forth, offers any insurmountable obstacle to the opinion we are defending. And this is quite enough for our purpose. For we would again remind our readers that we are not attempting to prove from the Sacred Text that this opinion *must* be true, but only that it *may* be true. Our object has been sufficiently attained if we have succeeded in showing that the hypothesis which makes the Days of Creation long periods, is not absolutely inconsistent with the language of Scripture. We are tempted, however, in the case of this objection, to go somewhat further than the scope of our argument strictly demands. The text we have just been discussing brings before us, in fact, a consideration of great weight in favour of the system of long periods. "In six days the Lord made the Heavens and the Earth and the sea, and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh day". Now, what was this Seventh Day on which God rested? Was it a common day of twenty four hours? or was it rather a long and undefined period of time? Saint Augustine answers plainly enough: "The seventh day", he says, "is without an

¹ I. *Thessal.*, v. 4, 5.

² *Amos*, viii. 9.

evening, and has no setting".¹ And Venerable Bede, asking why the sacred writer had assigned no evening to the seventh day, gives this answer: "Because it has no end, and is shut in by no limit".² The common sentiment of Theologians, as far as we know, seems to point in the same direction. They tell us that God is said to have rested, inasmuch as He ceased from the creation of new species; and they hold that since the close of the Six Days no new species have been brought into existence. But whether this be true or not, it would be very difficult, we think, to point out any sense in which God can be said to have rested after the work of the Six Days, and in which He is not resting at the present moment. If so, the day of His rest is still going on; and it is not a period of twenty four hours only, but a period of many thousand years. Now, if the Seventh Day on which God rested is a period of many thousand years, are we not fully justified in supposing that the Six Days on which He formed and furnished the Heavens and the Earth, were likewise periods of many ages?

The results at which we have arrived in this long discussion may be briefly summed up. First, many illustrious Fathers of the Church—Saint Augustine, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Saint Athanasius, and others,—plainly declared against the opinion that the Days of Creation were days in the ordinary sense of the word; and, therefore, it is a mistake to suppose that this opinion is supported by the unanimous voice of Christian tradition. Secondly, the word Day is frequently used in Scripture for a long period of time, and sometimes for a period of indefinite duration. Thirdly, there is nothing in the language of Moses that forbids us to explain the word according to this sense in the first chapter of Genesis. And, fourthly, there is, at least, one grave consideration, derived from Holy Scripture itself, which distinctly points to such an interpretation. The Six Days of Creation are contrasted with the Seventh Day of God's rest; and this Seventh Day of God's rest is unquestionably a long period of undefined duration. From all this, it is obvious to conclude that we may fairly adopt this mode of interpreting the Mosaic Days, if it will assist us in reconciling the received conclusions of science with the truths of Revelation.

¹ "Dies autem septimus sine vespere est, nec habet occasum".—*Confess. Lib. xiii., cap. xxxvi.*

² "Quia finem non habet, neque nulla termino clauditur".—*De Sex Dierum Creatione, De Die Septima*, Edit. Migne. *Patr. Lat. Cursus Completus*, vol. 93, p. 218. And elsewhere he says: "Septimus dies coepit a mane et in nullo vespere terminatur"—*In Pentateuch. Comment.*, Gen. ii., Edit. Migne, vol. 91, p. 203.

Now, there is a striking resemblance, in some important respects, between the order of Creation, as set forth in the successive days of the Sacred Record, and the order of Creation as exhibited in the successive periods of Geological time. Three days are specially marked out by the Inspired Historian as distinguished by the creation of vegetable and animal life,—the Third, the Fifth, and the Sixth. On the Third Day were created plants and trees; on the Fifth, reptiles, fish, and birds; on the Sixth, cattle, and the beasts of the earth, and, towards the end, man himself. Geologists, on the other hand, not influenced in the least degree by the Scripture narrative, but guided chiefly by the remains of animal and vegetable life which are preserved in the Crust of the Earth, have established three leading divisions of Geological time,—the Palaeozoic, or first great age of organic life, the Mesozoic, or second great age of organic life, and the Kainozoic, or third great age of organic life. Here, no doubt, is a remarkable coincidence. But it would be still more remarkable if we could recognize, in the three epochs of Geology, the same general characteristics of organic life as we find ascribed by Moses to the three successive days of the Bible narrative. And so we may, it is said, if we will only take the pains to examine for ourselves the organic remains of these geological epochs as they lie dispersed through the Crust of the Earth, or even as they are to be found collected and arranged for exhibition in our museums. The first great age of Geology is eminently distinguished for its plants and trees; the second, for its huge reptiles and great sea monsters; the third, for its vast herds of noble quadrupeds. Nay, to complete the harmony between the two Records, as man is represented by the Inspired Writer to have been created towards the close of the last day, so, towards the close of the last geological age, the remains of man and of his works are found, for the first time, laid by in the archives of the Earth.

Such is the coincidence which some ingenious writers fancy they can trace between the history of creation that is set forth in the written Word of God, and the history of creation that is so curiously inscribed upon His works. Our readers, perhaps, will not be unwilling to consider it a little more in detail. We read, in the first chapter of Genesis, that on the Third Day God said: "Let the earth bring forth the green herb, and such as may seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after its kind, which may have seed in itself upon the earth. And it was so done. And the earth brought forth the green herb, and such as yieldeth seed according to its kind, and the tree that beareth fruit, having seed each one according to its kind. And God saw that

it was good".¹ Let us now turn to the Carboniferous Period of Geology, which occupies a large space in the great Palaeozoic age. All writers agree that it was specially marked by a gorgeous and luxuriant vegetation: and as we contemplate the multitudinous remains of plants and trees which have been gathered so abundantly in our coal measures, and ranged with such striking effect along the walls of our museums, we can scarcely help thinking that we have before us a practical commentary on the text of Moses. The gifted Hugh Miller, who is universally allowed to have been one of the most practical and experienced Geologists of the modern school, gives a very picturesque and graphic sketch of the Carboniferous flora. "In no other age", he says, "did the world ever witness such a flora: the youth of the earth was peculiarly a green and umbrageous youth,—a youth of dusk and tangled forests,—of huge pines and stately auracarians,—of the reed-like calamite, the tall tree-fern, the sculptured sigillaria, and the hirsute lepidodendron. Wherever dry land, or shallow lake, or running stream appeared, from where Melville Island now spreads out its ice wastes under the star of the pole, to where the arid plains of Australia lie solitary beneath the bright cross of the south, a rank and luxuriant herbage cumbered every footbreadth of the dank and steaming soil; and even to distant planets our earth must have shown, through the enveloping cloud, with a green and delicate ray".² Such an age as this might well be described in history as the age in which the earth brought forth the green herb, and the fruit tree yielding seed according to its kind.

Again, the work of the Fifth Day is thus described in the Sacred Narrative:—"God also said: Let the waters bring forth the creeping creature having life, and the fowl that may fly over the earth under the firmament of Heaven. And God created the great whales, and every living and moving creature which the waters brought forth, according to their kinds, and every winged fowl, according to its kind. And God saw that it was good".³ And in this case, as in the former, we may find the counterpart of the Bible story in the records of Geology. "The secondary age of the geologist", says the eminent writer from whom we have already quoted, "possessed, like the earlier one, its herbs and plants, but they were of a greatly less luxuriant and conspicuous character than their predecessors, and no longer formed the prominent trait or feature of the creation to which they belonged. The period had also its corals, its crustaceans, its molluscs, its fishes, and, in some one

¹ *Gen.*, i. 11. 12.

² *The Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 125.

³ *Genesis*, i. 20, 21.

or two exceptional instances, its dwarf mammals. But the grand existences of the age,—the existences in which it excelled every other creation, earlier or later,—were its huge creeping things,—its enormous monsters of the deep,—and, as shown by the impressions of their foot-prints stamped upon the rocks, its gigantic birds. It was peculiarly the age of egg-bearing animals, winged and wingless. Its wonderful *whales*, not however as now, of the mammalian, but of the reptilian class,—*ichthyosaurs*, *plesiosaurs*, and *cetiosaurs*,—must have tempested the deep; its creeping lizards and crocodiles, such as the *teliosaurus*, *megalosaurus*, and *iguanodon*,—creatures some of which more than rivalled the existing elephant in height, and greatly more than rivalled him in bulk,—must have crowded the plains, or haunted by myriads the rivers of the period; and we know that the foot-prints of, at least, one of its many birds, are fully twice the size of those made by the horse or camel. We are thus prepared to demonstrate that the second period of the geologist was peculiarly and characteristically a period of whale-like reptiles of the sea, of enormous creeping reptiles of the land, and of numerous birds, some of them of gigantic size”.¹

Once more, it is written that, on the Sixth Day, “God said: Let the earth bring forth the living creature in its kind, cattle and creeping things, and beasts of the earth, according to their kinds. And it was so done. And God made the beasts of the earth according to their kinds, and cattle and every thing that creepeth on the earth after its kind. And God saw that it was good”.² And again, Geology seems to confirm the truth of the Inspired narrative, and to fill up the details of the picture. “The Tertiary period”, continues Hugh Miller, “had also its prominent class existences. Its flora seems to have been no more conspicuous than that of the present time; its reptiles occupy a very subordinate place; but its beasts of the field were by far the most wonderfully developed, both in size and numbers, that ever appeared upon the earth. Its mammoths and its mastodons, its rhinoceri and its hippopotami, its enormous *dimotherium* and colossal *megatherium*, greatly more than equalled in bulk the greatest mammals of the present time, and vastly exceeded them in number. The remains of one of its elephants (*Elephas primigenius*) are still so abundant amid the frozen wastes of Siberia, that what have been not inappropriately termed ‘ivory quarries’ have been wrought among their bones for more than a hundred years. Even in our own country, of which, as I have already shown, this elephant was for long ages a native, so abundant are the skeletons and tusks, that there is

¹ *Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 126.

² *Genesis*, i. 24, 25.

scarcely a local museum in the kingdom that has not its specimens, dug out of the Pleistocene deposits of the neighbourhood. And with this ancient elephant there were meetly associated in Britain, as on the northern continents generally all around the globe, many other mammals of corresponding magnitude. 'Grand indeed', says an English naturalist, 'was the fauna of the British islands in those early days. Tigers as large again as the biggest Asiatic species lurked in the ancient thickets; elephants nearly twice the size of the largest individuals that now exist in Africa or Ceylon roamed in herds; at least two species of the rhinoceros forced their way through the primeval forest; and the lakes and rivers were tenanted by hippopotami as bulky, and with as great tusks as those of Africa'. The massive cave-bear and large cave-hyaena belonged to the same formidable group, with at least two species of great oxen, with a horse of smaller size, and an elk that stood ten feet four inches in height. Truly this Tertiary age—this third and last of the geologic periods—was peculiarly the age of great beasts of the earth after their kind, and of cattle after their kind"¹.

We shall be told, perhaps, that there are Six Days assigned to the work of creation in the Mosaic narrative, and that we have accounted but for three. Let it be remembered, however, that Geology does not profess to give a complete history of our globe. It can set before us those events only which have left their impress indelibly stamped upon the rocks that compose the Crust of the Earth. These events Geologists have attempted to reduce to the order of a chronological system: and in prosecuting this task they have been guided almost exclusively by the evidence of Organic Remains. Hence it was not to be expected that, in Geological Chronology, we should find a Period specially set apart as the Period in which Light was made; or another as the Period in which the Firmament was spread out over the Earth; or a Third as the Period in which the sun and moon and stars shone forth in the expanse of Heaven. Such phenomena had, indeed, a very important influence on the physical condition of our globe. But they must occupy a very secondary place, if indeed they are distinctly chronicled at all in the records of Geology. It is the formation of rocks and the imbedding therein of Fossil Remains that constitute the main study of the Geologist, and that guide him in the distribution of Geological time.

Furthermore, we would observe that the scheme of Chronology which Geologists put before us, affords abundant room for each and all of the Mosaic Days. Let it be assumed for a moment that the Carboniferous Period corresponds with the Third Day

¹ *Testimony of the Rocks*, pp. 127, 128.

of the Sacred narrative. The earlier Periods of the Palaeozoic Age will then fit in with the First and Second Days of Scripture; and the Permian, which intervenes between the Carboniferous Period and the Secondary Age, may be supposed to correspond with the Fourth Day of Scripture. This adjustment between the Mosaic Days and the Periods of Geology will probably be made more intelligible to the general reader by the aid of the following table:

DAYS.	PERIODS.	EPOCHS.
Sixth Mosaic Day.	<div> Recent Post Pliocene Pliocene Miocene Eocene </div>	<div> Kainozoic or Tertiary Age. </div>
Fifth Mosaic Day.	<div> Cretaceous Jurassic Triassic </div>	<div> Mesozoic or Secondary Age. </div>
Fourth Mosaic Day. Third Mosaic Day.	<div> Permian Carboniferous Devonian Silurian Cambrian Laurentian </div>	<div> Palaeozoic or Primary Age. </div>
First and Second Mosaic Days.		

The reader must not think it amiss, in this distribution of the Mosaic Days, that four of them are crowded together into one Geological Age, while each of the other two has an entire Age assigned to itself. If the Days of Creation were indefinite periods, there is no incongruity in supposing that one may have corresponded to a longer, another to a shorter interval in the history of our planet. But, in truth, our scheme of distribution does not of necessity imply that the Mosaic Days were periods of unequal length. Geologists do not pretend that there is even a remote approximation to equality between the several divisions of Geological time. The three great Epochs are distinguished from each other by reason of the very marked difference in the character of their Fossil Remains. And the multiplication of Periods in each Epoch seems to depend rather upon the degree of completeness with which the strata of that Age have been examined, than upon any conjecture as to the probable length of its duration. Thus, for example, Sir Charles Lyell thinks that, as far as the present condition of science affords the means of forming an opinion, almost any one of the Periods in the Palaeozoic Age was as long as all the Periods of the Tertiary Age taken together.¹

But there is another and a more serious objection against

¹ *Elements of Geology*, p. 100.

our hypothesis. It has been observed more than once that the Periods of Geology are out of harmony with the Days of Genesis even as regards the history of Organic life. According to the Scripture narrative no Organic life appeared upon the Earth previous to the Third Day. Now the third Day of Scripture is supposed to correspond with the Carboniferous Period of Geology. And yet we have abundant evidence in the Fossil Remains of the Devonian, the Silurian, and the Cambrian Formations, that Organic life,—both plants and animals,—prevailed upon the Earth for many ages before the Carboniferous Period began. Nay it is now commonly held, since the discovery of the famous *Eozoon Canadense*, the oldest known Fossil, that life already existed during the deposition of the Laurentian Rocks, the earliest of all the Stratified Formations. Furthermore, in the Mosaic account Fish are represented as having been created only on the Fifth Day, which we have fitted in with the Secondary Age of Geology: whereas in the Geological Record we find Fish as early as the Silurian Period, which is far back in the Primary Age. These considerations, and divers others of a like nature, have been regarded by some eminent writers as altogether fatal to the hypothesis for which we are contending.

To us, however, it appears that such points of discrepancy involve no contradiction between the two Records. The Sacred Writer tells us, no doubt, that, on the Third Day, God created plants and trees: but he does not say, either expressly or otherwise, that previous to the Third Day the Earth was devoid of vegetation. Again, we read, that reptiles, fish, and birds were created on the Fifth Day. But there is nothing in the language of the Inspired narrative from which it can be inferred that these several classes of animal life may not have been represented, before that time, by many and various species: though, probably, it was only on the Fifth Day that they were developed in such vast numbers, and assumed such gigantic proportions, as to become the most conspicuous objects of creation.

The first chapter of Genesis is but a brief summary of an inconceivably vast series of events. It is nothing more than a rapid sketch, exhibiting, as it were to the eye, the prominent features in the history of Creation. Moreover, we should remember, that it was written with a specific end in view. The purpose of the Sacred Writer was plainly to impress upon the Hebrew people, naturally prone to idolatry, the existence of One Supreme Being who has made all things. Hence we should naturally expect that, amid the boundless variety of God's works, he would make choice of those that were most calcu-

lated to strike the mind with wonder and awe, and to bring home to a rude and uncultivated race of men the Almighty Power and Supreme Dominion of the Great Creator. Now the Zoophytes, and Graptolites, and Tribolites, of the Devonian and Silurian Periods, however curious and interesting they may be to men of science, would have had but little significance for the Jewish people. Let us suppose that these more humble forms of animal life had, in fact, existed during the First and Second Days of the Mosaic narrative, and where is the wonder that the Inspired Historian, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, should pass them by in silence, and choose rather to commemorate the more striking and impressive facts, that, at the bidding of God, Light shone forth from the midst of darkness, and the blue firmament of Heaven was expanded above the waste of waters?

We say, then, that events which are simply left unrecorded by the Sacred Writer are not, on that account untrue:¹ that he describes to us not all the works of Creation, which would have been an endless task, but only the more conspicuous objects in each successive stage; and that he sketches them, most probably, as they would have appeared to the eye of a human observer, if a human observer at the time had existed on the Earth. If this view be admitted, then it is not inconsistent with the Scripture narrative to suppose that plants may have existed before the Third Day, and fish before the Fifth. Each Day in its turn would have been rendered conspicuous to an observing spectator by those events which are recorded by Moses. But each Day, too, would have witnessed many other events, unnoticed by Moses, of which the memorials have been preserved, even to our time, in the Crust of the Earth.

We should observe, however, that though this scheme of adapting the periods of Geology to the days of Moses may be defended as a legitimate hypothesis, it cannot be upheld as an established truth. The geological records that have hitherto been brought to light represent but the merest fragment of the Earth's past history. Each year that passes over our heads is adding largely to the store of facts already accumulated. And it needs but little reflection to perceive that an hypothesis may be quite consistent with the knowledge we possess to-day, and yet may be found altogether inconsistent with the knowledge we shall possess to-morrow. We must be content, therefore, to suspend our judgment, and to await the progress of events. It may be that future discoveries shall bring to light new points of harmony between the Days of Genesis and the Periods of Geology; it may be they

¹ "Aliquid esse a Deo conditum, de quo sileat liber Genesis, nihil repugnat". —Augustinus, *Confess.*, Lib. xii. cap. xxii.

shall demonstrate that no such harmony exists. For us it is enough to have shown that this hypothesis is consistent, on the one hand, with the story of Genesis; on the other, with the established conclusions of Geology; and, therefore, that in the present condition of science it may be adopted as a legitimate means of reconciling the truths that have been revealed by God with the truths that have been discovered by the light of reason.

CONCLUSION.—We have, then, two distinct systems of interpretation, according to which the vast antiquity of the Earth asserted by Geology may be fairly brought into harmony with the history of creation recorded in Scripture. The one allows an interval of incalculable duration between the creation of the Heavens and the Earth and the work of the Six Days: the other supposes each one of these Six Days to have been itself an indefinite period of time. We cannot, indeed, prove that either of these two systems is true in point of fact; but we have attempted to show that neither is at variance with the language of the Sacred Text. On the other hand, when we look to the evidence of geological facts, we see no decisive reason for preferring one to the other. Either mode of interpretation seems in itself quite sufficient to meet all the present requirements of Geology; for, according to either interpretation, the Bible narrative would allow time without limit for the past history of our Globe; and time without limit is just what Geology demands. We may say, then, on this point what Saint Augustine said long ago, in speaking of the diverse interpretations which the text of Genesis admits: "Let each one choose according to the best of his power: only let him not rashly put forward as known that which is unknown; and let him not fail to remember that he is but a man searching as far as may be into the works of God".¹

It must not be supposed that, according to our view, the Sacred Writer, in composing his account of the Creation, had before his mind those vast geological periods about which we have said so much in the course of these papers. Such an opinion is no part of our system. We see no good reason for believing that the author of Genesis was specially enlightened from Heaven on the subject of Stratified Rocks and Fossil Remains, of Upheaval and Denudation, of Volcanic Action and Central Heat. These are matters of Physical, not of Religious Science. And it seems to be the order of Providence to leave

¹ "Eligat quis quod potest: tantum ne aliquid temere atque incognitum pro cognito asserat; memineritque se hominem de divinis operibus quantum permittitur quaerere".—*De Genesi, Liber Imperfectus*, cap. ix., n. 80

the discovery of such things to the industry and ingenuity of man: "Cuncta fecit bona in tempore suo, et mundum tradidit disputationi eorum".¹ What we maintain, then, is simply this: that the Sacred Writer recorded faithfully, in language fitted to the ideas of his time, that portion of Revelation that was committed to him; and, in the accomplishment of this task, made such a choice of words and phrases, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to whom all truth is present, as to set forth plainly those facts that were unfolded to him, without introducing any error about those facts of which he was ignorant. The language is the language of men, but the voice that speaks therein is the voice of God. And thus it comes to pass that this Mosaic story, when fairly examined according to the ordinary laws of human speech, is found in every age to accommodate itself, with quite an unexpected simplicity, to those new and wonderful views of God's manifold powers which each human science in its turn brings to light.

Before taking leave of the subject, we would venture to bring under the notice of our readers one very obvious reflection, which is sometimes lost sight of in the heat of controversy. The Mosaic history of the Creation absolutely stands alone. It has no rivals, no competitors. Every other attempt that has been made to explain the origin of the world and of the human race is refuted by its own intrinsic extravagance and absurdity. The wisest nations of antiquity failed to discover that great fundamental truth, which stands out so boldly on the first page of Genesis, that there is One God who hath made all things. The philosophers of Chaldæa were familiar with the course of the Heavens, and could predict the eclipses of the sun and moon. But the philosophers of Chaldæa could not rise from the contemplation of creatures to the knowledge of the Creator: the creatures themselves were the gods that Chaldæa worshipped. Egypt had greatness of mind to conceive the idea of the Pyramids, and skill to devise the plan of their construction, and strength of arm to lift up the huge stones on these stupendous piles. But Egypt raised up temples to the river that waters its plain, and offered sacrifice to the reptile that crawls upon the earth, and the beast that grazes in the field. In Greece the human mind soared to its highest flight, and ranged over the widest and most beautiful fields of thought. Peerless is she among the nations, the mistress of the arts, the fountain source of refined taste, the storehouse of intellectual power, the great nurse of human genius. Her schools of philosophy have influenced and guided to a marvellous extent the thoughts and speculations of all subsequent times. The song

¹ *Ecclesiastes*, iii. 11.

of her immortal bard has kindled the imagination of the poet in every generation, and enriched his mind with glowing images. Orators and statesmen still love to copy the lofty sentiments, the graceful diction, the flowing periods, of her golden eloquence. And students from every clime stand enraptured before the beauty and the majesty of her sculptured marble. But Greece, Imperial Greece, knew not the One God, the Giver of all good gifts, by whom she had been so highly endowed. She fashioned for herself gods and goddesses after her own fancy, and portioned out the universe between them. Jupiter hurled his thunderbolts from the clouds: Neptune ruled the sea: Pluto swayed the sceptre of the infernal regions: Minerva was the goddess of wisdom: Vulcan the god of fire: Apollo the god of music. Nay, the very infirmities and vices of human nature were personified under the names of divinities, and worshipped in the Pantheon of the gods. Rome, too, the conqueror of the world, had its philosophers, and its orators, its poets, and its sculptors, whose productions still charm and instruct mankind. Yet was Rome no exception to the common lot of the gentile world. For Rome, like Greece, had its long array of gods and goddesses, with their petty jealousies, their vindictive malice, their shameless passions. Alone, amidst all the Mythologies and Cosmogonies of ancient nations, the story of the Hebrew Legislator rises superior to the gross and silly speculations of mortal men. It alone proclaims to mankind what Philosophy and Science, when left to themselves, have never been able to teach, that, In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth; that the plants, and the animals, the ocean, and the elements, the sun, and moon, and stars, man himself, and all that delights the eye, and charms the ear, and fills the mind, are His creatures; and that besides Him there is no other God. Away, then, with the idea that this Sacred Narrative, stamped as it plainly is with the imprint of its Divine Author, should ever be found at variance with the truths of science,—or rather, we should say, with those scanty fragments of truth, those crumbs of knowledge, falling from the table of our Heavenly Father, which it is given to man here below to gather up with laborious care, and which, however they may excite his longings, cannot satisfy his hunger.

Here, for the present, we mean to bring to a close this series of papers on Geology and Revelation. At some future time, perhaps, if our opportunities permit, we may return to the subject, and invite the attention of our readers to the second branch of this great controversy, the Antiquity of Man.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

1. *Prayer of St. Molaissi, Abbot of Devenish*.—The following short poem of St. Molaissi is preserved in the ancient *Liber Hymnorum*, a MS. of the tenth century. There are three famous saints of the name *Molaissi*, in the Irish calendars, viz., St. Molaissi, son of Cairill, Abbot and Bishop of Leighlin, whose feast day is the 18th of April; St. Molaissi, son of Dealan, Abbot of Inishmurray, on 12th August; and St. Molaissi, son of Nadfraich, Abbot of Daimhinis, on the 12th of September. The Irish poem which we now publish has merely the title “*Moelisa dixit*”, i.e., Molaissi composed this poem. But as it is attached to a Latin hymn which bears the title “*Incipit imnus Lasriain, id est, Molasse Daminnse*”—“Here begins the hymn of Laserian, i.e., Molaissi of Devenish”, all doubt is removed as to its author.

St. Molaissi of Devenish flourished in the sixth century: and his death is registered in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in 564: “*Molaise of Daimhinis quievit*”:¹ in the Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters the entry is made under the year 563. He founded a famous church and monastery in the island of *Daimhinis*, i.e., “*Bovium insula*”, now Devenish in Loch Erne, not far from the present town of Enniskillen. A beautiful round tower and the ruins of the old monastery still adorn the island (Petrie’s *Round Towers*, pp. 355, 395).

In the *Feliré* of St. Ængus the Culdee, the name of St. Molaissi is commemorated with other saints on the 12th of September as follows:

Ceilebair feil nAilbe
 Fm fFleio forchao rnamais
 La feil Laisren ugas
 O daiminir dalaig.

“Celebrate the festival of Ailbhe
 With Fedh, the bright, protecting,
 With the festival of Laisren the chosen,
 From Daiminis of the assemblies.”²

A gloss also is added to the original text, and from it we learn that St. Molaissi was only in his thirtieth year when he attained his crown, and that he himself described his monastery in the following verse:

¹ *Chron. Scotorum*, trans. and edit. by W. M. Hennessy, Esq., for the Master of the Rolls. London, 1866, page 57.

² *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 48, a.

Forrith reianó ruamam
 Loch lethan a rliab ádao
 Ruam choitcenó do goeolaió
 Domnar uileo de athar.

“A happy land we have found,
 A broad lake in Sliabh Achad,
 A common resort for the Gaels,
 The beloved abode of God the Father”.

In the curious and very ancient Irish tale entitled “The Courtship of Bec Fola”, there is a passage relative to our saint which illustrates the customs of our island in those early times. Four chieftains had challenged their rivals to meet them in deadly strife in the island of Daimhinis. On the appointed day they proceeded thither in their richest attire. Seven of the combatants were soon numbered among the dead, and the only surviving one was severely wounded. The bodies of the slain were interred by St. Molaissi, and he sent four of his religious to the monarch Diarmaid, to know what was his pleasure regarding their weapons and rich ornaments. It was on a Sunday that these messengers reached the monarch’s abode, and it being unlawful for the clergy to travel about on the Lord’s day, it is added that Diarmaid “drew his cloak over his head that he might not see the strangers”. The religious, however, told him that it was “by order of their superior and not for their own pleasure” that they had undertaken this journey: and having detailed the circumstances of the combat, they thus continued: “The chieftains left behind them as much gold and silver as two men could carry, i.e., of the gold and silver that was on their garments and on their necks, and on their shields, and on their spears, and on their swords and on their hands, and on their tunics. We have come to know what portion of this booty you desire”. The king replied: “That which God has sent to Molaissi, I shall not take from him: let him make his reliquaries of it”: and the narrative adds: “This indeed was verified, for with that silver and gold, the reliquaries of Molaissi were ornamented, viz., his shrine, and his *ministir*,³ and his crozier”.⁴

³ O'Donovan in his *Ir. Gr.*, pag. 438, explains *ministir* as indicating “a portable relic”. It seems to me to be derived from the Latin word *Ministerium*, which often occurs in medieval writings, and which is explained by Du Cange as “mensulam juxta altare, in qua reponuntur vasa ad sacrificium idonea”. Our venerable Irish Abbot Dungal, in 814, when sending some silver to a brother abbot in France, thus explains the purposes for which he wished it to be employed: “Volo rogare, si vobis facile est ut jubeatis uni bono et perito de vestris fabricare illud et facere inde ministerium, calicem et patenam” (*Jaffa's Monumenta Carolina*. Berlin, 1867, pag. 435). It would thus be something like a portable safe for containing the sacred vessels, and perhaps the Gospels or Lectionary for the service of the altar.

⁴ Copies of this tale are preserved in MS. H. 2. 16, and H. 3. 18 (T. C. D.), and in the O'Curry MSS. Catholic University.

St. Cuimin of Connor flourished about a hundred years later, and in his poem on the "Characteristic virtues of the Irish Saints", he thus speaks of Saint Molaissi:

"Molaissi, of the lake, loved
To live in a cell of hard stone:
A strangers' home for the men of Erin,
Without refusal, without a sign of inhospitality".

Many other particulars connected with St. Molassai may be found in Lanigan, vol. ii. pag. 218. We now present to our readers the sweet prayer which he composed.

POEM OF MOLAISSI.

In Spirit Nób immunn,
Innunn ocur ocunn
In Spirit Nób chucunn
Taet a Chriſt co h-opunn.
In Spirit Nób daittſeb
Ar cuſp iſ ar nanma
Diaſſnáduo co ſolmu
Ar ſabu ar ſalſa.
Ar demnaib ar peccdaib
Ar iſſepn co níl ulcc
A Iſu nonnoeba
Ronſoſa do ſpíut. In Spirit.

"May the Holy Spirit be around us
Be in us and be with us:
May the Holy Spirit come to us,
O Christ, forthwith.

"The Holy Spirit, to abide in
Our bodies and our souls,
To protect us unto Jerusalem
From dangers, from diseases,

"From demons, from sins,
From hell with all its evils:
O Jesus, may thy Spirit
Sanctify us, save us".

2. *Hymn to St. Molaissi.*—The following Latin hymn, to which reference has already been made in the preceding remarks, and which was composed in honour of the Saint of whom we have been speaking, is also preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* (fol. 31, b. a.). It was probably taken from an ancient office of the Saint, from which another passage is given in a marginal note of the *Martyrology of Donegal*, on 12th Sep.

tember: "*Antiphona Communis*. Vir Dei dum verbum vitae populo praedicaret, visus est a terra sublimari et in aere pendere, et mirati sunt universi. Adesto nobis, quaesumus Domine, ut Beati Lasreani Confessoris tui Abbatis interventu ab omni iniquatione mundemur corporis et mentis, per Xtum. D. N.". In the following hymn we retain the corrupt spelling of the original text, so characteristic of the early Latin monuments of our Church:—

"Incipit imnus Lasriani .i. Molasse Daminnse.

"Abbas probatus omnino
Benedictus a Domino
Cum caritatis fructibus
Doctor Ecclesiasticus.
Electus Dei anthleta
Fidelis sine macula
Gregis pastor subagrinus
Humilis supplex submisus.
Jejunus, largisimus
Kastus cum rectis moribus
Lucerna erat in tota
Macculasrius Hibernia.
Nadfraich et sanctus filius,¹
Optimus Dei filius
Probatus, sapiens, peritus,
Quem coronavit Dominus.
Requiescit post obitum
Securus in perpetuum
Tenebrarum rectoribus
Victis atque principibus.
Christo cum suis omnibus
Ymnum canit celestibus,
Zelus in quo fuit mirus
Dei prae participibus

Per merita Macculasri summi sacerdotis,
Adjuva nos, Christe, Salvator mundi qui regnas.

3. *Sermon on St. Brigid*.—As the present number of the *Irish Ec. Record* will be published on the feast day, and under the auspices of our great national virgin patroness, St. Brigid, we cannot conclude our present extracts from the monuments of the early Irish Church without adding the opening passages

¹ St. Molaissi of Devenish was the son of Natfraich, of the race of Irial, son of Connall Cearnaigh, and seventh in descent from Crunn Badhraige, son of Eochaidh Cobha, son of Fiacha Araidhe, who died in A.D. 236. Hence it is that he is called in the text *the holy son of Nadfraich*.

of a very ancient sermon in her praise which is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, R.I.A. It is written partly in Latin and partly in Irish: we will merely translate the Irish portions of the text, allowing the Latin to remain as in the original:—

“*Hi sunt qui sequuntur Agnum, quoquunque ierit*”, i.e., “these are they who follow the Spotless Lamb in whatsoever path He goeth. It was John, the son of Zebedee, the bosom companion of Jesus, and the representative of virginity, that wrote these words, and he left them as a memorial to the Christian Church, and as a record of the rewards and emoluments which God has prepared for the third order of the Church, i.e., the order of virginity: they shall follow the Spotless Lamb. *Inde Johannes hic ait: hii sunt qui sequuntur Agnum.* And now these words agree with John when he said previously in his Scripture: “*Nemo poterat dicere canticum nisi illa centum quadraginta quatuor milia qui empti sunt de terra, i.e., fortitudinem et virtutem accipiunt pro terrenis*”. None in the world can offer meet praise and befitting canticles to the Lord but those who in both churches (i.e., on earth as in heaven) have been preserved in chastity and virginity, purchased with the price of the blood of Christ: *virgines enim sunt.* And it is in consequence of these words that John says: “*Hii sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quoquunque ierit, i.e., virgines tertii gradus Ecclesiae quibus trigesimus et sexagesimus et centesimus fructus detur, testante Johanne et dicente: Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. Agnus autem propter innocentiam dictus est. Sequuntur Agnum: quid vero est sequi Christum nisi imitari eum ut Petrus ait: sequimini vestigia ejus: i.e., sequimini eum virginitate cordis et carnis, quia caro utique agni virgo est. Nihil vero prodest carnem habere virginem si mente quis nupserit.* It profits not to be a virgin in the flesh for him who is defiled in mind. *Virginitas enim carnis est corpus intactum libidine: virginitas vero animae fides incorrupta. Jactantia autem virginitatem perdit: virgines enim de suis meritis gloriantes hypocritae comprobantur. Hoc enim est Evangelio, non habere virgines oleum in vasis suis, non servare, intra conscientiam, boni operis testimonium, sed in facie gloriam apud homines.* For what the Gospel says is, that the virgins who possess not oil in their vessels are the virgins who preserve not the testimony of the Lord, but vain glory before men. *Haec est falsa castitas. Id est virginitas: quicumque imitatur eum, quoniam ille Filius Dei est, in quantum imitandum: quibus Apostolus ait: obsecro vos fratres ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam vivam, sanctam, Veteris et Novi Testamenti, placentem Deo.* Now, the illustrious Patriarchs fulfilled the testimony of virginity, prefiguring Christ. The Apostles, too, and the disciples of Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, fulfilled it. The

martyrs and the friends of the Lord, the saints and the holy virgins of the world, in like manner; and thus also it was fulfilled by the illustrious and venerable virgin for whom there is joy and commemoration on the return of this season—i.e., *Sancta Virgo Dei, Brigida*. The time now in which the Christians celebrate the joyous feast of holy Brigid, is on the Kalends of February, as regards the solar month, and it is on this day of the week in the year in which we now are"—(*Leabhar Breac*, fol. 115.)

THE BREAKING NET.

FOUR months ago the Dean of Cork, now Bishop of Peterborough, inaugurated the session of the Church Congress in Dublin with a remarkable sermon which has since been published in an authorized form under the attractive title, *The Breaking Net*. Taking for his text the words of St. Luke, chap. v. ver. 7, the orator described the Apostolic net of the sea of Galilee as presenting an analogy with the Established Church of this country; and as the apostles cried out for help to their companions in another boat, so now the ministers of the Established Church cry out to their brethren of the sister isle, inviting them to cross the boisterous channel to hold their congress in our capital, and thus aid the Irish Church in her distress.

It is not our intention to examine in detail the many remarkable statements which are made by the Bishop of Peterborough; we even wish to set aside the general question, which has already been fully discussed; and our remarks shall solely be directed to a few leading subjects which form as if the groundwork of his discourse.

1. In the first place, however, we must remark that, according to some journals, which speak in an authoritative tone, it was not so much the Irish Protestant Church that clamoured to the *other* boat, but it was rather the fishermen from beyond the channel who sought on this occasion to intrude themselves into the safe-sailing vessel of the Irish Church. Thus the *Christian Examiner* for November (pag. 115) wrote: "The Congress has assembled in Dublin, and is now over. Our eyes were in anticipation directed to it while it was yet to come, and we may well look back upon it now that it is past. We do so with much

gratitude to a gracious Providence, and with a happy feeling that it has ended so well. Some of the journals that took notice of it speak of the kindness with which so many of the leading members of the English branch of the United Church accepted the invitation of the Irish branch to come over in such numbers. *This is a mistake.* The Irish branch did not invite the members of the Congress to cross the channel to visit them, but when the proposal came from England to hold the meeting of 1868 in Dublin, it was thought by those that were obliged to give an answer, that it would be very impolitic and wrong to refuse to receive them. There were, no doubt, fears and apprehensions on the part of the Irish branch of the Church, as there were probably hopes and expectations on the part of the good Englishmen that made the proposal. The party that had the sway in the former meetings of the Congress hoped that they would bring their prestige with them, and be able to communicate some of that High-Churchism which they considered deficient in Ireland".

2. But setting all this aside, and viewing the matter as proposed to us by Dr. Magee, let us inquire does any analogy exist between the Gospel miracle and the present condition of the Established Church in this kingdom?

The apostles had toiled the whole night long, and yet, as morning dawned, their nets were empty, and at length, disheartened at their ill-success, they cried out: "We have toiled all night, and have caught nothing". So far the ministers of the Established Church are found to present a parallel with the apostolic labourers. For three hundred years they have spread their nets in this island and laboured to bring the children of St. Patrick within the Protestant fold: however, they have toiled in vain, and their nets are still empty. This is the only analogy with the Protestant Church that can be found in the Gospel miracle.

The apostles, finding their net empty, turn to their Divine Master, and when, in obedience to His command, they again cast their nets into the sea, His blessing rewards their toil. Is it to the divine source of truth and Christian life that the Protestant Church in this country addresses its appeal that its nets may be filled? Certainly not: and none feel more keenly than the dignitaries of the Established Church how preposterous such an appeal would be. It was not as a work of God that their mission was begun: their errand was human, not divine: and therefore it is not to the blessing of heaven, but to earthly agency, that they now instinctively turn for support.

When the Apostles' net began to yield, it was in consequence of the abundant draught of fishes that at length rewarded their

toil. Is there here any point of analogy with the actual condition of the Established Church? The cry indeed has gone forth that *the nets are breaking*. But why do they thus break? Is it from the miraculous spiritual draught with which the toil of the Protestant ministers has at length been blessed? Surely, no one in his senses will say that it is so. If any one for the past fancied that such was the case, the census of 1861, and the Report of the Royal Commissioners last year, must have dissipated his illusion. For three hundred years the Established Church in this kingdom has been aided by all the agencies that human ingenuity could devise. Its clergy have had all the wealth and power of a great nation at their command. Its archbishops and bishops guided the legislation of the kingdom; they sat as privy councillors in Dublin Castle, to advise the viceroy as to the course he should pursue; they often, too, discharged viceregal functions, and had the whole power of the kingdom in their hands as lords justices of Ireland. Thus, they had the sword of persecution and the wand of authority to force the children of St. Patrick within the pale of the Anglican Church. And, nevertheless, at the present day, as three hundred years ago, the Protestant dignitaries have to raise the cry that their fold is empty, and that no spiritual fruit rewards their toil. Thus, if their net is breaking, it is through the general law of all earthly things. In fact, the net is worn out, and as its masters have at length discovered that it is both hopeless and impolitic to seek to rob the country of its ancient creed, they seem resolved to leave the net to its fate, and no longer to waste the national resources in trying to keep it in repair.

3. But then Dr. Magee assures us that the Church of Ireland is in reality all one with the Church of England, and hence, in the abandonment of the Irish Establishment, he sees set forth the ruin of Protestantism in the sister isle.

This unity of the Protestant churches is, however, nothing more than a feverish dream of the champions of the Established Church in this country. Let Dr. Magee inform us when were the Protestant bishops of the Irish Church united to the synods of England; when were her clergy summoned to English convocations. If such a unity exists, how does it happen that the Church in Ireland is not governed by the law that holds in England? and how is it that in the appointment of bishops the ceremony of a *congé d'élire* will not be tolerated in this country, though it is the rule in the English Church?

For more than fifty years the Established Church in Ireland had not even the same *articles* of belief as the English Church; and when at length these articles were adopted by the Irish bishops, they were accepted as a political necessity, dictated by

the viceroy of the day, and not as required by any supposed unity of both Churches. The letters of the viceroy, Lord Strafford, afford abundant evidence on this head. He had ordered a convocation of the clergy to meet simultaneously with the parliament in 1634, and in proposing to them the adoption of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, he arranged with Primate Usher that no mention whatever should be made of the articles solemnly adopted by the Irish clergy in 1615. For some time he paid but little attention to the labours of convocation; but having at length settled to his satisfaction the secular matters of parliament, he resolved to apply himself in earnest to attain his ecclesiastical ends. He thus details the result in his letter to Archbishop Laud, on 16th December, 1634:—

“Having informed myself of the state of affairs, I found that the lower House of Convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the Church of England; that they proceeded in the examination without conferring at all with their bishops; that they had gone through the Book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed, with an *A*, and on others they had entered a *D*, which stood for *Deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the *Articles of Ireland*, to be allowed and received under pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the convocation. I instantly sent for Dean Andrews, that reverend clerk, who sat, forsooth, in the chair at this committee, requiring him to bring along with him the foresaid Book of Canons so noted on the margin, together with the draft he was to present that afternoon to the house. This he obeyed, and herewith I send your Grace both the one and the other. When I came to open the book, and run over their *Deliberandums* in the margin, I confess I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him that it was certainly not a Dean of Limerick but an Ananias that had sat in the chair of that committee. However, sure I was that Ananias had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam; that I was ashamed and scandalized with it above measure. I therefore said that he should leave the book and draft with me, and that I did command him upon his allegiance he should report nothing to the House from that committee till he heard again from me.

“Being thus nettled, I gave present direction for a meeting; and I named the Primate, the Bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe, and Derry, together with Dean Lesley, the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee, to be with me the next morning. Then I publicly told them how unlike clergy-

men, that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the privity or consent of state or bishops; what a spirit of *Brownism* and contradiction I observed in their *Deliberandums*, as if indeed they purposed at once to take away all government and order from the Church, and leave every man to choose his own high place where he liked best. But these heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure, nor, if they were disposed to be frantick in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them either to be mad in the convocation or in their pulpits”.

He then states the instructions he gave the assembled ministers, and how he requested the Primate to draw up a formula for adopting the English articles, which might be submitted to convocation:—

“The Primate”, he thus continues, “accordingly framed a canon, which I not so well approving, drew up one myself, and sent it to my lord. His Grace came instantly unto me, and told me he feared the canon would never pass in such form as I had made it, but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it, it might, and besought me, therefore, to think a little better of it. But I confess, having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends, I had my eye upon it; it was too late now either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in those very words, and was most confident there were not six in the houses that would refuse them . . . Without any delay, then, I wrote a letter to Dean Lesley, with the canon inclosed, which accordingly that afternoon was unanimously voted, first with the bishops, and then by the rest of the clergy, excepting one man”.

When conformity, even in the articles of belief, was thus *forced* upon the Irish Church, we would like to know in what sense Dr. Magee hazards the assertion in his sermon that the two Churches are “joined together in a union which the state never made, and which the state can never therefore take away”.

Notwithstanding the act of 1634, a difficulty still remained. When adopting the English Articles no mention had been made of a repeal of the earlier *Irish* Articles. Nay, more, this was an intentional omission, as results from Lord Strafford's letters. The

* *Letters and Despatches of Thomas Earl of Strafford*, vol. i. p. 344. He characteristically adds:—“If your lordship thinks Dean Andrews hath been to blame, and that you would chastise him for it, make him bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to have it without any other commendum than as the last bishop had, and then I assure you he shall leave better behind him than will be recompensed out of that bishoprick, which is one of the meanest of the whole kingdom”.

question, therefore, now arose: were the clergy to be required to subscribe as heretofore the contradictory old and new articles, or were they to be left at liberty as to which they might prefer? Primate Usher, and many of the other bishops, as a matter of fact, required from their clergy for some years subscription to both sets of articles (Mant, *Hist. of the Irish Ch.*, vol. i. p. 494); even Dr. Smith, in his *Life of Usher*, admits this fact, though he adds: "It must seem highly ridiculous, not to say scandalous, that two confessions, disagreeing in various doctrines of theology, should be retained in the same Church"; and yet, from the days of Usher to our own time, no further steps have been taken to abrogate the Irish Reformed Articles of 1615.

Towards the close of the last century an effort was made to sanction by an act of the legislature at least an outward union between the two churches: and when the resolutions on the union of Ireland with England were discussed in March, 1800, a clause was proposed to the effect that, thenceforward the Churches of England and Ireland should be united *into one Church*, and that all the prelates and other clergy of Ireland should be entitled to sit in convocation of *the United Church*. The clause, after some alterations, was indeed adopted by the Irish parliament: however, it was expunged from the act by the English legislature. The fact of proposing such a clause in 1800 proves that up to that time the Churches of England and Ireland were not regarded as *one Church*; and the rejection of that clause, which has never since been sanctioned by parliament, proves still more clearly that no unity such as that pretended by the eloquent Dean at present exists between the two Churches.

4. This leads us to consider another argument which has been repeatedly advanced in support of the Protestant Church in this country. In the Act of Union, it is said, the maintenance of the Protestant Church was expressly guaranteed; and thus the very existence of the united legislature must be imperilled if the present agitation against the Established Church be allowed to have its course. To this we reply, that no doubt the maintenance of the Protestant Church was held out by the government of the day, as a bribe to the then rampant ascendancy faction, to secure its aid in annihilating the legislative independence of this country. But the same power which, to attain its ends, could introduce such an unjust clause into the Act of Union, may surely be allowed to repeal that clause when it is found to mar and counteract the wise purposes of the present government. And see how, in the ways of Providence, guilt prepares its own chastisement. Humanly speaking, it is

precisely to the Act of Union and to the agitation in the sister isle that we must for ever be indebted for the disendowment and disestablishment of the Protestant Church in this country!

5. There is only one reflection more which, for the present, we wish to make on the discourse of the Bishop of Peterborough. He dwells at considerable length on the important and vital principle of *union between Church and state*, which he supposes to be at stake in the question of the Established Church. We beg to assure his lordship that that great principle is nowise imperilled by the present agitation. For three hundred years Protestantism linked itself with the Irish government, not in the exercise of a Christianizing influence, but to avail itself of the sword of power to persecute the people of Ireland. The public conscience has been outraged instead of being hallowed by that alliance, and now that an era of justice seems to dawn upon this country, it is but right that the unholy alliance should be severed for ever. An illustration has been used by a distinguished member of the present government, and we cannot better express our ideas on the subject than by using his words:

“In its own country the bee is one of the most estimable of animals. It spends its whole time in most diligently providing for its wants during the fine season of the year. It is an inoffensive, prudent, diligent animal, whose operations we all watch with the greatest interest. But bees were transplanted to the West Indies, and they found themselves in a climate where labour was utterly unnecessary, where they had nothing to do, because all the year round they had a perpetual summer, and there were flowers and food for them without exertion. They lost entirely their industrious habits; they became utterly debauched, and spent their whole time travelling about sugar houses, pillaging sugar, and stinging the blacks. Now that is exactly, I am sorry to say, what has been done by the Established Church in Ireland; it has pillaged the sugar, and stung not the blacks but the native Irish”.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter of the Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Clogher, to the Editors of the Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

[We are deeply grateful to his Lordship the Bishop of Clogher for the valuable letter with which he has honoured us, and we beg to assure him that we accept with pleasure the correction with which he has so kindly favoured us.]

“ Monaghan, January 16, '69”.

“ DEAR REV. SIR,—I write to offer my heartiest thanks for the place you have given in the *Record* of this month to the hymn in praise of my holy predecessor, St. Macartin. That relic of antiquity is now safe from the possibility of extinction; the future chronicler will find it in the pages of the *Record*. There is but one circumstance in the matter that gives me pain or disappointment. Any person reading your introductory remarks would infer that the notorious Miler Magrath had apostatized *whilst* Bishop of Clogher; the truth being, that this unhappy man was appointed Bishop of Clogher by the government of Elizabeth, and after his apostacy.—(See *Ware, Bishops of Clogher*, and other ecclesiastical historians.)—It is our proud and grateful reflection that no bishop of this ancient see has ever fallen away from the faith.

“ You will not wonder that I should feel sensitive about the fair fame of Clogher, and of the long roll of her prelates; and I trust that, in the next number of the *Record*, you will place this matter beyond the reach of misapprehension.

“ I remain, dear Rev. Sir, very faithfully yours,

✠ “ JAMES DONNELLY.

“ To the Editor of the
Ecclesiastical Record”.

DOCUMENTS.

Rescript of the Sacred Congregation, granting new Indulgences to the "Catholic Association of St. Francis de Sales".

The "Catholic Association of St. Francis de Sales" was founded in 1855, principally through the exertions of Monseigneur Mermillod, now coadjutor bishop of Geneva. It rapidly spread through France and Switzerland, and some branch societies were also founded in Italy and Belgium. It proposed to itself: 1st, the erection of schools and other Catholic institutions for the poor; 2nd, the gratuitous diffusion of good books; 3rd, the holding of missions and spiritual retreats in the most destitute districts; 4th, the ornamentation of poor churches and altars; 5th, the encouragement and maintenance of young men who aspire to the ecclesiastical state.

Several indulgences have already been granted by the Holy See to reward the pious exertions of the members of this admirable Association. We insert to-day the last Rescript granting such indulgences, and with it we give the petition which was presented to the Holy Father soliciting such a favour, as it details the whole plan and organisation of the "*Association*" and affords full particulars to any of the clergy who may wish to erect a Branch-Association in their districts.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Ad pedes S. V. provoluti Praeses necnon Praesidi assidentes *Associationis Catholicae S. Francisci Salesii* suppliciter expoununt: Anno Domini 1855 et sequenti semel atque iterum Sanctitas Vestra Rev. Domini Mermillod primum (qui nunc Episcopus auxiliaris Genevensis) deinde R. P. D. Alzon Augustinorum Assumptionis Praesidi ac Nemosensi Vicario generali) dicere dignata est id a se valde exoptari ut catholicis in gentibus pia exurgeret precum atque eleemosynarum societas, unde Christianorum fides refoveretur, non parvum diligenti clero accresceret auxilium, coniurati Ecclesiae hostes facilius expugnarentur, sicque pura et integra ubique inter Fideles remaneret Catholica Fides. Addebat autem Sanctitas Vestra talem sibi videri Consociationem, veluti "*quandam Fidei propagationem ad intra*" ita ut qui inter infideles atque haereticos Fidem propagandam curant, eandem servandam tuendamque suscipiant inter fideles.

Ex quo cordis Vestri desiderio Sanctissime Pater exordium sumpsit, benedicente Domino, Associatio pia S. Francisci Salesii

Nemosi primum anno 1855, deinde biennio post Lutetiae Parisiorum, ubi ampliori fundamento stabilita invalescit in dies ac summa ope nititur ut Fidem servanti ac tuenti Clero multifariam multisque modis praesto sit.

Et quidem 1° Catholicas scholas, atque Instituta pia, quae parvulis vere sanctificandis consulant, quamplurima condit, auget, vel adiuvat.

2° Libros bonos eosdemque ad vulgarem Populorum sensum accommodatos nulla mercede dispensat, sicque honesta quaeque legendi morem inducit.

3° Verbum Dei praedicandum curat tum ruricolis, tum suburbiiis, largiendo scilicet unde exercitia spiritualia fiant vel Missiones.

4° Si quae sint ecclesiae adeo inopes ut nequeant cultum Deo, prout decet, exhibere, pecunia adiuvat.

5° Fovet denique, quantum in se est, atque adiuvat quotquot ad statum ecclesiasticum vocati habentur.

At vero in primis sibi tenendum esse statuit praedicta Associatio, ne quid unquam agatur nisi benedicente ac dirigente Ordinario, cui soli de spiritualibus ovium necessitatibus iudicare competit animasque ex officio custodire; atque ita quidquid minus prudens excogitaret zelus, facillime praecavetur.

Huius autem Associationis constitutio simplicissima haec est: Concilium primarium, nunc Lutetiae residens, epistolarum consuetudinem habet in unaquaque Dioecesi cum designato quodam ab Antistite, rectore. Cuius opera, sicut quaecumque postulantur a Dioecesi, Concilio primario innotescant, ita et omnes eiusdem Concilii elemosynae per totam Dioecesim diffunduntur. Vicerectores autem Dioecesani et collectarii denos constituunt sodales a quibus duodeni quotannis asses solvendi sunt, haud secus ac fieri solet in societatibus quae Propagatio Fidei ac S. Infantia nuncupantur.

Quibus Regnum Christi latissime diffundentibus nedum noceat S. Francisci Salesii Associatio, e contra veluti complementum accedit atque adiutrix eximia. Quo etenim purior Fides, ac validior in catholicis gentibus vigeat, eo maiori studio eandem quisque Fidem curabit propagandam; quod autem minime fit, ubi vel evanuit Fides vel labatur.

Decimus hic annus est ex quo dictam Societatem omnes fere Galliarum Antistites ac satis multi in Italia, Siciliaque approbatam canonice erexerunt. Eandem nuper erexerunt, vel erecturi sunt nonnulli apud Helvetios ac Belgas. A mense autem Maio Anni 1857 quo, auspice Beatissima Virgine, feliciter Lutetiae exorta est usque ad eundem elabentis anni mensem iam millies mille circiter francos argenteos exceptos distribuit.

Quibuscumque in regnis praedicta constituitur Societas,

Concilium generale, quod ex clericis laicisque Ecclesiae ac S. Sedi addictimis constat, epistolarum commercium frequentat cum primario Parisiensi Concilio, eo dumtaxat fine, ut salvis ubique Societatis statutis, quæ S. Sedis auctoritate sunt comprobata, tum accepti expensique, tum rerum a Sodalibus gestarum diligens ratio quotannis referatur.

Optimum illud incoeptum iam a principio benigne fovere atque ad ampliora incitare S. V. dignata est, tum epistola sui a latinis Secretarii, tum Apostolico Brevi dato die 13 Dec. anno 1859 quo Sodales amplissimis indulgentiarum muneribus simul cum Apostolica benedictione donabantur. Quem postea praestantissimum iam caelestium gratiarum thesaurum S. V. augere adhuc ac benignissime amplificare voluit.

Id demum pro certo habemus, Sanctissime Pater, fore ut praedicta piorum Fidelium Societas, si tamen iterata eaque solemniori Sedis Apostolicae comprobatione gauderet, tantum continuo proficeret, ut iam maxime valeret ad refocillandam Fidelium pietatem ac fidem, atque ita, cum universo iam clero rediret animus, multo maiori impetu atque efficacius pugnaretur tum contra incredulos, liberosque muratorios, tum contra haereticos, ac ceteros quosque Ecclesiae hostes. Ad hoc, redeundi ad ecclesiam via fortasse pararetur non paucis haereticis, rationalistis, atque indifferentibus, qui vel dubii taedio misere laborant, vel iam sitiunt veritatem.

Igitur Beatitudinem Vestram Praeses ac Praesidi assidentes oratores orant ut caelestibus Indulgentiarum muneribus, quibus iam gaudent, denuo confirmatos primo *Associationem catholicam S. Francisci Salesii* de Apostolica benignitate ditare dignetur *erectione canonica*; deinde ut ad frequentiozem Eucharistiae usum magis ac magis incitentur Sodales, misericorditer in Domino concedere dignetur Plenariam omnium suorum peccatorum Indulgentiam ac remissionem, eamque singulis hebdomadis lucrandam ab omnibus qui vere poenitentes et confessi Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum sumpserint. Pro qua gratia, etc.

Rescriptum.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius PP. IX. in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Card. Praef. S. Congregationis Indulg. et SS. Reliq. die 10 Martii 1868 probe noscens quantum utilitatis ex praefata Pia Unione a S. Francisco Salesio nuncupata in populum christianum promanare possit, eam, eiusque finem, seu scopum ad quem tendit, amplissimis verbis commendavit, quin tamen aliquid auctoritati Sacrorum Antistitum locorum, praesertim pro illius canonica erectione in propria cuiusque Diocesi facienda, detractum intelligatur. Confidit vero dictae

Piae Unionis Sodales pro eo, quo flagrare debent, religionis zelo, et charitatis studio in dies magis magisque curaturos, ut intentum finem ad Dei gloriam et Christi fidelium aedificationem consequantur. Ut autem Sodales ipsi ad frequentiore Sacramentorum usum excitentur, Sanctitas Sua, praeter indulgentias ab Apostolica Sede iam obtentas,¹ benigne eis in perpetuum concessit ut Indulgentiam plenariam etiam Defunctis applicabilem bis in mense lucrari valeant, dummodo pro unaquaque vice vere poenitentes, confessi et S. Communione refecti aliquam ecclesiam devote visitaverint, ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pro haeresum extirpatione, fidei propagatione, ac S. R. E. exaltatione et felici statu pias ad Deum preces effuderint. Praesenti absque ulla brevis expeditione valituro. Datum Romae ex Secr. eiusdem S. Congregationis.

Die 10 Martii 1868.

A. Card. BIZZARRI Praefectus
A. Colombo Secr.

¹ The Indulgence enjoyed by the Associates are: a *Plenary Indulgence* (subject to the usual conditions), on the day of their aggregation, and also on the 29th of January, the 29th of June, and 8th December; a like *Plenary Indulgence* at the moment of death: a *Partial Indulgence* of *sixty days* for every good work that is performed.

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1869.

ON THE EARLY RELATIONS OF IRELAND WITH THE ISLE OF MAN.

THE "Isle of Man" presents many features of special interest to the Irish historian. Its first missionary was our own Apostle St. Patrick, and its church for many years was united in the closest bonds of fellowship with the Irish Church. Its early colonists seem also to have gone forth from Ireland; for, whilst its mediæval rites and usages bear the impress of the Scandinavian settlers, its ancient language, traditions, and historic monuments, all unequivocally proclaim that its original inhabitants were an offshoot from the Celtic race. We may on this head cite the words of the Rev. Isaac Taylor, who in his learned work, "Words and Places," speaking of the early colonization of the island, writes:—"The ethnology of the Isle of Man may be very completely illustrated by means of local names. The map of the island contains about four hundred names, of which about twenty per cent. are English; twenty-one per cent. are Norwegian; and fifty-nine per cent. are Celtic. These Celtic names are all of the most characteristic Erse type. It would appear that not a single colonist from Wales ever reached the island, which from the mountains of Caernarvon is seen like a faint cloud upon the blue waters. There are ninety-six names beginning with *Balla*, and the names of more than a dozen of the highest mountains have the prefix *Sliew*, answering to the Irish *Sliebh*. The Isle of Man has the curraghs, the loughs, and the Allens of Ireland faithfully reproduced."

The *Firbolgs* are reckoned among the first who colonized

our island. Now, Nennius, in his "History of the Britons," expressly declares that from Ireland they spread themselves to Man and other islands: "*The Firbolgs* (such is his concise but important statement) *seized upon Man and certain islands in like manner, i.e., Ara, Ila, and Rachlin.*"¹ Some writers, indeed, have hesitated to refer these words to the Isle of Man, knowing that an extensive district in the south of Scotland was also formerly called by the name *Man*; however, the Latin text of Nennius removes all doubt in the present instance, for the phrase "*Eubonia insula*" which is there used, admits of only one interpretation, viz., "*The Isle of Man.*"²

Ptolemy, the Geographer, who wrote in the second century of our era, places the Isle of Man among the Irish islands. A hundred years later (A.D. 254) the migration of a colony of Irish Cruithneans from Ulster to the Isle of Man is registered by our own illustrious annalist Tighernach. These early settlers in our island had been gradually restricted in their territories, yet they still retained a small principality in the north-east of Ulster; but being assailed even there by Cormac, the son of Con of the hundred battles, they sought a home in Man, whence they soon spread themselves along the west coast of Britain. From this expulsion of the Cruithneans the Irish monarch received the appellation of Ulfada:—"Cormac was called Ulfada because he drove the Ultonians far away."—(*Tighernach*, Annals ap. O'Connor Rer. Hib. SS. ad an. 254.) Many of this tribe, however, chose to remain in Ireland and pay tribute to the King of Ulster; and we find them still there when St. Patrick came to our island; they continued to enjoy there their own peculiar laws and customs, and they were looked upon by the settlers in Man and Wales as still forming part of their common family. Hence it will not surprise us to find that in the beginning of the fifth century an Ulster prince was chosen to be their king in Wales, and that a little earlier the daughter of an Irish chieftain became the wife of a Welsh monarch.

The Spanish Priest Orosius, a contemporary and friend of the great St. Augustine, tells us that Ireland was in his time inhabited by the *Scoti*, and he adds—"Not far distant from Ireland is the Isle of Man, fertile in its soil, and not too small in its

¹ "Irish version of Nennius," published by I.A.S., in 1848, p. 49.

² The following curious passage regarding the Isle of Man is from the same work of Nennius:—"The wonders of Man are here set down: the first wonder is a strand without a sea; the second is a ford which is far from the sea, and which fills when the tide flows and decreases when the tide ebbs; the third is a stone which moves at night in Glenn Cinden, and though it should be cast into the sea, yet at morning's dawn it would be found in the same valley."—*Irish Nennius* (p. 119).

³ *Geogr. lib. i*, cap. 5.

extent: it too is inhabited by the *Scoti* tribes."¹ About a century later another continental writer repeats the same statement:—"The Isle of Man, as well as Ireland, is inhabited by the *Scoti*.—*Menavia insula aeque ac Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus habitatur*."²

A very ancient Tract in the Book of Lecan (fol. 139, *a. a.* MSS. R.I.A.), detailing the tributes due to Baedan Mac Cairill, King of Ulster, speaks of the inhabitants of Sky and Man as hastening to his seat at Dun-Baedain to offer their gifts. We present the passage in full, as translated by Eugene O'Curry:—

"Even I who have come from *Sky*,
I have come twice and three times,
To convey gems of varying hue;
I the Albanian feel neglected.

"Fifty, sixty, are on the water
Between Man and Erin;
Here are nine who seek for heaven
Under the sorrows of pilgrimage."

At the close of the poem it is said—"It was by Baedan that Man was cleared of the Galls, so that its sovereignty belonged to the Ultonians thenceforward; and the second year after his death the Gaels abandoned Man."

Who the *Galls* were who are here referred to as having seized on the Isle of Man, cannot easily be determined. The word *Gall* is often used by the Irish writers as a sort of generic name for all foreign invaders, and may perhaps in the present instance be intended for the Saxons who about this time had begun to make considerable progress in England. It more probably, however, refers to *Malgo*, King of Venodotia, who, according to Lhuyd, began to reign in the year 560, and who, from his predatory excursions, was styled "the dragon of the Isles."³

When it is said that the Gaels abandoned Man⁴ in the second

¹ Huic etiam Menavia insula proxima est et ipsa spatio non parva, solo commoda, aeque a Scotorum gentibus habitatur."—(*Historiar*, lib 1, cap. 2.)

² *Cosmograph*. (generally attributed to Ethicus) lib. 1 cap. 5. This work was formerly believed to have been written in the second century; it is now generally supposed that it was written about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.

³ Camden, "Epist. de Mona Insula," in "Defens. Brittan.," p. 204.

⁴ Some historians have supposed that "the battle of *Manann*," in which Aedan, King of the Dalriadians, was victorious (A.D. 581), has reference to the Isle of Man. However, Dr. Reeves has very clearly proved that that battle was fought at *Mannan Guotodin*, an extensive plain in North Britain (Notes to Annals of Ulster, ad an. 581). See also "Chronicles of the Picts," by Skene, Edinburgh, 1867, p. lxxxi. seqq.

year after Baedan's death, this probably means nothing more than that his troops returned to Ulster. The words of the concluding sentence, as well as other testimonies, which we will just now cite, sufficiently prove that the Isle of Man still continued for a long time to be united with Ulster. The date of King Baedan's death is not very clearly fixed by our annalists. The Four Masters record his death in A.D. 585: "Baetan Mac Cairill, King of Ulidia, died." The *Chronicon Scotorum* registers it in 580; whilst the Ulster Annals give two entries of his death, first under the year 580, and again in 586. It was probably to the attack made by the *Galls* against the Isle of Man that the Welsh Annals refer when they simply record, in A.D. 584, "Bellum contra Euboniam."¹

A passage of the Venerable Bede has given rise to much discussion. Speaking of the conquests of King Edwin in the year 630, he says:—"Edwin subdued the Menavian islands to the English crown" (lib. 2, cap. ix.) However, it probably was not the intention of the historian to include the Isle of Man under that designation. Certain it is that William of Malmesbury, when citing Bede's words, adds:—"The Menavian islands are those which we now call Anglesey, that is, the isles of the Angles:" and King Alfred, who surely must have known the extent of Edwin's conquest, in his translation of Bede, expressly substitutes in this text the name of *Anglesey* instead of the generic phrase, "Menavian islands."² From the *Book of Rights* it would appear that as late as the tenth century Man was held to be tributary to Ireland. Thus among the prerogatives of the chief monarch is mentioned, to enjoy in Tara "the fruit of Manann;" and subsequently is inserted the poem of Cuan O'Lochain,³ in which, among the tributes which were offered, it is expressly mentioned that, "on the Calends of August were brought to the King the fruits of Manann, a fine present."⁴

The "Chronicle of Man" records a curious fact in the year 1095. On the death of Lachman, King of Man and the Isles, all the Manx nobility sent an embassy to Muirheartach O'Brien, King of Ireland, asking him to send one of his royal race to rule the kingdom during the minority of Prince Olaf. The Irish monarch complied with their request, and sent to

¹ "Annales Cambr. in Monum. Hist. Britt.," p. 831. The same annals, in 684, make mention of an earthquake in the Isle of Man: "*Terraemotus in Eubonia factus est magnus.*"

² O'Conor "Rerum Hib. Scriptt." Prologom., part 1, p. lxxv.

³ This writer was the chief sage of Ireland in the commencement of the eleventh century, and regent of the kingdom in 1022. He died in 1024.

⁴ "The Book of Rights," published by O'Donovan, for the Celtic Society, in 1847, p. 3, and again p. 9.

them his kinsman Donald Mac Teighe, a man of moderation and prudence, to discharge the onerous duties of that high office. Three years later, viz., in 1098, King Magnus of Norway made a triumphal visitation of the Orcades and other islands subject to the Norwegian sway; and from Man sent an insulting message to the Irish monarch Muircheartach, commanding him to wear a pair of slippers on his shoulders on the following Christmas feast, in token of his being tributary to Magnus. The Irish nobles were indignant at the insult thus offered to their sovereign; but Muircheartach humbly complied with the command of Magnus, adding that sooner than imperil the peace of his people, he was ready to carry on his shoulders the slippers of Magnus till the day of judgment. Soon after, however, Magnus devised some other plea for invading Ireland; but, as the "Chronicle of Man" adds, being surrounded by the Irish chieftains, he perished, together with all the troops which he had brought with him to the island."¹ In 1176, Godred, King of Man, was married to Findgola, grand-daughter of Muircheartach, King of Ireland, and the marriage ceremony was performed by Cardinal Vivian. This, however, did not prevent the Manxmen from lending their aid to John De Courcy, when the Norman nobles invaded this country, towards the close of the twelfth century. Indeed, in 1205, we find that there were no fewer than one hundred Manx ships in the train of De Courcy. King John was displeased with the devotedness they thus showed to one of his subjects, and accordingly, in 1210, he detached a portion of his army under the command of Fulcho, which ravaged the Isle of Man for sixteen days, and exacted hostages from Ronald, the reigning King.

In 1238 two chieftains, one of whom was Gillechrist, son of Muircheartach, received a mission from the King of Norway to compel Harold, now King of Man, to pay the usual tribute of his fealty. They soon expelled Harold from the island, and it was only on his submission to the Norwegian monarch in 1242 that they re-admitted him to the throne of Man. There is one other curious entry connected with this prince, and with it we will close our sketch of the civil relations between Ireland and Man. In the year 1249 an Irish chieftain named

¹ "Chronica Regum Manniæ et Insularum," edited by P. A. Munch, Christiana, 1860, ad an. 1098, seqq. When at an earlier period Sitric sought to combine all the scattered Scandinavian Vikings against the Irish monarch, *Brian Borumha*, he was instructed to secure, "at whatever price they might ask," two princes, who with thirty ships lay on the west coast of Man. These were Ospak and Brodir, who took such an active part in the battle of Clontarf, and the latter of whom towards the close of the battle killed the monarch, Brian, but was himself slain immediately after. Todd's "Wars of the Danes," p. clxix.

Donald was pursued to death by the King. He took refuge in the monastery of Rushin, dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, but soon after was fraudulently induced to surrender himself to Harold. He was immediately bound, hand and foot, and led away to the wood of Mirescho, where he was closely guarded. Seeing that no human hope of escape remained to him, he turned his thoughts to God, and prayed the holy Virgin, in whose sanctuary he had taken refuge, not to abandon him in his distress. Whilst he thus fervently prayed, the chains, of their own accord, fell from his limbs, and the captive was soon in safety. The chronicler adds:—"Haec sicut ab ore ejus didicimus, scripsimus."¹

The temporal relations between Ireland and Man which we have thus hastily sketched, were not without their influence on the ecclesiastical relations between the two islands. Before, however, we come to treat of this second part of our subject we must devote a few words to a chieftain of the pre-historic age named *Manannan*, from whom the Isle of Man is supposed to derive its name. St. Cormac MacCullenan remarks in his Glossary that "*Manannan* was the greatest mariner of this western part of the world, and he was able to presage good or bad weather from his observations of the heavens and from the changes of the moon; wherefore the Scoti and the Britons gave him the title of *God of the Sea*; they also styled him "*Mac Lir*"—i.e., *Son of the Sea*, and from him the Isle of Man had its name."² This *Manannan* belonged to the *Tuatha-De-Danaan* race, and took part in the great battles of *Tailltin* and *Drumleene* against the *Milesians*. The *Tuatha-De-Danaans* being defeated with great slaughter, the surviving Princes chose *Manannan* for their leader, and with him took refuge in the island, which subsequently received his name. The other islands on the Scottish coast seem also to have afforded a refuge to the remnant of the *Tuatha-De-Danaans*, and to have acknowledged the sway of *Manannan*.³

A very curious and ancient tale called "*The exile of the children of Uisneach*," introduces us to a later king of Man, who is styled *the fourth Manannan that ruled the island*. It tells us that when *Gaiar*, the son of *Naisi*, anxious to avenge the death of the sons of *Uisneach*, declared war against

¹ "*Chronica Regum Manniæ et Insularum*," ad an. 1294, p. 24.

² Vellum MS. of "*Cormac's Glossary*," R.I.A. See a long note regarding this *Manannan* by Eugene O'Curry, in "*Atlantis*," VII., 226. *Oirbsen* was another name of *Manannan*, and it was from him that *Lough Oirbsen*, near Galway, now *Lough Corrib*, derived its name.

³ O'Curry, loc. cit., p. 228. It was probably on account of this chieftaincy of *Manannan*, "*the son of Lir*," that the scattered remnants of the *Tuatha-De-Danaans* are generally styled in our poetic tales "*the children of Lir*."

Conchobhar, king of Ulster, about the time of the birth of our Saviour, Manannan, the fourth king of Man, united his forces with those of Gaiar and ravaged the greater part of Ulster. Conchobhar yielded to the storm, and sought for safety by flight to the Orkneys and Caithness. Gaiar, however, held the sovereignty of Ulster only for one year, and then by the advice of Manannan surrendered it again to Conchobhar. "Manannan (it is added) took Gaiar with him to Emhain Abhlach,¹ and he remained there till he died."²

Should we give credence to the Manx traditions, another prince of the same name held the sovereignty of the island when it was visited by St. Patrick; he is said to have reigned many years, and to have kept the whole island enveloped in perpetual mists by his magical arts,³ which, however, were of no avail against the sign of the cross and the prayers of the Christian missionary.

It was through our own Apostle St. Patrick that the Isle of Man received the light of the gospel, and so devoted were the Manx in after ages to his memory that the island itself was often styled *Inis-Patrick*, i.e., Patrick's island.⁴

That ancient Celtic tale, "The Fate of the Children of Lir," which in all the richness of oriental imagery sketches the sad fate and fortunes of the remnant of the Tuatha-De-Danaan race, expressly teaches that it was by St. Patrick and St.

¹ *Emhain Abhlach*, i.e., Emhain of the Apple trees. Mr. O'Curry says this was the present Isle of Arran in the Frith of Clyde, on the coast of Scotland. However, Colgan tells us that the Isle of Man was known by this name at an early period, and he thence derives the Latin name *Eubonia*, which is given to it in Gildas, Jocelyn, and other writers. He thus writes:—"Mannia prisco sermone Hibernico *Eumhoín* vel *Eubhoín* appellata reperitur ut constat ex veteri et eleganti carmine panegyrico quod in laudem magni filii Godredi Manniæ regis ante annos quingentos composuit Arthulius sui sæculi præstantissimus poeta, quodque penes me extat. Ibi enim Manniam sopus vocat *Eumhoín-abhlach*, id est, *pomo arbore abundans*, ad distinctionem alterius *Euboniæ* sen *Eumoniæ* quæ celebris olim erat sedes regum Ultoniæ et *Eamhain* sen *Eabhoín-mhacha* Hiberniæ appellatur."—(*Acta SS.*, p. 60.) One verse of the poem here referred to is translated by Mr. O'Curry:—

"If the hosts of the men of the lands were yours
From the Boyne till you touched the Tiber,
More important to you for honey and mead-joy (would still be)
Emhain of Mac Lir, son of Lighir."

² "Book of Lecan," col. 880, seqq.; and "Book of Ballymote," fol. 141. The whole tale is published by Eugene O'Curry in "Atlantis," VI. p. 398, seqq. It was probably during the reign of this Manannan that the district of Manand in North Britain received its name; for he and his allies are said in this tale to have conquered all the north of Britain. *Ib.*, p. 419.

³ "The Statute Book of Man," referred to in Bullock's "History of the Isle of Man," p. 3, seqq.

Colgan, in "Acta SS.," p. 60.—The promontory now called *Peel* was formerly separated from Man, and in the "Chronicon Manniæ" is always called *Insula Sancti Patricii*.

Mochaomog the children of Lir were gathered into the fold of Christ. In their privations and wanderings the fugitives continued for a long period, it says:—"Till the time of the faith of Christ, and until holy Patrick came to Erin, and until holy Mochaomog came to Inish-glory."¹ The readiness with which they received the teaching of the messengers of Christ is thus described:—

Listen to the Cleric's bell ;
 Elevate your wings and arise ;
 Give thanks to God for his coming,
 And be grateful for having heard Him.
 It is the more proper that ye be ruled by Him,
 Because it is He that shall liberate you from pain,
 Shall bring you away from the rocks and stones,
 And shall bring you away from the furious currents.
 I say unto you, therefore,
 Make you a confession of proper, accurate faith ;
 Ye comely children of Lir,
 Listen to the bell of the Cleric.

"The children of Lir, therefore, continued listening to that music which the cleric performed until he had finished his Matins ; 'Let us chaunt our music now,' said they, 'for the High King of Heaven and Earth,' and they immediately chaunted a plaintive, slow-sweet, fairy music in praise of the Lord, and in adoration of the High King. . . . They said to Mochaomog:—

Come to baptize us, O Cleric ;
 Take upon thee and arise ;
 Clear away from us our many stains
 And all our faults, O companion !"

It is added, that being baptized, they slept in peace ; "their tombstone was raised over their graves, and their Ogham names were written and their lamentation rites were performed, and Heaven was obtained for their souls through the prayers of Mochaomhog."²

In the Life of St. Patrick composed by Jocelyn, a monk of Furniss in the twelfth century, some particulars are given

¹ There is an island of this name in the Bay of Erris, County Mayo, about a mile west from the coast. St. Brendan erected a famous church and monastery there. The place, however, referred to in our text seems to have been situated on the coast of Antrim. See Archdall's "*Monasticon Hib.*," at the name *Gluairé*.

² Translation of Eugene O'Curry.—*Atlantis*, No. VII., p. 153.

regarding the preaching of our apostle in the Isle of Man. When Jocelyn composed this work the closest relations existed between the parent house of Furniss and its offshoot the celebrated monastery of Rushin in the Isle of Man, and hence his testimony must be considered as presenting to us the local records and traditions of the island. He tells us, "Very many places (*perplura loca*) in Britain still retain the memory of St. Patrick's miracles. But he having summoned around him many well instructed and religious men, brought them (to Ireland), and of these thirty were subsequently raised to the Episcopal dignity. Sailing towards Ireland, he visited the islands of the Sea; and Eubonia, *i.e.*, the Isle of Man, then subject to Britain, was converted to Christ by his preaching and miracles: among which miracles the following one is specially commemorated:—a certain necromancer, by name Melinus, like unto Simon Magus, proclaiming himself a God, sought by diabolical aid to fly in the air, but at the prayers of St. Patrick he fell to the ground and miserably perished. St. Patrick chose one of his disciples, by name German, a wise and holy man, whom he promoted to the Episcopate and constituted ruler of that new church, and the episcopal see was fixed in the promontory which to the present day is called Inis-Patrick, because the saint remained there for some time."¹

Another interesting fact in the life of our apostle is the conversion of St. Machaldus,² who, from a Cruithnean chief, became a follower of Christ, and a herald of the Gospel tidings in Man. We will give in full, from the "Book of Armagh," which is one of the most venerable records of our ancient Church, the narration of this event, so important in the ecclesiastical history of the Isle of Man:—"There was a certain man in the country of the Ultonians, in the time of St. Patrick, Maccuil of Macugrecca, and this man was very impious, most cruel, tyrannical, so that he was called Cyclops by the more thoughtful; depraved in deeds, in words intemperate, malignant in action, bitter in spirit, quarrelsome in disposition, abandoned in body, cruel in mind, a heathen in life, and void of conscience; sunk into such a depth of impiety that, on a certain day, sitting in a rough and high mountainous place, *viz.*, Hindruim Maccuechach, where he daily exercised his tyranny, committing the greatest enormities, slaying his guests on their journey, with abandoned cruelty and cruel wickedness; seeing also St. Patrick shining in the clear light of faith, sparkling with a

¹ "Vita S. Patricii." Authore Jocelino, cap. 92., ap. Colgan, Tr. Th., p. 86.

² The name of this saint in the early documents is found under the various forms of *Maccuil*, *Maguil*, *Macfail*, *Machutus*, *Maughold*, &c.

certain wonderful glory of the diadem of the heavenly country, firm in the unshaken confidence of his doctrine, walking in a way suitable to his life, him he meditated to slay, saying to his attendants, 'Behold, this seducer and perverter of men comes, whose custom is to practise deceits to entrap many men, and to seduce them; let us go therefore and tempt him, and let us know if that God in whom he glories has any power.'

"And they tempted the holy man; they tempted him in this way: they placed one of themselves under a cloak, feigning him to be lying in the agony of death, that they might try the saint by this kind of deception; so, on the arrival of St. Patrick with his disciples, they were having recourse to tricks, muttering prayers, and practising witchcraft and incantations. The heathen said to him, 'Behold, one of us is now sick, approach, therefore, and chaunt some of the incantations of your sect over him, if perchance he may be healed.'

"St. Patrick, knowing all their stratagems and deceits, with firmness and intrepidity said, 'It would be no wonder if he had been sick;' and his companions uncovering the face of him that was feigning sickness saw that he was now dead; and the heathens, amazed and astonished at such a miracle, said among themselves, 'Truly this man is from God; we have done evil in tempting him.' But St. Patrick having turned to Maccuil says, 'Why did you seek to tempt me?' The cruel tyrant answered, 'I am sorry for what I have done, whatever you command me I will perform; and now I deliver myself into the power of your supreme God whom you preach.' And the saint said, 'Believe, therefore, in my God, the Lord Jesus, and confess your sins, and be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' And he was converted in that hour, and believed in the Eternal God, and, moreover, was baptized; and then Maccuil added this, saying, 'I confess to thee, my holy lord, Patrick, that I proposed to kill you; judge, therefore, how much I owe for so great a crime.' Patrick said, 'I am not able to judge, but God will judge. Do you, therefore, depart now, unarmed, to the sea, and pass over quickly from this country, Ireland, taking nothing with you of your substance, except a small common garment, with which you may be able to cover your body, eating nothing and drinking nothing of the fruit of this island, having a mark of your sins on your head, and when you reach the sea bind your feet together with an iron fetter, and cast the key of it into the sea, and set out in a boat of one hide, without rudder or oar, and wherever the wind and sea shall lead you, be prepared to remain, and to whatever land

Divine Providence shall carry you, be prepared to live there and obey the divine commands.'

"And Maccuil said, 'I will do as you have said; but respecting the dead man, what shall we do?' And Patrick said, 'He shall live, and rise again without pain.' And Patrick restored him to life in that hour, and he revived quite sound.

"And Maccuil departed thence very speedily to the sea. The right side of the plain of Inis is reached; having his confidence unshaken in the faith, and binding himself on the shore, casting the key into the sea, according to what was commanded to him, he then embarked in a little boat, and north wind arose and bore him to the south, and cast him on the island called Evonia, and he found there two men very wonderful in faith and doctrine, who first taught the word of God and baptism in Evonia; and the men of the island were converted, by their doctrine, to the Catholic faith, whose names are Conindrus and Rumilus. But these, seeing a man of the same habit wondered, and pitied him, and lifting him out of the sea, the spiritual fathers received him with joy; he, therefore, after finding himself in a region believing in God, conformed himself body and soul to their guidance, and spent the remainder of his days with those two holy bishops, till he was appointed their successor in the bishopric.

"This is Maccuil Dimane, abbot and bishop of Arddæ Huimhbonii."¹

We glean some additional circumstances connected with the episcopate of St. Machaldus, from the other ancient records of St. Patrick's life. Thus in the "*Vita Tripartita*" we read:—"St. Machaldus being freed from his chains gave thanks to God, and increasing in holiness he merited the episcopal grade on the death of the aforesaid holy bishops, and he closed his life there, illustrious for his virtues and miracles. There was a city in that island called after him, of no small extent, the remains of whose walls may yet be seen; and in the cemetery of its church there is a sarcophagus of hollow stone, out of which a spring continually exudes, nay, freely floweth, which is sweet to the palate, wholesome to the taste, and affording a sure remedy to divers infirmities, and to the deadliness of poison, for whosoever drinks thereof receives either instant health or instant death. In that sarcophagus the remains of St. Machaldus are said to have been deposited, but nothing is now found therein save the clear water only; and though many have oftentimes endeavoured to remove the stone, and

¹ *Dimane* is evidently a corruption for *De Mania*; *Arddæ Huimhbonii* is "The Hill of Eubonia," or Man.

especially the King of the Norwegians, who subdued the island, and was anxious to have at all times such clear water at sea, yet they all have failed in their attempts; for, the deeper they dug to raise the stone, so much the more deeply and firmly did they find it fixed in the heart of the earth."¹

The "Vita Quarta," which is referred by Colgan to St. Aileran the Wise, also states that Machaldus, being wafted by the winds to the Isle of Man, "Found there two wonderful men named Conindrius and Romulus, under whose guidance the inhabitants of the island had grown up in the love of God, and in the Catholic faith, and who instructed him in the doctrine of life, and in the grace of baptism. He remained with them in the pursuit of divine wisdom, and passed the remainder of his life there, till he was chosen their successor in the episcopate. This was, indeed, a change effected by the right hand of God, and in this the compassionate clemency of our Saviour and his benign mercy are made known, that he who had been a lawless robber should become a holy bishop."²

The Irish annalists place the death of St. Machaldus in the year 554,³ and by his sanctity of life and evangelical labours, during his long episcopate of sixty years, he not only atoned for his former reckless career, but, moreover, won for himself the title, which all subsequent ages have awarded him, of Apostle and Patron of the Isle of Man.

The memory of St. Machaldus was honoured by "many churches" erected in Man under his invocation, as the "British Martyrology" assures us. Jocelyn adds, that "There was in former times a large city in the island, the ruins of whose walls may still be seen, and which bore the name of St. Machaldus."⁴ In the "Chronicon Manniæ" a fact is mentioned which proves that in the twelfth century the memory of the saint was still cherished in the island. A band of pirates, it is said, had plundered the church of St. Machaldus, in Man, and carried away its treasures; that night the saint appeared to their chief, and, reproaching him for his crime, said, "I am Machaldus, the servant of Christ, whose church you have

¹ Colgan, "Trias," p. 98.

² *Ibid.* p. 45.

³ Dr. Oliver, "Churches of Man," p. 75, says, "The 'Annals of Ulster' place his obit in A.D. 488." This is an error. The "Annals of Ulster" in that year, or rather in 489, place the death of *St. Maccaille*, "who gave the veil to St. Brigid, and whose church was in Cruachan of Brigh-ele, in the region of Hifalgia." (*Maguire*, ap. Colgan, Tr. Th., p. 525). This saint was wholly different from the Apostle of Man.

⁴ "Habebatur in illa insula civitas quondam non exigua, cujus murorum adhuc cernuntur residua ex ejus nomine cognominata."—"Vita S. Patricii," cap. 152.)

sought to profane," after which words the saint transpierced the pirate with his crozier.¹

We may now turn our attention to a few of the difficulties which beset the path of the historian when investigating the history of the first Bishops of Man, and which we have hitherto left unnoticed.

In the first place, then, some writers have hesitated to reckon St. Germanus among the first Bishops of the Isle of Man. Thus Mr. Oliver rejects his Manx mission as entirely fabulous, and contends that *Conindrius* and *Romulus* with *St. Machaldus* are the only historic names connected with the first foundations of the Manx Church.² Even Dr. Lanigan looked on the connection of a St. Germanus with the Episcopate of Man as an error of later times. The earlier records of St. Patrick's life (he says) are silent as to any one of his disciples bearing the name Germanus; even among the contemporaries of our apostle no one can be found with such a name whom we can assign to Man. Hence, he conjectures, that the cathedral of Man may perhaps have been dedicated under the invocation of the great St. Germanus of Auxerre, and that popular tradition took thence occasion to introduce a saint of that name as the first apostle of the island.—("Ecc. Hist." vol. I, p. 304.)

What renders the matter still more obscure is the patent contradiction between the statements of Jocelyn and Probus; for whilst Probus expressly styles St. Conindrius and Romulus *the first* heralds of the gospel, Jocelyn narrates that it was only after the death of Germanus that those other holy bishops were chosen by our apostle to dispense the blessings of faith to the people of Man.

A like uncertainty prevails in regard to Saint *Mochaomhog*, whose name in Irish traditions was closely linked with that of St. Patrick in evangelizing the remnant of the Tuatha-De-Danaan race. The greatest of our antiquarians, Eugene O'Curry, has merely added to his name the simple note, "*not identified.*"

It would be unfair indeed to suppose that these doubts bear with them no weight, or that every difficulty connected with the first bishops of Man may be readily solved. We may be permitted, however, to lay before the students of Manx antiquities a few reflections which tend, in part at least, to

¹ "Chronicon Manniæ," edited by Professor Munch, Christiania, 1860, p. 12.

² "Jocelinus is the only writer among the mediæval historians who asserts the Manx Episcopacy of this prelate (Germanus), an error clearly fallen into through the profundity of his legendary attainments."—"Ancient Churches of the Isle of Man," by J. R. Oliver, M.D., in vol. 1st of "Manx Antiquities," 1868, p. 65.)

reconcile the conflicting statements of our early writers on this head.

And first as regards St. *Germanus*. It is true that no one of that name appears in the Irish Calendars in connection with the Isle of Man, and that Jocelyn alone, among the historians of St. Patrick's life, mentions such a saint as his disciple. The lessons in the ancient office used by the Canons Regular on the feast of St. Patrick are almost the only other authority that presents such a Germanus to us : in these lessons we read that, together with St. Patrick, "was consecrated *Germanus*, a Lateran Canon," who accompanied our apostle to Ireland (ap. Colgan, "Trias," p. 196).

However, among the contemporaries and disciples of St. Patrick, we meet with a Saint *Coemanus*,¹ the son of a Welsh prince, named Breacan. This prince was by birth connected with the Cruithnean Ulster chieftains, and all his numerous family are famed for their sanctity and reckoned among the saints in the Irish and British records. His territory lay along the coast of Wales, and his son Coemanus is precisely the person whom we should suppose St. Patrick would select to preach the doctrines of faith in Man. The British form of his name is *Coemaun*, and the transition in the course of centuries to the more classic Latin name *Germanus*, will not seem strange or novel to those who are at all acquainted with the singular manner in which Irish names are found transformed in the mediæval Latin records.²

There is, however, something more to be said about St. Coemanus. His name is commonly presented to us in Irish records, with the usual Celtic prefixes, under the form of *Mochaomhog*. Thus Colgan, when speaking of this saint, styles him "*Coemanus cognomento Peregrinus qui et Mochomocus*," and adds, that his feast was kept on the 3rd of Nov. On that day, in the "Martyrology of Donegal," we find precisely registered the name of "*Mochamhog the pilgrim*."³ Thus the one Cambrian name *Coemaunus* combined the two apparently conflicting forms of *Germanus* and *Mochamhog*; and the Latin traditions which link together the names of SS. *Patrick* and *Germanus* in the conversion of the Isle of Man, are found to fully harmonize with the Bardic compositions which refer that mission to SS. *Patrick* and *Mochamhog*.

We now come to St. Conindrius. In the lives of our apostle

¹ Colgan, "Trias," p. 177, num. 88, and "Acta SS." p. 311, seqq.

² It was customary to change the Irish names into Latin ones, which were supposed to have a somewhat similar sound. Thus, Tordealbach became *Theodericus*; Maithamhoin, *Matthaus*; Sidhuil, *Sedulius*; Ferghal, *Virgilius*, &c.

³ "The Martyrology of Donegal," edited by Dr. Todd, for I.A.S., 1864, p. 297.

the name of this saint is indifferently written at times, *Conderius*, *Conindrius*, and *Connidrius*.¹ Colgan tells us that a saint of the name Connidrius is mentioned in the "Martyrology of Tallaght" on the 17th of September; and on that day in the "Martyrology of Donegal" we find the same saint under the Irish name *Coindre*. Archdall, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 5, mentions an ancient church, *Domnachcoindre*, which bore his name, and he adds, "the two saints, Conann, are patrons of it." Now this leads us to the old Celtic form of the name, which with the usual prefixes becomes *Mochonna*.² The Bollandists assure us that in early records a St. Mochonna is registered among the first bishops of Man,³ and Colgan also asserts that in our most ancient martyrologies, on the 13th of January, is found the name of *St. Mochonna, Bishop of Inis-Patrick*, i.e., of the Isle of Man, as he explains it.⁴ Surely this is no other than the St. Conindrius of whom we speak. Now, in the "British Martyrology," on the 11th of February, we meet with a Welsh saint named *Canocus*, who is styled by Giraldus Cambrensis *Canau*, and who with the usual Irish inflexions becomes the *Mochonoe* and *Mochonna* of our native calendars.⁵ The life of St. Mochonna is given by Colgan, and from it we learn that he was precisely a brother of the St. Coeman of whom we have just spoken, and like him was a disciple of St. Patrick.⁶ The "British Martyrology" has the following entry on his festival:—"In Brechin, a district of Wales, the commemoration of St. Canoc, confessor; he was the son of *Breccan* and the uncle of St. David of Menevia; he was a man illustrious for his sanctity in these parts about the year 492, and his memory is still cherished by the old Britons of this island, especially in South Wales." Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a golden collar called "*torques Sancti Canauci*," which was held in great veneration in Wales. Colgan also refers to some churches which this saint founded in Ireland.⁷

¹ "Vita Tripart." lib. 3, cap. 61; Probus, lib. 2, cap. 11, &c.

² By a somewhat similar change we find St. *Cronan* also called *Mochua*.—"Martyrol. of Donegal," 22nd June.

³ Bolland, "Acta SS." Octobris, vol. 8, p. 887.

⁴ "Acta SS." p. 60. *Dachonna* was another form of this saint's name, and his shrine was rifled by the Danes when they plundered the Isle of Man in the year 798. The following entry of the "Ulster Annals," ad an. 797, has reference to this event:—"The burning of Inis-Patrick by the Gentiles, and cattle plunder of the country was borne off, and the shrine of *Dachonna* was broken by them, and the spoils of the sea were taken by them also between Erin and Alba."

⁵ Girald. Cambr., in "Hiverar Cambriæ," lib. 1, cap. 2. Colgan, "Acta SS.," p. 312.

⁶ Colgan, ad 11 Feb., loc. cit.

⁷ "Filius fuit Breccani. . . vitæ sanctimonia famosus circa an. 492, et cujus ad huc inter veteres nostræ Insulæ Britannos memoria est celebris in Australi maxime Cambria."—Ap. Colgan, loc. cit.

It is more difficult to find any traces of St. Romulus. He is styled *Rumilus* in the extract already given from the "Book of Armagh." In the "Tripartite Life" he is called *Romailus*. Ferrarius, in his "Catalogus Sanctorum," marks his feast on the 18th of November, under the name of "*Romulus, alias Romanus*," and Marianus O'Gorman (ap. Colgan) makes mention of a St. *Romanus* on the same day, probably the same as the *Romulus* of whom we are now speaking.¹ No other notice of such a saint is to be found in the early Irish or British records. The words of Ferrarius, who styles him *Romulus, alias Romanus* (loc. cit.), would seem, indeed, to justify the suspicion that this was not his original name, but only a surname or distinctive epithet that was subsequently given to him. If this be admitted it would not be too hazardous, perhaps, to conjecture that the saint thus designated was no other than the St. *Germanus*, or *Caeman*, of whom we have already spoken. We have seen that St. Caeman, in the calendars already cited, is called *the Pilgrim*, and that, according to the continental traditions, he was reckoned among the clergy of Rome before he accompanied St. Patrick on his mission to our shores. This would surely be a sufficient ground for giving to him the epithet of *the Roman*, and should this conjecture prove true we would find under the Latinized names of Conindrius and Romulus the holy brothers SS. Canoc and Caeman, and the words of Probus would at once be justified, that "they were *the first*" chosen by St. Patrick to lay the foundations of the faith in the Isle of Man.

As regards the relations of Ireland with the Isle of Man in later times but little remains to be said. Usher tells of a British bishop named *Patricianus* who seems to have had connection with our apostle, and who, after leading a holy life in the Isle of Man, happily ended his days there during the Episcopate of St. Machaldus (oper. vol. VI., "Index Chron.," p. 581). The "British Martyrology," on the 3rd July, commemorates as follows all the early bishops of the Isle of Man:—"St. Germanus, disciple of St. Patrick, and first bishop of the Isle of Man; SS. Romulus and Conindrius, also disciples of St. Patrick, and consecrated by him. These two holy prelates had for their successor in the Isle of Man St. Machaldus, a bishop eminent for sanctity and miracles, who was honoured with many churches after his death. These four saints were the fathers and founders of the church of Man. In the same island SS. Conan, Contentus, Bladus, and Malchus, who were all

¹ A St. *Maol*, or Maolan, mentioned in the "Irish Martyrologies," is supposed by some to be the same as the Latin *Romulus*. This conjecture, however, has little to commend it.

successively bishops of Man and the islands, and were all found worthy to be ranked after their death among the saints."

Among the additional bishops whose names are here presented to us, there is only one about whom any particulars have come down to us. St. Conan was of a princely Scotie family, and he had for his disciple the great St. Fiacre, who in the seventh century laboured with such fruit in the missions of France. He was remarkable for the austerity of his life and for his devotion to the Holy Mother of God: "Præcipue erga sanctissiman Dei matrem inflammato ferebatur studio."¹ His death is placed by the Scotch historian, Camerarius, in the year 648.

The seventeen parishes into which the Isle of Man was originally divided, and the sites of the religious houses with which it was formerly enriched, have preserved the names of some few other Irish saints whose memory was cherished by the early Manx faithful. Thus the old church of Kirk-Bride and the nunnery attached to it were called after their patroness, our own great St. Brigid.²

St. Loman, nephew of St. Patrick, gave his name to Kirkelewnam, now Kirkclonan. Whilst at either side the island is guarded by St. Michael, the centre has "St. Trinion's Church," which modern writers refer to the Blessed Trinity, but which more probably was founded by the Irish saint, St. Trian. St. Patrick has still two Churches which bear his name, whilst another to the north-east recalls the memory of St. Maughold. Kirkesaynton, also called Santon, was dedicated to St. Sanctain.³ The patrons of Kirk-Marown and Kirk-Jarnam have not been fully identified; they were probably SS. Moronog and Jarnog of our Irish calendars; Kirk-Onchan, also called Kirk-Conchan,⁴ gives us the name of St. Concha, or Conchessa, the holy mother of St. Patrick. The "British Martyrology" has, on the 20th of October:—"SS. Bradan and Orora honoured in churches, which still bear their names, in the Isle of Man." One of these churches was the modern Kirk-Brodon, in the neighbourhood of Douglas; the other, dedicated to St. Orora, is supposed by the Bollandists to be now forgotten;⁵ it was known, however, in the sixteenth century; for in the

¹ Camerarius, ad diem 26th Jan.: *Hector Boethius*, "Hist. Scot.," lib. 9, p. 179.

² Rev. Mr. Cumming writes:—"The name *Mailbrigid* is evidently of Celtic origin, and a name not unfrequent in the annals of these countries. One of the churches in the Isle of Man is dedicated in honour of St. Bridget, as well as the nunnery near Douglas."—"Antiquitates Manniæ," vol. i. p. 25.)

³ See *Ir. Ec. Record*, vol. IV. p. 317.

⁴ Carlyle, "Topogr. Dict. of Scotland," ad voc. *Oncan*.

⁵ Vol. VIII., for October, p. 890.

chartolary of Thomas Stanley, Lord of the islands, we find expressly mentioned "*Ecclesia S. Croræ*," which was manifestly a corruption of the more ancient name *Orora*.¹ A "Description of the Isle of Man," written in 1744, makes mention of *Kirk-Carbr-hurtyard*; this was probably nothing more than a further corruption of the same name, and leads us to the still existing *Kirk-Kerbrey*, also called *Kirk-Arbory*, mentioned by Carlyle,² and marked in the maps of Gough and Blean. The Bull of Eugene the Third, confirming the grant of Rushin to the Abbot of Furniss, makes mention of the "Monastery of St. Leoc. . . . the town of St. Melius (*villam S. Melii*), and the district of St. Corebrie." *Corebrie* is probably not different from St. Orora's Church already mentioned; *St. Malius* is the Latinized form of a name still retained in Kirk-Malew, and this, perhaps, is derived from St. Machaldus or Machutus, one of the first bishops of the see. It is thus that the town *Maclovius*, now *Malo*, in the north of France, received its name from another great British saint, *Machutus*, who was the apostle of that district.

As regards the monastery of *St. Leoc*, it is conjectured that its patron-saint was St. Lupus, who accompanied St. German of Auxerre in his mission into Britain. The Abbey of Rushin seems at a later period to have occupied the site of the more ancient monastery. This abbey was enriched, indeed, with many lands by Olave, in the year 1134, but it was founded at an earlier date; for Sacheverall informs us that, "One Mac-Marus, a person of great prudence, moderation, and justice, in the year 1098, laid its first foundations in the town of Ballasalley."—"Short Survey," &c., p. 34.) We may add that this Celtic name, *Ballasalley*, seems to preserve the memory of the last-mentioned saint, for when analyzed it simply means "the town of St. Leoc."³ The connection of the name Leoc with St. Lupus is confirmed by a letter of Pope Urban the Fifth in 1367, which mentions St. Lupus as patron of a parochial church in Man.—(Theiner's "*Monumenta Hib. et Scot. Ec. illustr. ex. vatt. codicibus*," p. 332). Another letter of the same Pontiff preserves the name of St. Columkille, as patron of one of the Manx parishes, "in parrochia sancti Columbæ in Insula Manniæ."—(Ibid. p. 331.)

¹ In "*Monastic. Angl.*" tom. v. p. 253, seqq."

² "*Topogr. Dict. of Scotland*," ad voc. *Man*."

³ Among the silver plate of the Abbey, sold to the Earl of Derby by the Crown, on the dissolution of the Monasteries in Henry the Eighth's reign, are mentioned, "*Four chalices, one crouche, i.e., a pastoral staff, one censer, one cross, two little headless crosses, one navicula, i.e., incense-holder, one hand, and one bishop's head, &c.*" The two last items refer to silver reliquaries, which probably encased the relics of some early bishop of the see.

The few traces that still remain of the ancient churches of the Isle of Man present a striking similarity with the early churches of this country. One, and indeed I might almost say the only, fragment of its old ecclesiastical plate, is a paten found at Kirk-Malew, the very ancient inscription on which preserves the invocation of the patron saint, "*S. Maloua, ora pro nobis.*"

The old inscribed crosses are, however, the most remarkable monuments that have come down to us from the Celto-Scandinavian period of the Manx Church. Worsaae and some other writers have regarded these crosses as of pure Scandinavian origin. Mr. Windele, however, has clearly proved that though they are the work of Scandinavian artists, yet they are "derivatives from the crosses of Ireland."¹ These crosses were, for the most part, erected in the churchyards of the island. "In every churchyard," says the writer of an old "Description of Man," in 1774, "there is a cross around which the people go three times (at funerals), before they enter the church." Thirty-eight of these crosses, either entire or mutilated, at present remain;² they are generally of elegant form, and consist of shafts supporting circles and transverse arms, which are elaborately sculptured, and covered with interlaced knot and scroll work. Their dates range between the fifth and twelfth centuries. Whilst thirteen of these crosses have Runic inscriptions, only one preserves the figure of our Saviour crucified,³ and only one other gives, in semi-Roman characters, as deciphered by Dr. Wilson, the name JHESUS.

The figures of dragons and serpents are relied upon as indicative of genuine Norwegian workmanship. To this we may reply, in the words of Mr. Windele, that "Serpents and interlacings form as much the staple of Irish and Scotch ornamentation as they did in Scandinavia, and therefore, as a test of origin, their presence is quite inconclusive. It requires no very acute powers of discrimination to arrive at the very obvious fact that the recently converted and naturalized Norsemen in Man imitated a class of monuments which they found already in existence in the island. They varied some of the ornamental details in accordance with their own national tastes, adding or substituting devices and figures, familiar in their own sculptures for those which they found prevalent in those now imitated. We accordingly find the outline form of the Irish

¹ "On the Runic Crosses of the Isle of Man," by John Windele, in transactions of Kilkenny Arch. Soc. for 1854, p. 151.

² Cumming, "The Ornamentation, &c." p. i.

³ On this and some other crosses of the Isle of Man an interesting note will be found in "Proceedings of R.I.A.," May 8th, 1854.

circle cross universally adopted. The Irish ornamentation, its triquetra, interlacings, and imagery were in the main copied; but added to these were northern beasts and birds of prey, snakes and hybrid animals, Runic knots and inscriptions interspersed, derived from the myths of the sagas, and still well-remembered Pagan imaginings."¹

The inscriptions are for the most part a mere record of the names of the persons for whom and by whom they were erected. Some of these names are of a manifest Celtic origin. Thus, one cross is erected by Thorlaf Neach "for Fiac his son, and for the son of his brother Jabri."² Another inscription preserves the name of Maelbrigid, *i.e.*, "the servant of St. Brigid;" it is the most important of all the Manx inscriptions, and has formed the theme of much discussion. It is thus translated by Professor Munch:—"Maelbrigid, the son of Ethcan, erected this cross for his sinful soul. It was Gaut that made it, and all the crosses in Man."³

If so many crosses of Man have been preserved to our own times we are not indebted for this boon to the Manxmen of some centuries ago. The great majority of them were pulled down and then used as building material for the later churches; and Mr. Cumming assures us that the greater number of the Manx crosses that now remain "have been discovered within the last fifty years in pulling down the old churches in the north of the island and erecting new ones."⁴

During the period subsequent to the Danish invasions the ecclesiastical organization of the Isle of Man seems to have been subject to many abnormal changes. Nevertheless, its connection with Ireland was not wholly interrupted. In 1217, Nicholas, Bishop of Man and the isles, chose the monastery of Bangor, in Ireland, as his place of interment.⁵ Two years later we have a letter from Pope Honorius the Third, in which he laments the opposition which the King of Man had offered to the newly-elected bishop of that island. "The religious of the monastery of Furniss (he says), to whom the election of the bishop canonically belongs, being assembled together, and having invoked the grace of the Holy Ghost, chose him unanimously,

¹ Windele, *loc. cit.*

² Munch, *loc. cit.*, pref. XXIV.

³ *Ibid.* XXII. Mr. Cummings, in his paper on "The Ornamentation of the Runic Monuments in the Isle of Man" (*"Antiquitates Manniæ,"* vol. I, 1868, p. 1), gives the following as his own latest interpretation of this inscription:—"Mail-brigid, son of Athaken, as a work of art, erected this cross for his soul. His betrothed caused Gaut to chisel it in Man."

⁴ *"Antiq. Manniæ,"* vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ Munch, *"Chronic. Manniæ,"* p. 26: "Sepultus est in Ultonia in domo de Bennchor."

and of one accord, to be their bishop, and sent him with their decree of election to be confirmed by our venerable brother the Archbishop of Dublin, the Metropolitan of said See, and Legate of the Holy See, humbly soliciting by their letters that the election being confirmed the rite of consecration might be administered to him; and that election, as well as the bishop-elect, being duly examined, all things being duly approved, he confirmed, said election, and consecrated the elected, sending him to the bishoprick of the isles, with commendatory letters," &c. The letter then goes on to state that the King of the Isles refused, nevertheless, to admit the newly-consecrated bishop to possession of his see, and issued an order to the clergy of his dominions prohibiting them from acknowledging him as their ordinary, which gave rise to much injury to religion. Judges are then constituted who are commissioned to compel, by censures, the secular authorities to recognise the canonically-appointed bishop.¹

Another letter of Pope Urban the Fifth, in 1366, addressed to the Bishop of Sodor, authorizes the erection in the parish of St. Columba of a convent and church for the use of the Franciscans from Ireland.² A few years later, in 1374, John Dongan, Archdeacon of Down, was appointed Bishop of Man, and the brief of his appointment adds, that "the clergy and people of the island petitioned Rome to have him appointed to the episcopal charge." In 1395, Dr. Dongan was translated to the See of Down, which he held for many years. A short sketch of his life will be found in the first volume of *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, p. 266.

We know but little of the Isle of Man during the dark and dreary era of the Reformation. From time to time, however, it seems to have been visited by missionaries from Ireland. In the beginning of the present century its spiritual care devolved upon the Jesuits of Dublin, who received their Faculties both from the Archbishop of Dublin and from the Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District of England. Amongst the Jesuit Missionaries who thus laboured there we may mention Father Gahan, for many years a bright ornament of the Irish provinces. Some of the secular clergy of Dublin next received the spiritual charge of the island, and the present venerable Dean of Dublin and the Pastor of Ovoca began their zealous missionary career among the few scattered faithful of the Isle of Man.

¹ See the original letter of Pope Honorius, in *Theiner's* "Monumenta Hib. et Scot." &c., p. 14.

² *Ibid*, p. 331.

THE BISHOPS OF FRANCE AND THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin has graciously permitted us to publish the following letters. They are answers to communications addressed by His Eminence, at the request of the Episcopal Board of the Catholic University, to the Bishops of France. They evince the lively interest taken by the Prelates of that great Catholic land—the eldest daughter of the Church—in our struggles for the maintenance of pure Catholic teaching. In this question of higher education they see that the true issue is—whether or not our country will continue worthy of the glorious name of CATHOLIC IRELAND, which she has borne for so many ages:—

I.

Letter of the Archbishop of Toulouse.

Toulouse, 9th December, 1868.

MOST REV. AND MOST EMINENT LORD—I would respond with the greatest pleasure to the touching appeal which you have just addressed to me, but for the present, my Most Reverend Lord, I can only express my regret. The canonization of St. Germaine has involved us in considerable expense. I still owe the sum of 75,000 francs, and until this is paid in full, it will be impossible, Most Reverend Lord, for me to undertake any other collection. However, I will not lose sight of the exceptional claims of Catholic Ireland, and as soon as I am able I will recommend them to the faithful of my diocese.

Accept, my Most Rev. Lord, the homage of my most profound respect.

I remain,

Your Eminence's most humble and devoted servant,

✠ FL., Archbishop of Toulouse.

*To His Eminence Cardinal Cullen,
Archbishop of Dublin, Ireland.*

II.

Archbishopric of Bourges.

Bourges, 7th December, 1868.

YOUR EMINENCE—I have received the letter which your Eminence did me the honour of addressing to me, in the name of the bishops and archbishops of Ireland, for the purpose of obtaining the assistance of the faithful of my diocese, in the

very arduous struggle which the Catholic University sustains in its endeavours to educate in a Christian manner, and preserve from error, the youth of Ireland confided to its care.

This question, which so materially affects the religious future of Catholic Ireland, cannot be a subject of indifference to us ; and, with this view, it is my intention, as soon as circumstances will permit, to transmit to my flock the appeal which your Eminence has made to them through me ; and I shall be most happy if their sympathies, prayers, and alms, responding to your appeal, give another proof to your Eminence that, in our old land of France, works of Catholicity always find generous and devoted hearts to assist them.

Accept, my Lord, the homage of profound veneration, with which

I have the honour to remain,
Your Eminence's humble and obedient servant in Christ,
✠ C. A., Archbishop of Bourges.

III.

Archbishopric of Aix.

Aix, 2nd December, 1868.

YOUR EMINENCE—It is impossible but that the bishops of France should receive with gladness the request of their beloved and venerable brethren the bishops of Ireland. Indeed, our prayers and heartfelt sympathy, as well as our personal alms, are yours. And in order that the latter might be more conveniently transmitted to you, it would, perhaps, be desirable for you to have some agent in Paris, through whom we could more easily forward them.

As to the alms of the faithful, it would give me pleasure to receive them for you ; but, unless under some specially favourable circumstances, I dare not solicit them, in consequence of the many pressing wants which already exist.

Nevertheless, knowing as I do, more especially from your letter, the peculiar necessities of Ireland, and admiring her noble fidelity to the Catholic faith, I will, as far as prudence will allow, omit no opportunity of exciting the charitably-disposed to forward, by means of their alms, the laudable efforts of the Irish Episcopate.

I am, with profound respect,

Your Eminence's humble and obedient servant,
✠ GEORGE, Archbishop of Aix.

IV.

Letter of the Bishop of Angers.

Angers, 21st December, 1868.

YOUR EMINENCE—I have received the letter and the notice that your Eminence has done me the honour to address to me upon the important question of Catholic education, which at the present moment, with such good reason, engages the attention of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland.

I read these documents with the most lively interest, and immediately communicated their contents to the editor of the *Semaine Religieuse*, which is published in my diocese, in order to make the faithful confided to my charge acquainted as soon as possible with their contents, and to secure their prayers and alms for so deserving an object. I shall be very happy if, responding to my appeal, they will enable me to send soon to your Eminence some tangible proof of their generosity. But I wish immediately to express to your Eminence my profound sympathy and ardent wishes for the success of the efforts of the hierarchy of Ireland. It is, indeed, an important and sacred question, on which depends the future of Catholicism in your noble, generous, and faithful Ireland.

But I am sure that, with the blessing of our holy and beloved Father and Pontiff Pius IX., assisted by the prayers of all the Church, this great object cannot fail to succeed. It will triumph at last over the resistance and obstacles which the spirit of sectarianism or secular injustice may oppose to it.

Such are my wishes and desires. Be pleased to accept the homage of my profound respect, with which

I am, my Lord Cardinal,

Your Eminence's most humble and devoted servant,

✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Angers.

V.

Letter of the Bishop of Mende.

YOUR EMINENCE—I can readily understand how painful to your Eminence, and to the other bishops of Ireland, it must be to consider the position of education, and consequently the future of our holy religion in your country, which has always been so dear to the Church and to France. Would that we could come to your assistance by aiding you in procuring those pecuniary helps which you can hardly expect from your own Government. We should be most happy to do so; and all the more so, because Ireland has always been to France a

well-beloved sister, winning our sympathy by her misfortunes, and our admiration by her courageous and unshaken fidelity. But, unfortunately, my small and very poor diocese has been of late years, and even recently, scourged by disastrous inundations, so that our great Catholic works of charity, and in particular that of St. Peter's Pence, absorb all our feeble resources. I sincerely regret this, for it would have given me great pleasure to offer my mite to your Eminence.

But you may rest assured that we deeply sympathize with your Eminence and your faithful flock, and that we shall never cease to offer our prayers to the Lord, that he would vouchsafe to crown his work in your regard by bringing in that era of liberty, peace, and justice of which we have witnessed the dawn within the last few years.

May the holy Church, the spouse of Christ, have better and more prosperous days in store for her, both in Ireland and throughout the world.

Be pleased to accept, with my humble homage, the expression of the sentiments of veneration, affection, and filial devotion with which I remain,

Your Eminence's most humble and devoted servant,

✠ JOHN A. M., Bishop of Mende.

VI.

Letter of the Bishop of Chartres.

Chartres, 31st January, 1869.

MY LORD CARDINAL—Your Eminence has done me the honour of writing to me, in order to call my attention to the state of the Church of Ireland, more particularly in reference to education, and to engage in its behalf the prayers of the clergy and the faithful of my diocese. I have to reproach myself for having allowed so much time to elapse before answering your Eminence's letter; but I may assure you that I am not on this account indifferent to that which concerns your church and country, which has ever remained so firm in faith and so devoted to the Holy Father. I have already spoken of this subject on various occasions, and I shall allow no opportunity to pass of commending your zeal, and of endeavouring to excite the interest of the faithful of my diocese in favour of the good work you have in hand.

If we meet at Rome this year, during the holding of the Council, we shall find an opportunity of conferring together on this subject; and in the meanwhile, my Lord Cardinal, I beg you to accept the homage of my respect and the assurance of my devotedness.

✠ L. EUGENE, Bishop of Chartres.

VII.

Letter of the Bishop of Nevers.

Nevers, 15th December, 1868.

MY LORD—Several circumstances have prevented me from replying sooner to the letter which your Eminence did me the honour of writing to me on the 14th November last, and I beg you to accept my most humble apology for the unintentional delay.

I desire to assure your Eminence that my own personal sympathies and prayers, as well as those of the clergy and faithful of my diocese, will never be wanting on behalf of your heroic country in her struggles for our Holy Faith, and especially in those in which she is at present engaged for the interests of the Catholic University.

Unfortunately, at the present moment, it is very difficult to assist you by our subscriptions, as the generous faithful of my diocese are already so much overburdened by the multiplicity of good works, that it appears impossible for me to propose any others to their notice.

I will, nevertheless, publish the touching letter of your Eminence, and if its perusal should produce the happy effect of unloosening some purse-strings, I would most joyfully transmit to your Eminence the donations which I might receive.

I am, with profound respect,

Your Eminence's very humble and obedient servant,

✠ AUGUSTINE, Bishop of Nevers.

TRACES OF THE TEXT OF THE THREE HEAVENLY WITNESSES IN EARLY IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL WRITINGS.

IN the works of the early Irish ecclesiastical writers which we have been able to examine, we have not found hitherto any direct quotation of 1 *John*, v. 7, such as could be fitly classed with the luminous testimonies supplied by Tertullian, by Cyprian, and by the African Bishops. But, although direct arguments are wanting, the early Irish Church furnishes some indirect traces of the text, which are of considerable value and of great interest in the controversy that has so long raged

concerning the Three Heavenly Witnesses. The importance attaching to the testimony of these Irish witnesses, now first called into court, arises from the peculiar position occupied by the Irish Church in reference to other churches, and especially to that of Gaul. The Irish evidence has a wide range, and represents much more than the local Church to which the witnesses belong. Not that we underrate the value of the Irish testimony as such, and taken alone; how could we, when all history is there to show that the Irish Church was what St. Gregory Nazianzen declares the Byzantine Church to have been in his day, a common emporium of faith for those of the north and of the south? But, such were the relations between our Church and the Churches of Gaul, that the early Christian monuments of Ireland reflect faithfully the teaching which, issuing from Rome, illuminated Gaul before it passed into Ireland. Now, it so happens, that any evidence calculated to throw light upon the character of the Latin version of the Bible that was employed in Gaul, becomes of very considerable importance; for it is questionable how far the *Itala versio* ever prevailed in the churches of Gaul. If the readings used by St. Hilary be compared with those used by St. Ambrose, it will be found, says Lehir, that the latter bear a much greater resemblance to the readings of St. Jerome than do the former. And yet, the text of St. Hilary is not the African text, but either the common Latin one corrected upon the Greek text, which it follows more closely, or a recension holding its proper place between the Italian and the African. In either case the text in use in Gaul must be reckoned as an independent witness of great authority, as indirectly representing the contemporary Greek text. Now the Gallic witnesses to the genuineness of the controverted passage (1 *John*, v. 7) are but two: St. Phœbadius (A.D. 358), and St. Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (A.D. 434). The former was still alive when St. Jerome wrote his book, "*De viris illustribus*," in which he says of him (cap. 108), "*Vivit usque hodie decrepita senectute.*" In his book, "*Contra Arianos*," cap. 22, St. Phœbadius writes: "*Denique Dominus; Petam inquit, a Patre meo et alium advocatum dabit vobis (Joan. xiv. 20).*" Sic alius a Filio Spiritus, sicut a Patre Filius. Sic tertia in Spiritu, ut in Filio secunda persona: unus tamen Deus omnia, tres unum sunt." The latter, in his "*Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiæ*," cap. xi.:—"Ad Trinitatem; in Johannis epistola: Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in tena, spiritus aqua et sanguis." Of these two passages we would remark that the testimony of St. Eucherius, while it throws light upon the otherwise somewhat vague expressions of St.

Phœbadius, so also, from the writer's connection with Lerins, the school of St. Patrick, does it strengthen the force of the expressions in use in the Irish Church. For it must be borne in mind, that among the cotemporaries of St. Eucherius at Lerins, was numbered St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland. "Each and every retreat," writes St. Eucherius, "that is made glorious by the presence of holy men, has indeed a claim upon my reverence; but most of all, and with singular honour do I cherish my own Lerins, which welcomes with arms of affection those cast away in the shipwrecks of the stormy world, and gently leads beneath its sacred shades those whom the world's heats have scorched, that there in the inner coolness of the Lord their panting hearts may be refreshed. With its gushing streams, with its green meadows, with its luxuriant wealth of vines, with its fair landscapes, and its fragrant scents, it is the paradise of those who dwell upon it. Right worthy was it of being established in heavenly discipline by Honoratus, its founder, and of possessing over such an institute such a Father, in whose noble bearing the vigour of the apostolic spirit shone resplendent. Worthy was it, not only of having received him, but also of having sent him forth; worthy of being the foster-mother of sainted monks, and of priests, sought for by all. At present it possesses his successor, Maximus by name, whose glory it is, that he was found worthy to succeed him; it has Lupus, of reverend name, who recalls that wolf (*lupum*) of the tribe of Benjamin; it has his brother, Vincentius, a gem sparkling with inmost lustre; it has the venerable, grave Caprasius, the equal of the saints of old; it holds those holy old men who, dwelling in their solitary cells, have brought the Fathers of Egypt among those of our Gaul."¹ St. Patrick was the pupil and companion of these learned and holy men. In their company he learned to feed his soul with the doctrines of the Catholic faith and the words of Holy Writ. Like St. Eucherius, he too was familiar with the Holy Bible, and with St. Eucherius he read therein the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses. And later on in his life, when he "read the canon" with St. Germanus, of Auxerre, he found the same verse in common use in the Gallic Church. Every vestige, therefore, of this verse existing in the ancient Irish Church, to which St. Patrick brought the Word of God, is precious, as representing not only the reading employed in the Church of the Island of Saints, but also as an echo of the voice of that glorious Church of Gaul, which, by its ties with Rome, and with the East, had

¹ St. Eucherius, "De laude Eremitarum," n. 42.

gathered up into its treasure-house all the ecclesiastical learning of the age. And if at times the Gallic testimony sounds somewhat faintly, the Irish testimony gives it strength and clearness; and the Gallic testimony, in its turn, confirms and explains the teaching of the Irish Church.

"Alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amice."

Among the monuments of the Gallican Church which recall the *hi tres unum sunt* of St. John, the Athanasian Creed stands pre-eminent. It announces itself as a profession of Catholic faith, and proceeds on to set forth what that faith is. "And the opening words of the annuntiation are neither more nor less than the category and antithesis exclusively peculiar to 1 *John*, v. 7."

"And the Catholic faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity."

It resumes the antithetical statement of the doctrine in the seventh verse, through a series of statements provided as guards against the various aberrations of known heresies:

"They are not three eternal, but one eternal; as also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated: but one uncreated and one incomprehensible.

"So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty: and yet there are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

"So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God: and yet they are not three Gods, but one God.

"So likewise the Father is the Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord: and yet not three Lords, but one Lord.

"So there is one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts. So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped. He, therefore, that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity."

"It has been objected," observes Rev. Charles Forster,¹ "that the seventh verse is not quoted in the Athanasian Creed; to this objection I reply, 1—that this Creed, although derived wholly and solely from scripture, does not contain a single scripture text. Like the web of the silkworm, it is, at once, distinct and inseverable from its source. I reply, 2—that this Creed more than quotes, for it gives a running commentary on this one text, inapplicable to any other text throughout the Bible. The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, indeed, is most clearly deducible from Our Lord's baptismal

¹ "The Three Heavenly Witnesses," p. 79.

formula, and from many other scriptures; but it is deducible only inferentially. In the seventh verse, and in it alone, it is stated categorically and antithetically. Every categorical and antithetical statement of it in the same form of words must, consequently, be drawn from that unique verse."

Now, the Athanasian Creed originated in the Gallican Church before the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431).¹ It has been variously assigned to Hilary, of Arles (A.D. 429); to Victricius, of Rouen (401), and to Vincent, of Lerins. This brings us back to the cotemporaries of St. Patrick in the sacred island, who, with St. Eucherius, above quoted, undoubtedly read in their codices of the Bible the verse, 1 *John*, v. 7. Thus, we find, issuing from that famous school of learning, about St. Patrick's time, a profession of faith, in which the antithetical statement of the Trinity and Unity of God is set forth eight successive times in the very words and essence of the seventh verse, which verse is distinctly and explicitly quoted by one of the Masters of Lerins. And this profession of faith begins and ends with a most formal assertion of the Trinity and Unity of God as an article of faith.

It is interesting to remark that the Irish Hymn of St. Patrick, preserved in the "*Liber Hymnorum*" (19 v.), and first printed in Dr. Petrie's "*Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*," begins and ends with a profession of faith in the Trinity and Unity of God. The phrases he employs forcibly recall the corresponding passages at the beginning and end of the Athanasian symbol, composed in the very monastery where he had spent so many years, and ascribed to some of those sainted and learned men who were his companions in that blessed solitude. The hymn thus commences, according to the translation by Mr. W. Stokes, in his "*Goidilica*," page 66:—

"I bind myself to-day to (the) strong virtue
Of an invocation of the Trinity.
I believe a Threeness under the Oneness in (the)
Creator of the elements.
I bind myself to-day to the virtue of Christ's
Birth with his baptism," &c., &c.

And, after a series of other invocations, the hymn closes with a reiteration of the verses with which it commenced. The verses are thus rendered by J. C. Mangan, who in his endeavours to express their full spirit, has been led, without any

¹ "*Thesaurus Theologicus*," vol. iii. p. 418.

conscious purpose, to give the very *hi tres unum sunt* of the controverted passage, 1 *John*, v. 7 :—

“Arm me to-day, in this awful hour,
My prayer to the All-Holy Trinity,
My faith in Him, who reigneth in Power,
The God of the elements, Father and Son,
And Paraclete-Spirit, which Three are the One,
The incomprehensible Deity.”

Of this translation Dr. Todd remarks, that it preserves in a wonderful manner the *tone* and spirit of the original.

Before we pass on to some still more remarkable and satisfactory references to the seventh verse which occur in Irish writers, we wish to make a remark on another of St. Patrick's undoubted works, namely, the book known as his Confession. Certainly, every one will admit that the verse, 1 *John*, v. 7, must have been well known to St. Patrick, since he was at Lerins with St. Eucherius, who, in that island, wrote his “*Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiæ*,” wherein he expressly quotes vv. 7 and 8 as bearing on the mystery of the Trinity. And yet, in his Confession, although St. Patrick distinctly and formally sets forth the faith of the Trinity, he never once cites this verse, which, beyond all cavil, was well known to him. Nor does he apply to the Trinity the formula of baptism occurring in the last chapter of St. Matthew, which text also was most familiar to him. This instance is quite sufficient to show how fallacious is the reasoning of those critics who pronounce the seventh verse to be spurious, because it has not been quoted by the Fathers when treating of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. This negative argument from omission is disposed of by the fact that St. Patrick, whose acquaintance with the text cannot be denied, yet abstains from quoting it in the very place where it was to be expected that he should quote it. Especially when he likewise abstains in the same contest from quoting Matthew, xxviii. 19 ; for if the omission of one of these texts is to be taken as a proof that it was not known to the author in whose works the omission is remarked, why should not the same hold true of the second ? And yet no one has ever hinted that the text of St. Matthew was doubtful on this ground.

A still more striking instance occurs in the writings of another distinguished ecclesiastic who flourished in Ireland in St. Patrick's day. Muratori¹ has published in the “*Anecdota*

¹ See also Dr. Moran's learned work, “*Essays on the Early Irish Church*,” p. 296, seqq.

Ambrosiana" (vol. 2, p. 1, seqq.), a MS. written about the year 700, which he had discovered among the manuscripts once belonging to the famous monastery of Bobbio. This is a copy of the Profession of Faith presented to St. Leo in the year 460 by St. Mochta of Louth, whom Marianus O'Gorman styles "the lamp of Louth, the father of an illustrious family." The third chapter of this Profession of Faith is devoted to a full, elaborate, and most accurate statement of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. The Unity of substance, the Trinity of Persons; the equality of the Three Persons; the distinction of the same; the procession of the Son from the Father by generation; the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son ("*Unus Deus, et unus Filius de Patre, Spiritus sanctus Patris et Filii*") are all lucidly explained. Now, in this entire chapter there occurs but a single scripture quotation bearing on the subject of the Trinity, namely: "*Spiritus qui a Patre procedit ipse vobis annuntiabit omnia*," which is adduced as proof that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, yet not by generation like the Son. And yet the Profession of Faith in itself is full of scripture texts. If, therefore, the argument from the silence of the Fathers be decisive against the genuineness of 1 *John*, v. 7, must it not tell with equal force against *Matt.* xxviii. 19? But, in fact, these examples prove that the early Fathers did not quote scripture texts after the rules which modern critics would have laid down for them; and therefore that the much-vaunted argument from the silence of the Fathers is by no means decisive. Nor is this sparing use of scripture texts bearing on the subject under discussion by them peculiar to the Irish Fathers. On the contrary, it appears to have been the method in general use. Thus Tertullian has a treatise, "*De Trinitate*," specially devoted to that mystery. Now, surely, if we might expect the texts of scripture bearing on the Trinity, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, and 1 *John*, v. 7, to be found anywhere in his writings, we must expect them here. "But," asks Rev. C. Forster,¹ "what is the matter of fact? Not only neither of these standard proof passages is adduced, but not a single leading text of scripture is cited throughout the treatise in support of its doctrine of the Godhead. Texts, indeed, are so introduced fragmentally throughout, that the treatise is in a great part a tessera of scripture: but Tertullian's reasonings and arguments are all in his own words. He introduces many minute scriptures as bearing upon the doctrine; but he does not anchor upon one."

Before we leave St. Mochta's Profession of Faith, we wish to

¹ "The Three Heavenly Witnesses," p. 170.

draw attention to his use of the neuter, *tria*, to denote the persons of the Blessed Trinity: "Credimus Deum esse: quod fuit erat; quod erat, erit, nunquam aliud, semper idem: Pater Deus, Filius Deus, Spiritus Sanctus Deus: unus Deus, et unus Filius de Patre, Spiritus Sanctus Patris et Filii. Unius Trinitatis ista substantia, et *tria ista* unam habentia voluntatem." This phrase recalls to mind the passage of St. Augustine (De Civ. Dei. lib. 5, cap. xi.): "Deus itaque summus et verus cum verbo suo et Spiritu Sancto, *quæ tria unum sunt*, Deus unus omnipotens." St. Mochta's name may, therefore, be added to the copious list of Fathers, Greek and Latin, supplied by the editor of the Paris edition of Tertullian's Works (fol. 1580), who, from the second century down, one and all, state the doctrine of the Trinity in this conventional phrase. Porson asks, "Would a mere English reader think that an author quoting these words, 'And the three (things) one (thing),' could possibly mean to quote this sentence, 'And these three persons are one thing?'" This list of Greek and Latin Fathers abundantly answers his question.

We now approach another form of expression which we find in use in the early Irish Church, and which amounts to a positive, though tacit quotation of the seventh verse. We mean that form of expression in which the three persons of the Trinity are introduced *as witnesses*, for in no other place is the Holy Trinity set forth as a witness save in I *John*, v. 7.

This mode of reference is not unusual in ecclesiastical writers. Rev. C. Forster (Op. cit. p. 71), cites the following examples:

1. St. Basil:—

τριας ἐν τριάδι μαρτυρήσει

"The Trinity shall bear witness in the Trinity," is the brief but frequent reference of this Father.

2. St. John Chrysostom (Op. Tom. I, p. 587), has

κατω τρεῖς μαρτυρες

ἄνω τρεῖς μαρτυρες

Τὸ ἀπρόσιτον τῆς τῶν Θεοῦ δόξης δηλοῦντες

"Tres testes infra, tres testes supra, qui inaccessibilem Dei gloriam manifestant."

3. To the same is ascribed a homily which runs thus:—

βλέπε γάρ μοι τὰς μαρτυρίας τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, καὶ σέβου αὐτὴν ὁρθῶς, ἵνα μὴ ἀπόλῃ.

"Considera, quæso, testimonium sanctæ et consubstantialis Trinitatis, et rite illam adora, ne pereas."

4. St. Gregory of Nazianzen, as cited by Germanus, of Constantinople, in the eighth century, thus alludes to the witness of the Trinity:—

Θυ φθάνω τὸ ἐν ἐννοῇσαι καὶ τοῖς τρισὶ περιλάμπομαι, οὐ φθάνω τὰ τρία διελεῖν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐν αναφέρομαι· ἀλλὰ μὴ τις τὰς μαρτυρίας ταύτας τοῦ τρις-αγίου, κ. τ. λ.

“Statim ac illud *unum* cogito, *trium* luce circumdor: statim ac tria dividere vellem in illud unum attollor: sed re quis *hæc testimonia Trinitatis*,” etc.

5. Clement of Alexandria (or Theodotus), Op. Clement, tom. 2, p. 992, ed. Potter:—

Πάν ῥῆμα ἴσταται ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων ἐπὶ πατὴρ καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἐφ' ὧν μαρτύρων καὶ βοηθῶν, αἱ ἐντολαὶ λεγόμεναι φυλάσσεσθαι ὀφείλουσιν, κ. τ. λ.

“In duobus et tribus testibus stat omne verbum; in Patre, et Filio et Sancti Spiritu; quibus testibus et adjutoribus ac quæ sunt precepta servari debent.”

6. Tertullian, “De Baptismo,” p. 599. “Nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne verbum Dei, quanto magis dum habemus per benedictionem eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsos salutis, sufficit ad fiduciam spei nostræ etiam numerus nominum Divinorum. Cum autem sub *tribus* et *testatio fidei* (i.e., *apud I John*, v. 7), et sponsos salutis (*Matt.* xxix, 19) pignorentur, necessario adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio: quoniam ubi *tres*, id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ *Trium corpus* est.”

These passages show, firstly, that the idea of the Trinity as a Witness was familiar to the Fathers, and secondly, that it came from *I John*, v. 7, since the allusions to that verse are so plain, as to require no comment from us. We now add another to their number, from the Irish hymn of St. Sanctain, preserved in the “Liber Hymnorum,” and published by Mr. Stokes, and in the “Irish Ecclesiastical Record,” No. 43, with a translation.

“I beseech the wonderful king of Angels,
For His is the name that is mightiest:
God be with me on my track, God on my left,
God before me, God on my right.

* * * * *

“May the noble Trinity awaken him (i.e., *from sin*),
For whom a good death is not in store,
The holy Spirit, the strength of Heaven,
God the Father, the great Son of Mary.

* * * * *

“May God repel every sadness from me ;
 May Christ relieve my sufferings ;
 May the apostles be around me,
 May the *Trinity of Witness*¹ come to me.”

We have, in this hymn, first, a solemn invocation of the Blessed Trinity ; next, an enumeration of the three persons of the same ; and finally, an invocation of these three persons, under the title of the Trinity of Witness. We look upon this as a manifest allusion to the seventh verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses.

Colgan, speaking of St. Sanctain, says, “ Sanctain, a bishop, by birth a Britan, is honoured on the 9th of May, in the Church of Kildaleas, in Leinster, according to the Martyrology of Tallaght, and the Festologies of Aengus and Marianus ; Samuel, a king of Britain, was his father, and Drechare, daughter of Muiredhac Muinderg, king of Ulster, was his mother. “As regards the date of St. Sanctain’s Hymn,” says a learned writer in the “Irish Ecclesiastical Record,” No. 43, p. 321, “it cannot be fixed with accuracy, as we are ignorant of the year of the saint’s demise. It seems however certain, that he flourished in the beginning of the sixth century. The title of “*illustrious among the ancients*,” given to him in the poem just cited, brings him back to the first fathers of our Church ; the special archaic forms of his difficult hymn, as Mr. Stokes justly calls it, point to the same period, whilst his connection with St. Madog cannot be verified in any other age. There are many saints indeed who bear a similar name in our calendar, but there is only one in whom the epithet of Madog *the pilgrim* is verified, viz., the St. Cadoc, who holds so distinguished a place among the saints of Wales. He, too, was the son of a British prince, whilst, as Colgan writes, “he is justly reckoned among the Irish saints, as his mother, his instructors, and many of his relations were Irish, and he himself lived for some time in our island.”

We possess, therefore, a clear trace of the seventh verse in this hymn, written at the beginning of the sixth century by a bishop who united in his own person the traditions of the early British and Irish Churches. For St. Sanctain was one of that “numerous company of Irish saints, bishops, abbots, and sons and daughters of kings and noblemen,” who, according to Mr. Blight, in his description of the Cornish Churches,² “came into Cornwall, and landed at Pendinas, a peninsula, and stony

¹ The Irish words of the text, “*Trinoit testa*,” forcibly recall 1 *John*, v. 7.

² “Churches of West Cornwall,” by J. T. Blight, 1865, p. 1.

rock, where now the town of St. Ives stands. Hence they diffused themselves over the western part of the county, and at their several stations erected chapels and hermitages. Their object was to advance the Christian faith. In this they were successful, and so greatly were they revered, that whilst the memory of their holy lives still lingered in the minds of the people, churches were built on or near the sites of their chapels and oratories, and dedicated to Almighty God in their honour. Thus have their names been handed down to us."

The last document we shall refer to is the MS. "Book of Armagh," now in Trinity College, Dublin, which Dr. Graves has proved to have been transcribed about the year 807. In his "Memoir of the Book of Armagh," Dr. Reeves, speaking of its text of the New Testament, says: "In the first epistle of St. John the famous passage concerning the witnesses, which in our Testaments is the seventh verse of the fifth chapter, is in this MS. entirely omitted, as it is also in the oldest copy of St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate. What is our eighth verse succeeds immediately to the sixth, and commences: "*For there are three which bear witness in earth,*" etc. (p. 3). If this were correct, the presence of the words *in terra* could not be accounted for without supposing that the original had also the words *in coelo* together with the remainder of the controverted passage. For, as Rev. Dr. M'Carthy judiciously remarks,¹ the insertion of *any part* of the disputed passage, for example, *ἐν τῇ γῇ* might be fairly urged as an argument to show that the *rest* of the words must have been omitted by accident or design, as there is no reason for admitting even one word, unless the whole passage be genuine.

But, probably, the very singular reading of the text in the "Book of Armagh" has led Dr. Reeves into error. For, the text does not run: *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra*, etc.; but² *Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant in coelo, spiritus, aqua et sanguis et tres unum sunt*. Now, if the reading *in terra* involves the presence of the seventh verse in the original MS., how much more powerful is the argument supplied by the words *in coelo*? The presence of these words cannot be explained save on the hypothesis that the mention of the Three Heavenly Witnesses immediately followed. This is otherwise rendered most probable by the fact that the name by which this MS. was commonly known was that of "Canon Phadraig," or the "Scripture of Patrick," as if it were the codex used

¹ See "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," No. 43, p. 324, note 9.

² Epistles and Gospels. Part 2. Appendix 1.

by St. Patrick, or a copy of the same ; and we have seen that at Lerins, where St. Patrick studied, and where St. German, under whom "heread the Canon," had been trained, the seventh verse was read. The "Book of Armagh" contains St. Jerome's Preface to the New Testament, and Sir James Ware tells us that it gives St. Jerome's version. A more mature examination may lead to a conclusion different from Ware's, but no amount of examination can alter the fact that this codex MS., transcribed in the year 807 from an original, which was some three hundred years older, presents unequivocal and undeniable traces of the seventh verse. That it presents mere traces, and not the entire verse is due to some cause which we cannot fully nor with certainty explain. Probably the mutilation is due to an attempt at correction of St. Jerome's text, undertaken by the transcriber in deference to Greek codices, from which the seventh verse had disappeared. During the period that separates St. Jerome from Alcuin, such attempts to correct the text were not uncommon, as may easily be seen from a comparison of the six MSS. of the Hieronymian version, which are to be referred to that period. Of these three,—viz., the Amiatensis, that of Fulda, and that of Harley, omit the verse, whereas that of Toledo, that of La Cava, and that of Demidoff retain it. Of these six manuscripts some follow St. Jerome simply, others modify his readings more or less to suit either the usage of the particular church to which they belonged, or to correspond with the Greek exemplars which their transcribers had in their hands. We think, moreover, that no one who has weighed with care the arguments which assign the La Cava MS. to the beginning of the sixth century, will agree with Dr. Reeves when he asserts, after Horne, that the seventh verse is omitted in the oldest copies of St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate, now extant.

This much we have wished to say about the traces of the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses which we have observed in Irish monuments. While we refrain from claiming for the remarks we have here made the weight which is due to a conclusive argument, we venture to hope that Biblical scholars will not consider as altogether without interest these scanty gleanings in a narrow field.

THE COMING GENERAL COUNCIL.

I. THE PREPARATIONS IN ROME.

THE announcement that a General Council has been convoked to assemble at Rome, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1869, has moved to its depths the entire Christian world. The summons issued by Pius IX. has made the circuit of the earth, and has stirred with intense feeling the hearts of all. It has sounded on the ears of the bishops as the voice of Peter, who ever lives and rules in his successor; and, at its call, with one accord, they turned towards the Eternal City which possesses in the apostolic chair, the centre of episcopal unity. It was heard by the Christian people, and they answered it with prayers and thanksgiving, mingling with their joy for this fresh glory of the city of God, protestations of their obedience, and of their reverence. To those who, unhappily, are outside the circle of Catholic unity, the Pope's voice has carried tidings of peace, as becomes the voice of the Vicar of Him who, even towards the wayward, "thinks thoughts of peace and not of punishment." And even those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death, have been roused by it to salute the dawn of that light for which they waited wearily, during the long watches of their gloomy night. Some there are, no doubt, who fain would not listen to it; and yet, even they, find themselves strangely thrilled, in spite of themselves, by the tones of this voice that calls together, to meet over the tomb of St. Peter, those the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God. The Catholic bishops and the Catholic laity; the schismatic of the east, and the heretic of the west; the deist and the infidel of our modern civilization, feel, each in their own way, that the Vatican Council is a power that will leave its mark upon the world, and that its opening will be the opening of a new era in history.

That this universal expectation will be realized is quite certain. The decrees of the Council in matters of faith or morals; the changes it will introduce in discipline; in a word, the entire history will do more than justify the hopes and foreshadowings of men. These results shall be set forth at the proper season in our pages. For the present, we propose to describe, from time to time, for our readers, the preparations that are being made for the Council itself, and to chronicle¹ such events in connection with it as are likely to interest and edify our readers.

¹ We wish to express our gratitude towards the *Civiltà Cattolica* for the permission it has accorded to the Catholic press to reproduce the chronicle of the Council, now appearing in its valuable pages.

It was on the 26th of June, 1867, that the Sovereign Pontiff first announced his desire of convoking a General Council to remedy the evils under which the Church is suffering. The allocution in which this desire was expressed has already appeared in our pages. The five hundred bishops who were present on the occasion of the centenary, received the announcement with lively joy; and on the 1st of July, 1867, they presented to the Holy Father an address, in which they expressed their hope that the Council would bring to the world all the blessings which the Pontiff expected from it. They added, that undoubtedly it would become, under Providence, and by the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, a source of unity, of sanctification, and of peace. This address also was published in these pages. The Holy Father, in his reply to the bishops' address, declared that the thought of placing the Council under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin, was one most agreeable to his heart; and announced that the first session should be held on the 8th December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

On the 29th June, 1868, the Bull of Indiction was solemnly promulgated, by which the Council was convoked to commence in the Vatican, Basilica, on the 8th December, 1869. On the 8th September, 1868, the Holy Father issued apostolic letters to all the bishops of the Oriental rites not in communion with the See of Rome. Following the example of his predecessors, Gregory X. and Eugene IV., who invited the Orientals to the Councils of Lyons (II.) and of Florence, the Pope invited the Schismatical prelates of the East to the Vatican Council. We shall see hereafter how this invitation was received. On the 13th of September, 1868, Pius IX. issued an encyclical, addressed to Protestants and other non-Catholics, in which, after having set forth the marks of the true Church, he invites them to avail themselves of the opportunity presented by the General Council to be reconciled to the Roman Church.

Meantime the preparations were commenced at Rome.

As far back as June 6, 1867, Cardinal Caterini, Prefect of the S. Congregation of the Council, addressed, by order of His Holiness, a circular to the entire episcopate, containing seventeen questions on points of ecclesiastical discipline, which the bishops were invited to answer. At Rome six special commissions were issued, under the presidency of a Cardinal, the commissioners appointed to each being men distinguished by their learning and wisdom. The six Cardinal presidents, with two other Cardinals, were to form a special Commission of Direction. To these has since been added a Committee of Prelates to prepare accommodation for the bishops. The several com-

missioners meet frequently to discuss their respective subjects. A *votum* in writing is prepared beforehand by one or more of the *consultores*, in which the matter proposed is treated with all fulness and accuracy. The most rigorous secrecy is required from all the members of these commissions, lest prejudice or human respect might disturb the calm which should guide such important investigations.

We give a list of the commissions, with the titles and positions of each of their members.

COUNCIL OF DIRECTION:

Their Eminences Cardinal Patrizi, *President*; Cardinal Reisach, Cardinal Barnabo, Cardinal Panebianco, Cardinal Bizarri, Cardinal Bilio, Cardinal Caterini, Cardinal Capalti.

Secretary:

Mgr. Giannelli, Archbishop of Sardia, Secretary of the S. Con. of the Council.

Consultors:

1. Mgr. Tizzani, of the Regular Canons of Lateran, Archbishop of Nisibi, Head Chaplain to the Pontifical Troops, Consultor of the S. Congregation of the Index, Examiner of Bishops, Member of the Theological College.

2. Mgr. Angelini, Archbishop of Corinth, Vicegerent of Rome, Canon of St. Peter's, &c.

3. Mgr. Talbot de Malahide, Domestic Prelate to His Holiness, &c.

4. Very Rev. M. Galleotti, Prefect of Studies in the Seminary of Palermo.

5. V. R. F. Sanguineti, S.J., Professor of Canon Law in the Roman College.

6. V. R. Henry Feye, Prof. of Canon Law in Cath. University of Louvain.

7. V. R. C. J. Hefele, Prof. of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Tubingen.

COMMISSION ON CEREMONIES.

President—Cardinal Patrizi.

Consultors:

1. Mgr. D. Bartolini, Secretary of the S. Con. of Rites, Domestic Prelate, &c.

2. Mgr. L. Ferrari, Prefect of the Pontifical Ceremonies, Domestic Prelate, &c.

3. Mgr. Corazza, Cerem. Pont., Canon of St. Maria in Via Lata, &c.

4. Mgr. Martinucci, Cerem. Pont., Prefect of the Vatican Library, &c., &c.

5. Mgr. Balestra, Cerem. Pont.

Secretary:

Mgr. Ricci, Cerem. Pont., Canon of St. Maria Via Lata.

COMMISSION ON POLITICO-ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS.

President—Cardinal Reisach.

Consultors :

1. Mgr. Marini, Archbishop of Orvieto, Pro-Secretary of the S. Con. of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, &c.
2. Mgr. Papardo del Parco, Bishop of Sinope, &c.
3. Mgr. D. Bartolini.
4. Mgr. Jacobini, Canon of the Lateran, Basilica; Secretary of the S. Con. of Propaganda for the Oriental Rite, &c.
5. Mgr. L. Ferrari.
6. Mgr. Nussi, Canon of St. Mary Major's.
7. Mgr. L. Gizzi, Domestic Prelate of H. H., &c.
8. V. R. Father Guardì, Vicar-Genral of the *Ministri Degli Infermi*.
9. V. R. Canon Covaes, of Kalocza.
10. V. R. Canon Molitor. of Spires.
11. V. R. Canon Chesnel, V. G. of Quimper.
12. Mgr. Trinchieri, *Secretary of the Commission*.
13. V. R. Canon Moufang, Rector of the Seminary at Megonza.
14. V. R. A. Gibert, Vicar-General of Moulins.
15. V. R. Prof. Biondi.

COMMISSION ON THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES AND MISSIONS.

President—Card. Barnabo.

Consultors :

1. Mgr. Simeoni, Secretary of the S. C. of Propaganda for the Oriental Rite, Domestic Prelate, Examiner of Bishops, Prefect of Studies in the Roman Seminary.
2. Mgr. Jacobini.
3. V. R. Father Bollig, S.J., Professor of Arabic and Sanscrit in the Roman University, &c., &c.
4. V. R. F. Vercellone, Assistant-General of the Barnabites (died 19, Jan.).
5. V. R. Mgr. Theiner, of the Oratory, Prefect of the Vatican Archives.
6. V. R. F. Valerga, Prefect of the Carmelite Foreign Missions in Liria.
7. V. R. Joseph David, Syrian Chor-Episcopus of Mossoul.
8. V. R. Prof. Roncetti, Canon of the St. Maria ad Martyres.
9. V. R. F. Rosi, ex-Archivist of Propaganda.
11. Mgr. Cretoni, Archivist of Propaganda, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the Urban College, *Secretary of the Commission*.
12. V. R. Abbot Haneberg, O.S.B., of St. Boniface, Munich, Prof. of Theology in the University of Munich.
13. V. R. F. Martinhof, S.J.,
14. Mgr. Howard, Domestic Prelate to H. H., &c.

COMMISSION ON REGULARS.

President—Cardinal Bizarri,

Consultors :

1. Mgr. Marini.
2. Mgr. S. Svegliati, Secretary of the S. Con. of Bishops and Regulars.
3. Mgr. Trombetta, Sub-Secretary of the same.
4. Mgr. Lucidi.
5. V. R. F. Capelli, Procurator-General of the Barnabites.
6. V. R. F. Bianchi, O.P.
7. V. R. F. Joachim, of the Minor Observants.
8. V.

R. F. Cretoni, O.S.A. 9. V. R. F. Costa, S.J. 10. Mgr. Guisasola, Archpriest of Seville. 11. V. R. Don F. Stoppani, Canon of St. Maria, in Trastevere, *Secretary of the Commission*.

COMMISSION ON DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

President—Cardinal Bilio.

Consultors :

1. Mgr. Cardoni, Archbishop of Edessa, Secretary of the S. Con. for Examining Bishops, &c. 2. V. R. F. Spada, O.P., Master of the Sacred Palace, &c. 3. V. R. F. De Ferrari, O.P. 4. V. R. F. Perrone, S.J., Theologian of the Dataria Apostolica, &c., &c. 5. Mgr. Schovetz, Prof. of Theology in the University of Vienna, &c. 6. V. R. F. Mura, ex-General of the Servites. 7. V. R. F. Adragna, of the Minor Conventuals. 8. Mgr. Jacquenet, Parish Priest of St. James's, Rheims. 9. V. R. Don C. Gay, V. G. of Portiers. 10. V. R. F. Martenelli, O.S.A., Prof. of S. Scripture in the Roman University. 11. V. R. G. Pecci, Prof. of Philosophy in the Roman University. 12. V. R. F. Franzelin, S.J., Prof. of Theology in the Roman College. 13. V. R. F. Schrader, S.J., Prof. of Theology in the University of Vienna. 14. V. R. C. Santori, Rector of the Roman Seminary, *Secretary of the Commission*. 15. V. R. P. Petacci, Prof. of Logic and Metaphysics in the Roman Seminary. 16. V. R. F. Hettinger, Prof. of Dogma in the University of Witzburg. 17. V. R. John Abrog, Prof. of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Friburg in Brisgau. 18. V. R. James Corcoran, V. G. of Charleston, U.S.A. 19. V. R. Canon Labrador, Prof. of Theology and of Philosophy in the Seminary of Cadiz. 20. V. R. Mgr. Weathers, Rector of St. Edmund's College, Ware.

COMMISSION ON ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

President—Cardinal Caterini.

Consultors :

1. Mgr. Giannelli. 2. Mgr. Angelini. 3. Mgr. Svegliati, 4. Mgr. Simeoni. 5. Mgr. Nina. 6. Mgr. Jacobini, *Secretary of the Commission*. 7. Mgr. Mobili. 8. Mgr. Lucidi. 9. V. R. Canon de Angelis, Prof. of Canon Law in the Roman University. 10. V. R. F. Tarquini, S. J. 11. V. R. Canon Jacobini. 12. V. R. Joseph Hergenrother, Prof. of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Wurtzburg. 13. V. R. Henry Feije. 14. V. R. Canon Sauve, of Laval. 15. V. R. Canon Grese, of Munster. 16. V. R. Gaspar Heuser, Professor of Theology

in the Seminary of Cologne. 17. V. R. de Torres Padilla, Prof. of Ecclesiastical History in the Seminary of Seville.

Having made this ample provision for the preparation of the subjects to be discussed in the Council, the Holy Father next directed his attention to the material preparations for the holding of the sessions. It was at first intended, that the Congregations of the Council should be held in the great hall over the portico of St. Peter's, where the Supper takes place on Holy Thursday; and that the public sessions should be held within the Basilica of St. Peter's, in the wing known as that of SS. Processus and Martinianus. But after mature deliberation it was resolved that the Congregations as well as the Sessions should be held within St. Peter's; already the lines which mark the precincts of the places set apart for this purpose, may be studied on the pavement of the Basilica. Two semicircles, one looking away from the altar of the confession, the other looking away from the altar of SS. Processus and Martinianus, are so arranged that their wings meet where the two arches of the right hand lateral nave begin. Between these two semicircles stands on one side the Papal throne, with seats for the Cardinals, Patriarchs, the Orators of Princes, and the Theologians of the Pope; and on the opposite side, and in sight of both semicircles, the altar will be placed. In the middle of the semicircle looking away from the altar of the confession, will be placed the rostrum from which the speakers will address the Fathers, who will hold their sermons there. The stalls, arranged in eleven rows, will contain nine hundred Prelates. The post of the shorthand writers, the places for the masters of the ceremonies, are all definitely arranged. Lest the voices of the Bishops should be lost owing to the immense height of the ceiling, a vast pavilion will be raised over that portion of the Church which is set apart for the Sessions.

The discourses and deliberations of the Fathers will be accurately and fully reported by shorthand writers. Already a number of ecclesiastics of all nations are constantly in training for this work, and only those whose ability is beyond all gain-say will be admitted to the Council. The pronunciation of the Latin varies so considerably in different countries that it has been thought necessary to have reporters of all nations.

Already several of the Roman Princes have placed some of their palaces at the disposal of the Holy Father for the accommodation of the Bishops. In particular, Prince Torlonia has offered his beautiful palace, near St. Peter's, called the *Palazzo Giraud*. This generosity is not surprising to those who are acquainted with the well-known piety of these noble-

men. But the following extract of a letter from Father Abbona, Missionary in the Birman Empire to the *Museo delle Missioni Cattoliche* (3rd January, 1869), may fairly surprise all who read it. The Birman Emperor, although a pagan, has always esteemed and assisted the Catholic Missionaries, and has sent to the Holy Father most respectful letters and rich presents. The missionary writes:—"I spoke to the Emperor about the General Council which is to take place at Rome next year, and I mentioned to His Majesty that the Holy Father Pius IX. had expressed his desire that no sovereign would put any obstacles in the way of the Bishops of his kingdom to prevent them from coming to Rome. The Emperor replied in amazement—'What! is it possible that any sovereign would oppose so holy and just a request? For my part, not only am I not opposed to it, but I hereby promise to pay the expenses of the Bishops of my kingdom, both in going and returning; and moreover, it is my wish that you too should go, and that some of my subjects should go with you, to pay, in my name, a tribute of respect and veneration to all the Bishops assembled in Rome. I desire too, to send to each of the Bishops a gold cross, set with rubies, and you shall present it.'" "I am certain," adds the Missionary, "that, unless hindered by his ministers, the Emperor will keep his word, even though it should cost him an enormous sum."

RUBRICAL QUESTIONS.

We have received from *Ossoriensis* the following questions:—

1. On what days may the organ be played during Mass or the Divine Office?
2. With regard to the Sundays of Lent or Advent—Does the prohibition of playing the organ extend to low Masses?
3. When Benediction is given after Vespers, or during Novenas, is it permitted to play the organ with the Litany of the B.V.M., and the "Tantum Ergo," even though not played at Vespers?

1. As regards the first question, the *Cæremoniale Episcoporum* lays down the following rule:—"On all Sundays and all festivals throughout the year, on which the faithful are accustomed to abstain from servile work, it is becoming that the organ and chant should be used in the church. Among these, however, are not reckoned the Sundays of Advent and

Lent, except the third Sunday of Advent, which is called *Gaudete in Domino*, and the fourth Sunday of Lent which is called *Lætare Hiervsalem* (but only during Mass), and also excepting the feasts and ferias during Advent or Lent, which are solemnly celebrated by the Church, as the Feasts of SS. Matthias, Thomas of Aquin, Gregory the Great, St. Joseph, the Annunciation, and similar festivals occurring in Advent and Lent. So also on Holy Thursday at Mass only, and on Holy Saturday at Mass and Vespers; and whensoever for special reasons (*pro aliqua re gravi*) any joyous and solemn festival is kept."

To this general rule we may subjoin the following decrees taken from Gardellini's *Decreta Authentica S. C. Rituum*, printed at the Propaganda, Rome, in the year 1856:—

"In Dominica tertia adventus et Quarta Quadragesimæ pulsanda sunt organa in missa et in utrisque Vesperis." 2656, ad 8. Et ita (S. C.) declaravit et in posterum servari mandavit quibuscumque Dec. in contrarium, alias desuper emanatis, non obstantibus. Die 16, Oct., 1763."

"Cum tempore adventus nonnisi in sola Dom. Tertia, quæ dicitur 'Gaudete' et Quad. tempore in sola Dom. Quarta quæ dicitur Lætare ex præscripto Cær. Ep. cap. 28, permissum sit ut organa pulsantur, quæritur: an pulsari debeant in Missa Solemni tantum, an vero in omnibus aliis Div. officiis, seu horis canonicis quæ tum in metropolitana, tum in aliis Collegiatis Ecclesiis cantari solent? Resp. Organa in prædictis Dom. pulsari debere in Missa Solemni, et in Vesperis tantum; non vero in aliis horis canonicis. Ap. 2, 1718."

"Organa debentne silere Dom. Septuagesimæ, Sexagesimæ et Quinquagesimæ?

"Organa non silent quando ministri altaris-Diaconus scil. et Subdiaconus, utuntur in Missa Dalmatica et Tunicella licet color sit violaceus. Die 2, Sept., 1741."

2. To the second question we reply that if the use of the organ be not allowed at solemn Mass, *a fortiori* it should not be tolerated at low Mass.

3. In answer to the third question we give the following decree of the Sacred Congregation:—

"An servari possit asserta consuetudo pulsandi organum tempore Quadragesimæ, Adventus, et Vigiliarum in missis votivis B.V.M. quæ, singulis Sabbatis solemniter celebrantur, et in ejusdem Litaniis quæ post Vesperas cantantur? Affirmative et amplius. Ap. 14, 1753."

To this we may add that it is the custom in the Churches of Rome to play the organ during Benediction, as also during the Litany, which generally precedes it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON THE JUBILEE OF OUR HOLY FATHER.

To the Editors of the Ecclesiastical Record.

"25th February, 1869.

"GENTLEMEN,—An esteemed correspondent, lately writing from Rome, tells me, that the youth of Italy, and (he believes) of Austria, and of some parts of Spain, are preparing an address and a small present, to be offered to His Holiness on the approaching 50th Anniversary of his first Mass, the 11th of April next. I am sure it would gladden the heart of our Holy Father to receive a like offering from his sons in Ireland. And a suggestion to this effect in your influential pages would not fail to be responded to by the esteemed Heads of Colleges and the youth entrusted to their charge, and would evoke that spirit of devotion to the Chair of Peter, of veneration for the aged Pontiff, and of love for our Holy Father, which animates the heart of every true Catholic child of Ireland.

"I remain, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"CATHOLICUS."

DOCUMENTS.

I. RECENT DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE ON THE MANNER OF RECEIVING CONVERTS INTO THE CHURCH.

Beatissime Pater

"Inter decreta primae Synodi Provincialis Westmonasteriensis sub C. XVI. n. 8., ubi sermo est de abiuratione Protestantium adulatorum, et de baptismo sub conditione eis conferendo, additur 'Confessio etiam sacramentalis semper in tali casu est exigenda.' In adnotationibus, quas adiecit Pater Ballerini Editioni Romanae Theologiae Moralis P. Gury, dicitur hanc confessionem esse conformiorem Instructioni a Suprema S. Officii Congregatione super modo reconciliandi haereticos editae, ex qua Instructione deducitur, opportunitatem esse integram peccatorum confessionem. In textu P. Gury tenetur eam esse suadendam in praxi.

"Quum vero hic Auctor tam in Theologia, quam in casibus Conscientiae citaverit opinionem aliorum Auctorum docentium propter existentiam dubii de primo baptismo a neo-conversis tempore infantiae suscepto (adeo ut si nullum id fuerit, vera

baptismi susceptio sit ea, quae occasione abiurationis sub conditione traditur) dubiam esse obligationem peccata integre confitendi ante hoc baptismum conditionatum, nonnulli Confessarii in Anglia censuerunt, eos auctores secuti, dubiam confessionis integrae obligationem esse nullam obligationem : ac propter repugnantiam conversorum ad eam faciendam, et propter periculum confessionis imperfectae, vel etiam sacrilegae, omnino expedire, ut conversi aliqua tantum peccata Confessario exponant, ut ab eo absolutionis sacramentalis, si forsitan ea opus sit, beneficium impetrent.

“Ex alia parte habetur praxis constans maximae partis Confessariorum Regni integram confessionem tam ante, quam post approbationem Concilii Provincialis non modo suadentium, sed etiam exigentium ; habetur difficultas conversorum, intellectum ad obsequium fidei ipsius captivandi, nisi per animi humilitatem et submissionem, quas in Sacramento Poenitentiae Christus Dominus reponere dignatus est; habetur etiam impossibilitas sciendi, nisi per integram peccatorum manifestationem, utrum neo-conversus rite sit ad ipsum baptismum dispositus, velitque, ex. gr., restitutionem famae vel bonorum (si ad eam teneri contigerit) facere, occasionem proximam peccandi vitare, a matrimonio nulliter contracto resilire etiamsi, per S. Sedis dispensationem (uti in casibus quotidie frequentioribus matrimonii post divortium civile contracti) illud sanari nequeat; habetur insuper necessitas suae saluti per iustificationem in Sacramento Poenitentiae prospiciendi, a cuius integritate nemo in infantia semel baptizatus possit eximi; attenta praesertim diligentia iuniorum e Clero Anglicano circa ritum baptizandi fideliter servandum, et attento proinde maiori numero eorum, de quorum baptismatis infantilis valore non licet dubitare.

“Quum vero certum sit, quod post plures annos confessionis integrae obligatio vim suam omnino sit amissura, si in praxi sequi valeant Theologi uti tutam opinionem Auctorum praefatorum, Archiepiscopus Westmonasteriensis, et Episcopi Angliae enixe rogant, ut Sanctitas Vestra, pro sua in Missiones Angliae benignitate, dignetur declarare hac super quaestione gravissima mentem Ecclesiae :

“An debeat, iuxta Synodi Provincialis Decretum a S. Sede probatum, confessio Sacramentalis a neo-conversis in Anglia exigi, et an ea debeat esse integra ?”

DECRETUM.

Feria V. loco IV. die 17 Decembris, 1868.

“In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita in Conventu S. Mariae supra Minervam coram Emis ac Rmis

DD. Cardinalibus contra haereticam pravitatem generalibus inquisitoribus proposito suprascripto dubio praehabitisque DD. Consultorum suffragiis, iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres ad utramque dubii partem censuerunt respondendum esse: *Affirmative; et dandum esse Decretum latum sub feria quinta die decimaseptima Iunii anni millesimi septingentesimi decimi quinti.*

Eadem die ac Feria.

“SSmus D. N. D. Pius divina providentia Papa IX. in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori Sancti Officii concessa Resolutionem Emorum Patrum adprobare ac confirmare dignatus est; eamque una cum memorato Decreto mandavit remitti R. P. D. Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi.”

ANGELUS ARGENTI S. R. et U. I. Notarius.

II. DECREE ON THE SAME SUBJECT IN 1715.

FERIA V. die 17 Iunii 1715.

DUBIUM.

“An plena fides sit adhibenda Carolo Wipperman de Rostoch in ducatu Mechlemburgh praedicanti et Lectori theologiae Lutheranae quietisticae superintendenti et doctori primario sectae Lutheranorum Quietistarum, S. Fidei catholicae reconciliato in S. O. Parmae, et circa nonnullos errores detectos in eius Baptismo; an ipsi credendum sit circa ea quae enarrat, et quatenus affirmative, tum ut ipsius saluti, tum etiam ut coeterorum illius sectae seu Regionis, praesertim si fuerint ignorantes, saluti pariter consulatur.

“Quaeritur, an dictus Wipperman sit rebaptizandus, et quatenus affirmative, an absolute vel sub conditione; et quatenus affirmative; an teneatur confiteri omnia peccata praeteritae vitae; et quatenus affirmative; an confessio praeponenda sit, vel postponenda Baptismo conferendo sub conditione.

“SSmus auditis votis Emorum dixit: Carolum Ferdinandum esse rebaptizandum sub conditione, et collato Baptismo, eius praeteritae vitae peccata confiteatur, et ab iis sub conditione absolvatur.”

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

Achadh-dubhthuigh, in Magh-li, a small territory near the river Bann; St. Goar, or Guar, the son of Colman, who was surnamed the Big, to distinguish him from another St. Goar, the son of Lasrenn and named the Little,¹ was abbot of this ancient monastery in the seventh century, and is still the patron saint of it; the festival day is held on the 22nd of January.^a

This place is now unknown.

Achadhnacill, a church in Dalrieda;^b it was formerly known by the name of Achadh-cinn, or Achadh-kind,² and was built by St. Patrick, who appointed one of his disciples, St. Cathub, the son of Fergus, abbot; he died April 6th, in the year 554.^c We are told, in M'Geoghegan's annals, that at his death this saint was 150 years old.

Now unknown.

^a *Act. sanctor. p. 223.* ^b *Dalrieda comprehended the N.N.W. and part of the S. of the county of Antrim.* ^c *Act. SS. p. 192.*

¹ The name of St. *Guaire Mor* appears in the “Martyr. of Donegal” on 22nd of January:—“*Guaire Mor*, of Achadh-Dubhthaigh, on the brink of the Lower Banna. He is of the race of Colla Uais, Monarch of Ireland.” The feast of St. *Guaire Beg* is marked on the 9th of January:—“*Guaire Beg*, of Achadh-Dubhthaigh, in Magh-li, on the banks of the Banna, on the west side between Loch Neagh and the sea. He is of the race of Colla Uais, Monarch of Ireland.” The Genealogy of St. *Guaire Mor* is thus given by O'Clery:—“*Guaire Mor*, the son of Colman, the son of Fuachtaighe, the son of Fergus, the son of Laoghaire, the son of Fiachra-tort, the son of Colla Uais.” St. *Guaire Beg* belonged to the same family, being “son of Laisren, the son of Fergus, &c.” The *Leabhar Breac* states that “the two Guaire are commemorated in *Magh-Liú*” (fol. 4, *b*); and we learn from O'Donovan's “Hy-Fiachrach” (p. 312), that the territory of *Lee* belonged to the king of Dalaraidhe, and was situated on the west side of the river Bann.

² Colgan (Tr. Thaum. p. 182, n. 195) mentions the church of Achadnacille, “*Ecclesia hodie vulgo dicta Achadna-cille*,” as being in the territory of Dalriada. It was situated at *Aughnakeely*, where there is still a very ancient burial place in the townland of the same name, not far from the southern boundary of Kilconway. The feast of St. Cathub, bishop, the son of Fergus, is marked on the 6th of April in the “Martyrologies of Tallaght and Donegal.” Colgan conjectures that he was the same as “the priest Cathbad,” who is mentioned among the disciples of St. Patrick (Vit. Tripart. part 2, chap. 130), and who gave his name to *Loch Cathbadh* in Dalaradia. See Lanigan's remarks on this matter, “*Ecc. Hist.*” ii. 103.

Antrim, from which the barony and county is named, is a market and borough town, sending representatives to parliament, and is variously written by our ancient writers.³

Durtract, a disciple of St. Patrick,⁴ founded an abbey at Aondrium, or Entrumia.^d

^a *Trias Th. p. 265.*

^b Antrim, in our Irish writers, is generally known by the name *Oentraib*; sometimes, too, as in "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 1490, it is called *Ændruim*, i.e., "the one ridge." In Latin writers we find it styled *Oentreb*, *Ændromia*, *Introia*, *Antroia*, *Entroia*, &c. Much confusion has arisen from the similarity of the Irish name with *Oendruim*, or *Nendrum*, situated on Strangford Lough, in County Down. The following notices of the Church of Antrim occur in our early Annals:—

A.D. 612.—"The rest of Fintan, of Oentreibh, Abbot of Bangor." (Ann. of Ulster and Four M.) The Annals of Clonmacnoise call this saint "Fintan of Intreive," and mark his death in A.D. 613. Tighernach mentions him under the same year, as "Fintan of Aentruim."

A.D. 722.—"St. Flann of Aentrebh, Abbot of Beannchair, died." (Ann. F. M., Ulst., and Tigh.)

A.D. 822.—Bangor being plundered by the Danes in this year the relics of its holy founder were translated to Antrim. The Ann. of the F. M. preserve a quatrain, composed by St. Comghall, in which he predicts the desecration of his shrine:—

"It will be true, true,
By permission of the supreme King of Kings,
My bones shall be removed without defect
From beloved Beannchair to Aentrebh."

A.D. 877.—"Muredhach, son of Cormac, Abbot of Cētraibh, died."

A.D. 941.—"Celbach, son of Bec, lord of Dalaradia, was slain in Cēntribh by his own tribe."

A.D. 1018.—"Antrim spoiled by Fermanach."

A.D. 1030.—"The men of Tyrone destroyed the ships of the O'Longsy (*O'Lynch*), in the midst of Antrim."

A.D. 1096.—"Flann O'Muregan, superior of Aentruibh, died."

A.D. 1147.—"Roscrea and Cētraib were burned." (*Reeves' Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 278.)

The glosses of the Feliré of Ængus, in the *Leabhar Breac*, at the 31st July, give us the following quatrain on the number of religious in Antrim and other monasteries:—

"The nine hundred of Beannchoir, the six hundred of Oentreibh,
The five hundred of Conaire of the Contests;—
It is for Moedoc, it is for Choemoc, it is
For Comgall."

And it is added, "Mac Carthaigh Coir was soul-friend to them after Comgall."

One of the most interesting monuments that now remain connected with Antrim is its round tower, which is about half-a-mile from the present town, and is one of the most perfect in Ireland. Over the lintel of the entrance may still be seen the beautifully-sculptured cross of the original building. See a drawing of it in "Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. iii. p. 32.

Colgan, "Tr. Thaum." p. 265, thus mentions this disciple of St. Patrick:—"Durtractus, de Ændroim, frater S. Dichuonis." O'Clery, in his "Book of Genealogies," traces the descent of these two saints from Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Ireland: "Dichu of Sabhall, and Durthact of Caondruim, the two sons of Trichim, son of Fiec, son of Iomchada," &c. In the margin is added, "Durthact at Liathdruim on 16th May." In the "Martyrology of Donegal" at that day we read: "Duthract of Liathdruim. I think that this is Durthacht, son of Trichim, of Caon-druim, brother of Dichu, son of Trichim, of Sabhall, who is of the race of Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Erin, and I suppose that it is at Tara, or near Tara, he is honored, for Liath-druim and Druim-caoin are names of Tara."

A.D. 493, or 496. The abbot St. Mochay^s died the 23rd of June.^e

638. Cridan died at Indroim in Ulster.^f

642. The bishop of St. Cronan died on the 6th of January.^g

658. St. Cumineus, bishop of Ændrom, died on the 1st of July.^h

679. Died the abbot Maney.ⁱ

746. Died St. Moelimarchar, bishop of Ectrumensis.^{6k}

766. Died St. Failbeus, abbot of Erdamensis.¹

Ardmacnasca, on Lough-Laoigh.^{7m} Laisrean, the son of Neasca, and abbot of Hy, was founder and abbot of this abbey; he died the 25th of October, about the year 650, and is patron of the place.ⁿ

Ballycastle stands on the sea-coast in the barony of Carye; to the east of this castle is an ancient building, called the Abbey, of which we cannot find any account. In a chapel in this abbey is the following inscription:

In Dei Deiparæque Virginis honorem, illustrissimus ac nobilissimus dominus Randolphus M'Donnell comes de Antrim, hoc sacellum fieri curavit. An. Dom. 1612.^o

Boithbolcain,⁸ a church near Connor, founded by St. Bolcain^p a disciple of St. Patrick.

^e Act. SS. p. 189, M'Geogh. annals. M'Geogh. ^f Act. SS. p. 17, M'Geogh. ^g Vard. p. 159, Act. SS. p. 59, M'Geogh. ^h M'Geogh. ⁱ Act. SS. index chron. ¹ Id. p. 576. ^m Called now Lough-Neagh. ⁿ Vard. p. 353, Act. SS. p. 631. ^p Bishop Pococke's Journal. ^q Act. SS. p. 378. ^r Tr. Th. p. 377.

⁵ SS. Mochaio, Critan, Cronan, and Cuimmein, will be mentioned hereafter at *Nendrum*, in County Down, to which monastery they belonged.

⁶ The "Annals of the Four Masters," in the year 746, mention the death of this holy bishop, Moelimarchar. He had nothing to do, however, with Antrim, being "Bishop of Eachdruim," i.e., *Aughrim*, as O'Donovan explains it. (An. of F. M. p. 349.) The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" commemorate the same saint as "Moyle-Imorchor, Bishop of Achroym O'Mayne," i.e., *Aughrim*, in the Omany country.

⁷ Archdall is sadly misled by a similarity of name when he confounds Lough-Laoig with *Lough-Neagh*. Lough-laoigh was the old Irish name for the modern *Belfast Lough*, and was sometimes also called "Lough Bannchor" and "Bay of Knockfergus." The Feliré of Áengus sufficiently identifies the name when it places the Church of Kilroot on the banks of *Lough-laoigh*. See Reeves, loc. cit. p. 272. The site of *Ardmacnasca* was not on the Antrim Coast of Lough-laoigh, but on the opposite coast, in the County Down, where Holywood now stands. "The Martyrology of Donegal," on 25th of October, gives the feast of "St. Laisrean, son of Nasc, of Ard-mic-nasca, on the brink of Lough Laoigh, in Ulster." The church or monastery took its name from its founder, St. Laisrean, who was called "Mac Nasca" to distinguish him from the other saints of the same name. He was one of those to whom the Letter on the Paschal Controversy was addressed from Rome in the year 640. Usher, "Sylloge Epp." epist. ix. We will again speak of "Ard-mic-nasca" at *Holywood*, in County Down.

⁸ This church gave name to the present townland of *Bovolcan*, near Stoneyford, in the parish of Derryaghy. Its patron and founder was St. Olcan, or Bolcan, disciple of St. Patrick, whose life is given by Colgan, "Acta SS." p. 375, seqq.

Bonamargy,⁹ a small monastery, was built here, in the fifteenth century, for Franciscan friars of the third order.^r This monastery is said to have been founded by M'Donnell,^s whose family settled in this county in the fifteenth century, and were afterwards ennobled.^t This monastery and its possessions were granted to the founder's family; and the abbey became the burial place of the M'Donnells.

Carrickfergus,¹⁰ on the remarkable bay of the same name, is a corporate town sending members to Parliament.

1232. The foundation of a monastery here, for Franciscan friars, is fixed on this year, but it is a matter of doubt who was the founder; some say the famous Hugh de Lacie, Earl of Ulster,^u according to others O'Neal.^w We are inclined to the former.

War. Mon. "Allemande. Lodge v. 1, p. 104. " War. Mon. " Allemande.

⁹ *Bonamargey, i.e., "Bun-na-Mairge,"* takes its name from the river Mairge, being situated at the spot where in former times the river Mairge entered the sea. The ruins of the monastery still mark the spot, but the bed of the stream was changed in the year 1738, when the harbour of Ballycastle was constructed. The Bay of Ballycastle was formerly known as *Marketon Bay*, which was a corruption of the earlier name *Mairge-town*. A MS. list of the Franciscan convents, which is preserved in the British Museum (No. 4,814, Plut. cxx. G. p. 2), states that the Convent of Bunamargy in the *Reuta* was founded in the year 1500 by Rory Mac Quillin, Lord of the Reute. Others refer this foundation to Sorley Buidhe Mac Donnell, about the middle of the sixteenth century; he, however, seems only to have restored or repaired the convent. The chapel of the convent was re-built by the Earl of Antrim, in 1621, and the inscription given above under *Ballycastle* is still preserved on an old tablet in the eastern gable:—"In Dei Deiparæque Virginis honorem, illustrissimus ac nobilissimus Dominus Randalphus Mac Donnell, comes de Antrim, hoc Sacellum fieri curavit. An. Dom. 1621."

In the year 1820, whilst some repairs were being made in the Antrim family vault of this chapel, an oaken chest was discovered containing four manuscripts which belonged to the old monastery, and which were in a state of good preservation. One of these, extending to about 600 quarto pages, contains the chief theological works of St. Thomas of Aquin, and an entry in the volume shows that it originally belonged to the monastery of St. Anthony, of Amiens, in France. Another volume contained an English translation of St. Bonaventure's "Life of Christ," made in the fourteenth century. In the winter of 1859 another curious discovery was made in a sand heap immediately adjoining the ruins. Heavy rains had washed away a portion of the sand from one side of this heap, and thus were laid bare a small silver Reliquary, some fragments of old silver crosses, and the remains of very ancient book-covers. At a short distance was found, some years ago, a rod of twisted gold thirty-eight inches in length, now in R.I.A., also a clasp of gold, and other ornaments.

It is the tradition that the religious, despite the terrors of persecution, clung to their cherished monastery till about the year 1720, when they retired to a place called *Ardagh*, on the adjoining slope of Knocklade.

It was in the neighbourhood of this monastery, at a spot called Duncarbit, that Shane O'Neill, in Elizabeth's reign, inflicted so severe a defeat on the Scots that the battle-field is still known as *Slaught*, the place of slaughter. See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii. p. 14, seqq.

¹⁰ McSkimin, in *Hist. Carrickfergus*, mentions an ancient monastic foundation called "the Hospital of St. Brigid," which adjoined the east suburb of the town. "Some remains of the chapel (he adds) attached to this hospital remained within

1243. This year the Earl of Ulster,¹¹ and Gerald Fitzmaurice, and Richard de Burgh were interred here.^x

1408. Hugh M'Adam M'Gilmore, the fell destroyer of forty sacred edifices, fled for refuge to an oratory of this church, in which he was soon after massacred by the English colony of the name of Savage. As the windows of this building had been formerly robbed of their iron bars by his sacrilegious hands, his pursuers found a ready admission to him.^y

1497. Neile M'Caine O'Neill reformed this friary¹² to the order of the strict observance.^z

^x *Pembridge's Ann. Hammer's Chron.* ^y *Marlboro's Annals.* ^z *War. Mss.*

the last forty years, and persons were interred in it within memory. The lands adjoining are still called the *Spittall Parks*, and were, till the year 1823, free of tythe. There is no record when this hospital was founded, or by whom. In the 36th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this hospital and the lands attached were granted by the Crown to Richard Harding for thirty years. Some silver coins have been found here of Edward the Third," p. 127. The same writer tells us that there is also, a little north of the town, a well, called "St. Bride's Well," adjoining which was "the Spittall House," and which was granted, together with the hospital, to Mr. Harding as above. In the deed of grant it is called "parcell antique hereditament," and is said to comprise a small plot called "The Friars' Garden," ib. 128.

A round tower is supposed to have formerly adorned this town. A survey in State Papers, 21st July, 1588, mentions "a watchhouse, or turret, sometimes called a steeple," as then standing in need of repairs. An old map of the town, published in *Ulster Journal of Arch.* vol. 3rd, presents a building close to the wall next the sea which may perhaps have been intended to represent a round tower.

¹¹ Hugh de Lacy was interred in 1243, "*Apud Cnockfergus in conventu Fratrum.*"—"Grace's annals." Publications of I.A.S., 1842, p. 35. A long account of the doings of Robert and Edward Bruce before Carrickfergus will be found in the same annals. We may add that the town sustained other memorable sieges from King John, Shane O'Neil, and Schomberg. The English troops under Sir John Chichester sustained a memorable defeat here in 1597.

¹² The following entry occurs in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 1497: "The monastery of the Friars in Carrickfergus was obtained for the Friars Minor de Observantia by Rescript from Rome, at the instance of Niall, the son of Con, son of Hugh Boy O'Neill, and sixteen brothers of the convent of Donegal took possession of it on the vigil of the first festival of the B.V. Mary in autumn, having obtained authority for that purpose." O'Connor, in his *Stowe Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 158, mentions as extant in that library a MS. of 52 pages in the Irish language, containing the lives of sixteen saints, with the subscription at the end: "Fr. Bonaventura Mac Dool, Guardianus de Carrickfergus, theologie lector." These lives were transcribed from a more ancient MS. belonging to this convent.

As regards the first founder of this Franciscan convent, some have referred it to *De Lacy*, others to a chieftain of the *Magennis* family; but Luke Wadding assigns the honour of its foundation to an O'Neill of the Clan-Aodh-Buidhe branch of that family, for, he adds "that convent belonged to the O'Neils, and they used it as their burial place" (*Annales Min.* ad an. 1242). Hugh de Lacy, as we have seen, and also Richard de Burgh and Gerald Fitzmaurice, were interred there soon after its foundation. A sacrilegious deed connected with this convent, and marked in our annals at A.D. 1408, reveals the lawlessness that prevailed in Ireland in the beginning of the fifteenth century. A chieftain named Mac Gilmore, after plundering and destroying sixty religious edifices and murdering two of the clan Savage, took sanctuary in the Franciscan Church of Cnockfergus. Even this church, however, had been already plundered by him, and he had even carried away the iron bars which originally guarded its windows; thus, his assailants were now

1510. This monastery was in such high repute, that a general chapter of the order was held in it this year.^a

At the suppression of religious houses this monastery and its possessions were granted to Sir Edmund Fitzgerald, who assigned the same to Sir Arthur Chichester, ancestor to the Earl of Donegall.^b This nobleman, who was several times Lord Deputy of Ireland, erected a noble castle on the site of this monastery, about the year 1610.^c

Cluain, or *Kilcluain*, was an abbey built by St. Olcan¹³ in

^a *War. Mss.* ^b *Harris's tabl.* ^c *War. Mss. v. 34.*

able to penetrate through these windows, and he was murdered at the foot of the altar.

The Franciscans of Carrickfergus seem to have shared the suppression of religious houses of 1537, for among the State Papers of Edward the Sixth's reign, there is a petition of Hugh Mac Neill Oge, in which, after professing his allegiance as a faithful subject, he prays, "to have, by a lease from the King's Majesty, certain late monasteries, with the lands thereunto belonging, lying waste in his country, and the late friar-house in Knockfergus granted unto him, that therein he may place two secular Priests for ministration of divine service, alledging that his ancestors were buried there, and that in all his country there is not so meet a place for burial as that is." This petition was granted, but it is probable that O'Neill at once restored the Convent to its old proprietors. In the Harleian Collection of MSS., there is a petition from the "Freres Observants" of Ireland to Queen Mary, dated November, 1557, in which they pray, that "it would please Her Majesty to grant and confirm unto them and their religious order," certain monasteries. In reply, Her Majesty instructed the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, to grant their petition to them. During Elizabeth's reign, however, this convent felt the full fury of the storm of irreligious persecution which raged throughout our island. Wadding tells us that the religious inmates were expelled, and the English governor, after seizing on all the sacred properties of the convent, cast five of the friars into prison, keeping them there till all hope of further plunder was extinguished. The names of these confessors of the faith are happily registered by the same illustrious annalist, they are—Robert McConghaill, Eugene Mac-an-Tsaire, Donough Molan, Charles O'Hanvill, and Patrick Mac Teige.

In the State Papers of the following years, the convent appears as "*The Palace*, of late *the Friars' House*." In a paper, dated 1st April, 1574, the memorable year in which Essex set out on his fruitless attempt to conquer Ulster, the convent is mentioned as a store-house for the English troops. As one of the results of Essex's failure, it is also stated, that the town of Carrickfergus was destroyed; all its churches and dwellings being burned, and all its inhabitants having fled away. In 1583, the Lords Justices, in a letter to Walsingham, write: "The Palace is a place very necessary to be safely kept, having in it the fairest and largest rooms for storage and brewing that are in this land, besides sundry good lodgings."

The Palace, soon after the accession of King James, became the property of the greedy and grasping Chichester, who levelled it to the ground, and erected on its site his family mansion called Joymount. This proud monument of Chichester's ill-gotten wealth is now the County gaol.

The ancient plans of Carrickfergus show a large stone cross, called "Great Patrick's Cross," standing in the main street; the pedestal of a broken cross is also seen standing in the churchyard attached to the Franciscan convent.

The Franciscan, Edmund MacCana, in his "Itinerary" (A.D. 1640), remarks, regarding this town—"I have nothing to tell about it, except that it has been the abode of false doctrine ever since the commencement of the Anglican heresy."—(*Ulster Journal of Arch.* ii. 59; vii. 6, seqq.)

¹³ Colgan refers the foundation, not to St. Olcan, but to St. Patrick himself, who subsequently placed Olcan as bishop there. Speaking of a church in the territory of Dalaradia, which was begun by St. Patrick, Colgan says, "existimo *Cluin* sen

the early ages of Christianity; it is now (according to Colgan) a parish church near Connor.^d

Connor,^{14 e} a small town in the barony of Antrim, and a bishop's see united to Down.

506. The bishop Enos M'Nessa died on the 3rd of September, on which day his festival is held.^f Others place his death in the year 513.^g

The feast of St. Mainend of Cluain-Connor is observed on the 16th of September,^h but we are not informed at what time he lived.

537. Died the Bishop Lugadius.ⁱ

^a *Act. SS. p. 377.* ^{*} *Our ancient ecclesiastical writers name it Cluain-Connor, Coinre, Condere, Condoire, Connery, and Conry.* ¹ *Annal Inisfal.* ² *Act. SS. p. 190.* ³ *Vard. vita Rumoldi.* ⁴ *Act. SS. p. 191.*

rectius *Cluain* legendum, ut sit Ecclesia de Cluain sen Kill-Cluanensis quæ est parochia in Baronia et Diæcesi Connorensi in regione Dalaradiæ."—*Acta SS.*, p. 377). In the notes to *Vita Tripartita* (part 2, chap. 133), referring to the Church of "*Inlech-Cluana* in agro Semne," he says, "puto esse quæ hodie *Kill-Chluana* appellatur." O'Donovan tells us that the plain of Semne, which is here referred to, "was situated in the territory of Dalaraidhe, in the south of the present County of Antrim."—(*Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 211.)

¹⁴ The name *Connor* generally appears in the form *Condeire* in Irish records. Its etymology is thus given in a marginal gloss to the Feliré of Ængus at the 3rd of September—"Chonderib, *i.e.*, *Daire-na-con*, *i.e.*, the oak-wood in which were wild dogs formerly, and she-wolves used to dwell therein." Colgan remarks that this etymology *per metathesim* was common with the Irish; he hence conjectures that *Derechon* or *Dorechon*, the site of St. Olcan's Church, was no other than the *Condeire* of which we speak.—(*Acta SS.* p. 377, n. 9.) The See of Connor was founded by St. Patrick, who constituted St. Ængus Mac Nisse, its first Bishop and Abbot. The Feliré of Ængus marks the feast of St. Mac Nisse on the 3rd of September:—

"Mac Nisse with thousands
From the great Condere."

The *Annals of Ulster* and the *Four Masters* place his death in the year 513. The *Martyr. of Donegal*, on 3rd September, has the entry—"Mac Neissi, Bp. of Coindre. Cnes, daughter of Comhcaidhi, of Dal-Ceithirn, was his mother. Ænghus was his first name; he was also called Caemhan Breac." The *Annals of Tighernach* also state, "Mac Nissi, *i.e.*, Aenghus, Bishop of Connor, rested; whose father was called Fobrach; and whose mother was called Cness, was daughter of Comchaide of the Dal Ceteren, from whom he was named Mac Cneisse." Dr. Todd places his death in 514 (*Introd. to Obits of Xt. Church*, p. 73); but this is refuted in notes to *Martyr. of Donegal*, Public. of I.A.S., p. 232. St. Mac Nisse was buried in Connor—"Sanctus Mac Cneisi Episcopus, qui jacet in civitate Connyre, quæ est in regione Dalnaraidhe."—(*Vit. S. Comgalli*, in lib. Kilken. fol. 90, b. col. 2, and Fleming, *Collectan*, p. 304). His life is published by the Bollandists in vol. 1st for September, p. 664. He made a pilgrimage to Rome and the holy places of Jerusalem. He foretold the birth of the great St. Comgall, founder of Bangor; his monastery was visited by St. Brigid; and he trained to virtue St. Colman, the patron and first Bishop of Dromore. Ward writes, that the Church of Annatrim, at the foot of Slieve Bloom, in the Parish of Offarlane, Diocese of Ossory, was dedicated to him. In notes to *Martyr. of Donegal* (loc. cit.), this church is said to be dedicated to another St. Caemham Breac, whose feast was kept on 4th November. Probably, however, the same saint was honoured on various days in different churches, especially as in some records the 4th of November was precisely marked as the day of St. Mac Nisse's death.—See *Ann. of Four M.*, ad an. 513. The original notes to O'Clery's *Genealogies* mention his

658. The bishop St. Dima Dubh¹⁵ died this year, far advanced in the vale of life. His festival is held here on the 6th of January.^k

771. Died Anfceally, abbot of Coynre and Lynnealla.¹

865. Died Aidhecar,¹⁶ abbot of Coynre and Lynnealla,^m or Condoire and Lanella;ⁿ he was a bishop and a learned chronologer.

949. Died the abbot Flannagan M'Alchon;¹⁷ he was abbot also of Muckamore.ⁿ

954. Died Malbrigid, son of Redan, successor to St. M'Nessy and Colmanell,^o that is, abbot of Connor and Muckamore.

1038. Died Cudenius,¹⁸ the professor of Condoire.^p

1063. Eochad,¹⁹ another professor, died this year.^{20q}

¹*Vard. p. 353, Act. SS. p. 16.* ¹*M'Geog. mId. Act. SS. p. 784.* ⁿ*M'Geogh. Act. SS. p. 387. Tr. Th. p. 632.* ^{Id.}

fast as kept on 20th January and 3rd September. His genealogy is thus given:—"Mac Nise, the son of Fobriac, the son of Erc, the son of Fiacca, the son of Mael, the son of Carthargh, &c., of the race of Eatach Mac Muireadha." It was not unusual in the earlier Christian annals of Ireland to introduce in such genealogies the mother's name instead of that of the father. Thus, *Muirchertach Mac Erc* was so called from his mother, *Earca*; and *Fergus Mor* was also called *Mac Mise*, in accordance with his mother's name.

On the death of Dermot, King of Ireland, in 558, his body was interred in the monastery of Connor, whilst his head was conveyed to Clonmacnoise.

The *Ann. of Four M.* also record the destruction of Connor by fire in A.D. 612, and its plunder by the Danes in 831. It continued thenceforward for many years a stronghold of the northern pirates. Twice it was plundered by the Irish chieftains whilst seeking to rid themselves of such marauders, viz.:—by the King of Ailech, in 960, and by the King of Ulidia, in 968. In 1315, it was the theatre of a great battle, in which Edward Bruce was victorious, and large booty of "corn, flour, wax, and wine," rewarded the victor.

In *Notes and Queries* (2nd series, vol. 3. p. 217), a letter from Belfast, written in 1820, gives the following intelligence:—"On opening the vaults where stood the cloisters of the old Catholic Abbey of Connor, the workmen discovered an oaken chest, whose contents on being opened proved to be a translation of the Bible in the Irish character, and several other MSS. in that language." Some of these MSS. being examined proved to be bardic poems, translated at Connor by an Irish Friar, named Terence O'Neal, in 1463.

¹⁵The *Ann. of F. M.* in A.D. 658, place the death of "Dioma Dubh (*i.e.*, *niger*), bishop of Connor, on the 6th of January." *The Martyr. of Don.* adds, "Diomma Dubh, bishop of Connor. I think that this is the Dioma Dubh, son of Ænghus, son of Cairthenn Finn, son of Bloid, son of Cas, &c., who is of the race of Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Oluim. I think that he is the Dima to whom Declan was sent to be educated.—Vit. Decl. cap. 5, A.D. 658." St. Dioma was one of those to whom the letter was addressed from Rome on the Paschal Controversy in the year 640.—(*Bede, Hist. Ec. ii. 19.*)

¹⁶In *Ann. of F. M.* at A.D. 865, "Oegedchar, abbot of Connor and Lan-Ela, bishop and scribe, died."

¹⁷"Flannagan, son of Alchon, Coarb of Mac Nissi and of Colman-Ela, died A.D. 952." *Ibid.* The *Ann. of Ulster* place his death in 953.

¹⁸"Cuinden, bishop, abbot, and lecturer of Connor, Coarb of Mac Nisse, and Colman-Ela, died."—(*Ann. of F. M.* ad an. 1038.)

¹⁹A.D. 1063. "Eochaidh O'Dallan, Airchennech of Connor, died." (*Ibid.*)

²⁰In addition to the names mentioned in the text we find the following:—

"A.D. 725. St. Dochanna, the devout, bishop of Connor, died on the 15th of

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1869.

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM; OR, A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall; the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

DOMNACHBRUIN²¹ was built by St. Patrick, in the territory of Hy-tuirtre.^{r s}
Now unknown.

^r *A small territory on the eastern bank of Lough-Neagh.* * *Tr. Th. p. 182.*

(Continuation of Note 20, from page 296.)

May.—(Ann. of F. M.) “He was of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall.”—(Martyr. of Don.)

“A.D. 896. Tiopratte, son of Nuadhat, Abbot of Connor, Lann-Ela, and Laith-rech-Briuin (i.e., *Larabryne*), died.”—(Ann. of F. M.) As this abbot was son of Nuadhat, to whom Maynooth (i.e., *Magh-Nuadhat*) belonged, we may understand how it was that he held the church of Larabryne, near Maynooth, at the same time with his own See of Connor.

“A.D. 917. Maolene, son of Maolbrigid, Abbot of Lann-Ela and Connor, and ornament of Ireland, died.”—(*Ibid.*)

“A.D. 963. Joseph, Coarb of Mac Nisse and of Colman-Ela, died.”—(*Ibid.*)

“A.D. 974. Conang, son of Finan, Abbot of Connor and Lann-Ela, died.”—(*Ibid.*) The “Annals of Ulster” place his death in the same year, and style him “Coarb of Mac Nisse and of Colman-Ela.”

“A.D. 1038. Maolmartan Cam, lecturer of Connor, died.”—(Ann. of F. M.)

“A.D. 1081. O’Robhartaigh, Archinnech of Connor, *in penitentia decessit*.”—(Ann. of Ulster.) The “Ann. of F. M.” call him “Archinnech of Louth.”

Domnachcoinre was built by the same saint in Cathrigia, or Machaire dna Morna.^t Colgan thinks it probable that this was the church now called Kildomnach. The two Saints Conann are patrons of it.^u

This is also unknown.

Domnachcombuir, or *Commor*, was built by the same saint;²² it seems to be a parish church in the diocese of Connor, now called Magh-combuir.^w

It is now unknown.

Domnachfothairbe was founded by St. Patrick in Hy-tuirtre.^x Unknown.

Domnachlibeir was also built by him in the same territory.^y Unknown.

Domnachmoelain, built by the same saint in that territory.^z Also unknown.

^t *A territory in Dalriada.* "Tr. Th. p. 182. " *Id. Act. SS. p. 375, 378.*
^u *Tr. Th. p. 183.* " *Id.* " *Id.*

"A.D. 1117. Flann O'Scula, Bishop of Connor, died."—(Ann. of F. M.)

"A.D. 1124. St. Malachy O'Morgair is ordained Bishop of Connor."—(*Ibid.*) His translation to Armagh is subsequently mentioned at the year 1132. "Malachy O'Morgair was elected Coarb of Patrick at the prayer of the Ecclesiastics of Ireland."

"A.D. 1174. Maolpatrick O'Banan, Bishop of Connor and Dalaradia, a man to be venerated, full of sanctity of life, gentleness, and purity of heart, died in a good old age in Hy-Columcille."—(*Ibid.*) This bishop attended the Synod of Kells in the year 1152. For some other bishops of this Diocese, see *infra* at *Linnally* and *Muckamore*. The episcopal succession in later times will be found in Reeves (Ec. Antiq. of Down and Connor, p. 256), and in "Irish Eccles. Record," vol. i. p. 262.

The boundaries of the Diocese of Connor as fixed by the Synod of Kells, comprised the present Dioceses of Down and Connor and Dromore and the north-east part of Derry. They extended "from Beann-Fhoine (*i.e.*, Ben-Evenew, a mountain on the east side of Lough Foyle,) to Torbhuirg (*i.e.*, Torr-head, in the county Antrim); from Port-Murbhuilg (now Maghera, at the foot of Slieve Donard, in the county Down,) to Ollarbha (now the Larne Water, in Antrim); and from Cuan-snamha-aighneach (the ancient name of Carlingford-Loch) and Gleann-Righe (the valley of the Newry river) to Colbha-Gearmann (*i.e.*, German's pillar, not yet identified)."—See "Cambrensis Eversus," edited by Rev. M. Kelly, vol. 2nd, p. 786.

²¹ Colgan was unable to identify this church, which is called "*Domnach-brain*," in St. Patrick's Life.—(Tr. Th. p. 184, n. 233.) Dr. Reeves refers to the similarity of name with *Donnabaran* in the Deanery of Tullaghoge, mentioned in Swayne's "Register," fol. 60 (loc. cit. p. 294).

²² The "*Vita Tripartita*" of St. Patrick narrates how Conla, the son of Coelbadh, offered a large tract of land (*insigne prædium*), on which he erected the Monastery of *Commor*.—(Tr. Thaum. p. 147.) Jocelyn, in the parallel passage, states that St. Patrick erected a church there, at a place called *Elom*, and that the church was called "*Domnach-Combuir*;" and Colgan adds the following note:—"Hodie sine addito vocabulo, *Comur* est nobile Coenobium Diæcesis Dunensis et Connorensis" (p. 114, col. 2). The "*Annals of Ulster*" record, at the year 1031, that Mac Eochaidh led an army as far as Iveagh, burned *Kill-Cumbair* with its oratory, killed several of the clergy, and carried away thirty captives. The name Comber means a *confluence*, and in the present instance it marks the townland where the river Enler enters Strangford Lough, in Co. Down. *Muckamore*, *i.e.*, *Magh-Comuir*, "the plain of the confluence," is situated at the junction of the Six-Mile-Water with Lough Neagh. For further notes on the Monastery of *Comber*, or *Commor*, see under this head in county Down.

Domnachmor, in Magh-damhorna,²³ in Dalrieda. St. Patrick built a church here; it is, as Father Colgan observes, either the chapel called Kildomnach, or the parish church called Rathmor.^a

*Domnachriascaigh*²⁴ was built by St. Patrick in Hy-tuirtre.^b Unknown.

Domnachrighduin, another church founded there by the same saint.^c

Unknown.

Domnachsainre,²⁵ founded there also by St. Patrick.^d

Unknown.

Druimindeich,²⁶ in Dalrieda: this abbey owed its erection likewise to that saint, about the year 460. He placed St. Enan over it.^e

Unknown.

Drum La Croix,²⁷ in the diocese of Connor; an abbey was founded here for Premonstrant or White canons; it was a daughter of the abbey of Drieburgh in Scotland;^f see GOOD-BORN.

Gleanindeachta,²⁸ in the territory of Trian-Conguill; this valley

^a *Tr. Th. p. 183.* ^b *Id.* ^c *Id.* ^d *Id.* ^e *Act. SS. p. 747.* ^f *Le Page, quoted by Allemande.*

²³ *Magh-damhorna* formerly gave name to a Deanery in the Diocese of Connor; it is now confined to a portion of the parish of Glynn, a little to the south of Larne. It is remarkable as having been the birth-place of the great St. Comgall. See Reeves' "Ec. Antiq." p. 269.

²⁴ This is the modern *Donaghrisk*, in the parish of Desertcreat. In the taxation of Armagh Diocese, in A.D. 1291, the name of this church is given as *Donaghberesca*; in the later Registers it is called *Domnaghreasca* and *Downaghryske*. The "Dungannon Inquis." of 1609 represents *Donoghreiske* as a chapel with two balli-boes of Erenagh-land attached to it. It was the ancient burying-place of the sept of O'Hagan.

²⁵ This church is called in the text of Colgan, *Domnach-Fainre* (Tr. Th. p. 148); but, by a misprint in the notes, it is called *Domnach-Sainre*, which name is erroneously retained by Archdall. It is now called *Donagherry*, and gives name to a parish bordering on Lough Neagh, in the county Tyrone. In the Registries of Armagh it is generally written *Domnaghfenra* and *Dompnachfionnray*.

²⁶ The "Annals of the F. M.," at the year 818, record a meeting of the Northern and Southern Hy Niall at a place called *Druim-Indech*. Our text, however, probably refers to the modern townland *Drumeeny*, in Glenshesk. There is a very ancient burial ground there called *Killeena*, near the ruins of an old church. The "Vit. Trip." states that St. Patrick erected this church in Druimindich, in the region of *Cathrigia*, i.e., Carey, in the neighbourhood of Ballycastle, and that he gave it in care to *St. Enan*.—(Tr. Th. p. 146.) *Killeena* is in the parish of Ramoan; two old tombstones from the burial ground have been preserved, one with a crucifix carved on it, the other with a cross; we will again meet with St. Enan, *infra* at "Rath-Modhain."

²⁷ This monastery is supposed to have stood about half way between Belfast and Carrickfergus, in the parish of Carnmoney, where now stand the ruins of "*White Abbey*." There is a plan of this abbey in Benn's "History of Belfast," p. 265. Some antique bronze ornaments, including a crucifix, were found near this spot some years ago.—(Reeves' Eccles. Antiq., p. 277.)

²⁸ This name is written *Gleann-Fineachta* in an old Irish verse preserved by Usher (opp. vol. 6, p. 146). It is now called *Glynn*. The ruins of the old church occupy a picturesque spot at the river side, in a shady glen,

still retains this name, says Father Colgan, in the diocese of Connor. St. Patrick founded a church or abbey in that part of the glin which is called Machaire-morna, or Mudhorn.^g

Glenarm,²⁹ on the sea-coast, gives name to the barony. A monastery was built here, for Franciscan Friars of the third order, in the year 1465, by Robert Bisset, a Scotchman.^h

This monastery, and the lands belonging thereto, were granted to Alexander M'Donnell, ancestor to the Earls of Antrim.ⁱ

There are still some remains of this building on the bay of Glenarm.^k

Gluaire,³⁰ in the territory of Latharn, in Dalrieda. St. Patrick built a church here, in which rests St. Molassius.^l

Unknown.

Goodborn, or *Woodborn*,³¹ not far from Carrickfergus; a

^g *Tr. Th.* ^h *Allemande.* ⁱ *Harris Tab.* ^k *Pococke's Journal.* ^l *Tri. Than. p. 147.*

²⁹ Besides the Franciscan Abbey, the ruins of other ancient religious institutions are met with in Glenarm. Thus, there are the ruins and cemetery of *St. Mary's*, on the brink of a stream within the Glenarm demesne. Of another church Reeves thus writes: "In Bridge-street was formerly an ancient chapel, the ruins of which were removed to make way for the ornamental school-house which now stands there. There was a burying-ground attached to it, which is now converted to other purposes. . . The name of this chapel is now forgotten."—(*Ibid.* p. 299.)

³⁰ The old churchyard of Tickmacrevan, near Glenarm, is to the present day called *Glore*, and it retains the ruins of an ancient church, popularly called "St. Patrick's Church."

³¹ The Abbey *de Goodborn*, or *Woodborn*, took its name from the river Woodburne, on the left bank of which it stood, about half a mile to the west of Carrickfergus. It was commonly known as "St. Mary's Abbey." Gillerath MacCourath, or MacCura, was the last abbot. On the confiscation of the abbey lands by Henry the Eighth, he, with the monks, retired to Island Magee, where they died. (King's "Collect.," p. 256.) The Franciscan, Edmund MacCana, who visited these districts about the year 1640, has left the following interesting details regarding this monastery:—"At three or four miles distance from Belfast, on the north, is an ancient monastery of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly called *White-Abbey*, in Irish, *Mainister-Fhionn*, of which some portion of the walls and the rubbish are all that is now to be seen. What were its possessions is now forgotten through the troubles of the times. Not far from this is a chapel which was occupied by some monks; but to what religious house or order it belonged I could not tell, unless I were to conjecture. In Irish it is called *Kill-na-manach*, that is, 'Church of the Monks.' A portion of the walls of the chapel remains. I may, however, venture the guess that it belonged to the monastery of Goodburn, which is about two miles distant to the east, near the town of Carrickfergus, on the bank of the river Goodburn, and only one mile outside Carrickfergus on the west. Of this monastery of Goodburn not a particle now remains, not even the rubbish; for, at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, when all things divine and human were confounded, all the stones of that holy monastery were removed by a citizen of Carrickfergus into the city to build a dwelling house beside the walls of the castle, which went by the name of the *New Works*, or, in Irish, *Obairnauth*; but, under the just judgment of God, he was deprived by the governor of the town of both the house and other premises that were attached to it. Of this sacrilegious act, and of the merited punishment which was inflicted by heaven, I have met many eye-witnesses. I have met many persons who, when boys, saw the aged abbot of that monastery, *Macura* by name; but they were not old enough to think of asking to what order it belonged."

priory, dedicated to the Holycross, was founded here for Premonstre, or White canons; it was a daughter of the Abbey of Drieburgh;^m probably this may be the same with Druim la Croix before mentioned.

The Bissets, a powerful family in the neighbourhood of Athol in Scotland, being principally concerned in the murder of Patrick Earl of Athol, were obliged, in the year 1242, to abandon their country and take shelter in this kingdom.ⁿ

Alan de Galvia, Duncan de Carrig, and the Bissets from Scotland, had lands given to them here by King Henry III.^o Some of these probably founded this priory in atonement for the murder of that Earl.

In 1326, friar Roger Outlaw, prior of the Hospital of Kilmainham, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, granted a lease of certain lands to Longadel Manster, and dates the grant, apud abbatiam de Woddeborne.^p

Gillerath M'Cowagh, the last abbot, resigned into the hands of the king's commissioners, on the 1st day of March, 1542, the 34th year of King Henry VIII.^q The abbot was then seized of a certain parcel of land lying round the priory, and of the rectory of Entroia, and the tithes of sixteen townlands belonging to the rectory of Killaboy in the Reuts,^r the rectories of Cnolille and Cormony, in the same country, and the tithes of two townlands in the island of Magee, viz., Ballyprior magna, and Ballyprior parva.^s

Inquisition 12th November, 12th King James, finds, that Gillerath M'Cowagh, the last abbot, was, 1st February, 32nd King Henry VIII., seized of this abbey, and a cartron of land circumjacent to the same; also of — acres of land, and the tithes thereof, the rectories of Entroia, and the tithes of sixteen towns belonging thereto; the rectories of Killalog in the Reuts; —; Cnolill and Carmony —; the tithes of three towns in the said parishes; and the tithes of the towns of Balleprior-magna, and Balleprior-parva, in the island of Magee; the whole of the annual value, besides reprises, of 10s.—(Chief Remembrancer.)

Imleachcluann, in the territory of Semne, in Dalaradia.³² St. Patrick built an abbey here for St. Coeman; Colgan supposes it to be the same as Kil-chluana, or Kil-choemhain in Hy-tuirtre.^t

Now unknown.

^m War. Mon. ⁿ Ridpath's Border History, p. 136. ^o War. Mon. ^p King's Collect. p. 61. ^q Id. p. 256. ^r Reuts, a district on the north-west and part of the south of the county of Antrim. ^s King's Collect. p. 61. ^t Tr. Th. p. 177, 283.

³² Semhne is the old name of Island Magee.—See Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 374, n.

Kells or *Disert*,³³ four miles north of the town of Antrim. Kellach, son of Conmagius, an anachorite of Disert Kellaigh, died in the year 828.^u A priory for regular canons was erected on the site of this ancient cell, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary,^w before the arrival of the English in this kingdom, by O'Brian Carrog.^x

Murtagh M'Annulowe was the last abbot, and on the 1st of February, 1542, he surrendered it, being then seized both of the cures and profits of eight townlands circumjacent to the priory, viz., Ballytollymollan, Ballymacevanghe, Ballickvel-drome, Ballyfugaske, Ballycreaghey, Ballywillie, Harrylyte, Ballyserensuer; the impropriate rectory of Dunnyen, &c., and Drumarde, in Lefraghe, the impropriate rectory of ———, and Roisroilick, in the Reuts, the tithes of Templemotragh, near Glenarm, and of Kilkeran, in the island of Magee.^y

Inquisition 12th November, 1st King James, finds, that Murtagh M'Millour was the last abbot; and, 32nd King Henry VIII., he was seized of the said abbey, also of the following townlands, both in temporals and spirituals, circumjacent to the abbey, viz.: Ballytollymollan, Ballymacruaghie, Ballyckvelduome, Balleyfugaske, Ballycreaghe, Ballyvillye, Hanultye, and Ballyferrensuer; also the rectories of Dunyon and Drommelde in the Fews ———; Foisroileke in the Reuts; Temple Motraghe, near Glenarm; and Kilkevan, in the island of Magee; the said lands and rectories being of the annual value, besides reprises, of 42s.—(Chief Remembrancer.)

Kilboedain,³⁴ which was afterwards named KILOSCOB, was

^uAct. SS. p. 252. ^wWar. Mon. ^xAllemande. ^yKing, p. 226.

Disert-Kellaigh, now Kells, is about half a mile west of the church of Connor. It seems to have been, from the earliest times, connected with the monastery of St. Mac Nisse, in Connor. Indeed, nearly all the great religious institutions of our early church had, at a short distance, a sanctuary of special retreat and closer solitude, whither the religious might retire at intervals to devote themselves to special practices of perfection. A passage in the life of St. Mac Nisse seems to refer to the *Disert* of which we speak:—"Fluvio nomine *Churi*, monasterium ejus, quod latine *Desertum* dicitur, præterfluenti, ne sonitus ejus tam prope transeuntis infirmos loci molestaret, per ulteriorem viam currere præcepit; quod continuo, ut ei imperatum est, fecit."—(*Bolland*, Septemb. vol. i. p. 665.) The river *Churi* here spoken of, is the *Glan-curry* which gives name to the valley of *Glenwherry*: it winds around the old abbey of Kells to the north, and, under the name of the "Kells Water," falls into the river Main, at a place called Ballyandraid. An "Abbas de Disert" appears attesting a deed of confirmation to the prior of Nendrum, about the year 1190.—*Cotton*, "Charters," Brit. Mus. No. 40.

³⁴In a charter of Hugh de Lacey, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, mention is made of *Kill-Bodan* in the Ards. There is, however, another church called *Silvodan*, in Irish, "*Siol-Bhaodain*," i.e., the progeny of Boedain. From *Silvodan* was formed the modern *Silwooden*. Colgan thus gives, from an old life of St. Boedan, the history of the foundation of this church:—"Sanctus Boedanus sive Boetanus, sextus Eugenii filius intelligens quam prospere res successissent suis fratribus S.

founded by St. Boedain, after the beginning of the 6th century; this saint quitted this church, and betook himself to the church of Moinmor, in the south of Munster, his native country.^z

Now unknown.

Killeaspuicbolcain, in the Reuts, not far from Airthermuighe.^{a 35} St. Bolcain, or Olcain, a disciple of St. Patrick, built this church.^b

Kilglais, in Dalaradia,^c was built by St. Patrick for St. Glassian.^{d 36}

Now unknown.

Kilitragh, four miles south of Ballintoy, in the barony of Carye. St. Patrick built Cuileachtrann, and made Fiachrius the bishop of it. Colgan says, that it is now a parish church, and named Cuilechtra, in the territory of Cathrigia.^{e f}

^aAct. SS. p. 728. ^bSee Rathmuighe. ^cTr. Th. p. 377. ^dDalaradia comprehended the south and south-east parts of the county of Antrim, since called Clanebois, and all the county of Down, extending from Newry to the mountain Mis, in the barony of Antrim. ^eTr. Th. p. 182. ^fId. ^gCathrigia is in the Reuts.

Cormaco et S. Diermitio, eos sequutus est ad partes Leth-Conniae seu Aquilonares Hiberniae. Et postquam aliquamdiu cum eis mansisset, contulit se ad remotiores Ultoniae fines; ubi a nobili stirpe Sodani, Fiaco Aradio nati, in partibus Dalaradiae tunc rerum potente honorifice et devote susceptus. Ibi extruxit Ecclesiam ex ejus nomine *Kill-Boedain* nuncupatam, quam agris et possessionibus dotarunt posterii Sodani, et praecipue nobiles familiae de Cinell-Decill, Clann Scoba, et Sil-Noiridhin, quae se suosque posteros ei, ut patrono, devotos clientes consecrarunt. Temporibus vero successu familia de Cinell-Decill, a viro sancto deficiens, convertit suam devotionem et affectum in S. Cuanum et S. Colnanum sua eis obsequia et clientelam addicens. Duae aliae jam memoratae familiae remanserunt viro Dei devotae donec tandem nepotes Tomultacii, contra eum tumultuantes, non solum locum sanctum invaserunt suique juris fecerunt, sed et nomen aliud indiderunt, Ecclesiam prius *Kill-Boedain* appellatam, postea *Kill-Oscoba* appellari curantes.” —(Acta SS. p. 728.)

³⁵*Airthermuighe*, i.e., “the eastern plain,” gave name to the modern village of Armoyle. It is situated in the barony of Carey, and its round tower still marks the site of the ancient monastery. Till a comparatively late period it seems to have been a parochial church, and in the taxation of 1306 we find the entry—“The Church of Ethirmoy, £4 11s. 4d.” The “Annals of the Four Masters” record the fact of the burning of Airthermuighe by Cumee O’Flynn, in 1177, during an expedition of John de Courcy. Seventy years later the name again appears in connection with a predatory excursion of Eachmarchach O’Kane. The foundation of the church by St. Patrick is referred to the year 474. The “Tripartite Life” relates that our Apostle having baptized Olcan, and seeing his great progress in piety and learning, placed him as bishop over the church of Rathmugia, or Airthirmugia, the chief town of the Dalredini. This church is called *Dercan* by Jocelyn, who adds that St. Olcan, being made bishop there, “persevered in sanctity and justice” (chap. 137). Usher, after mentioning this fact, adds that the church was situated in the Route in Antrim, and was still called *Clon-dercan*, i.e., the “plain of Derkin” (opp. vi. 518). With this place is connected a very singular fact in the life of our Apostle. The bishop, St. Olcan, having incurred the displeasure of St. Patrick, by receiving into communion Saran, an excommunicated prince of Dalaradia, showed his sorrow for his offence by prostrating himself before St. Patrick’s chariot. Olcan himself, however, was happily preserved unhurt, but St. Patrick prophesied that in punishment of his fault his church of Armoyle should be three times desecrated and plundered.

³⁶The “Martyrology of Donegal,” marks the feast of St. Glasan on the 1st of October.

Kilruaidh,³⁷ in Dalaradia, near Loughneagh. St. Colman is the patron saint, and his festival is kept here on the 16th of October.^g

Now unknown.

Lambeg,³⁸ near Lisburn. M'Donnell built a small monastery here, in the 15th century, for Franciscan Friars of the third order.^h

Lhannavach,³⁹ or the Church of the Dwarf, in the diocese of

Tr. Th. p. 756. ^h War. Mon.

³⁷ *Kill-Ruaidh*, called in mediæval records, Kilroigh, Kilruaigh, Kilroe, and Killothe, gave name to the present parish of *Kilroot*. The "Feliré" of Ængus mentions St. Colman in connection with this church on the 16th of October: "Colman of Kill-Ruaidh," and the "Gloss" adds: "*i.e.*, Colman, bishop, son of Cathbadh, of Kill-Ruaidh, on the bank of Loch-Laig, in Ulidia;" and the "Martyrology of Donegal" also writes, on the same day: "Colman, bishop of Kill-Ruaidh, in Dal-Araidhe, on the brink of Loch Laoigh, in Uladh." Lough-Laoigh was not Lough-Neagh, as Archdall supposes, but the modern Belfast Lough. See above, note (7). Close upon its Antrim coast, in the townland *Kilroot*, is a churchyard of the same name, which still retains some traces of the ancient church. From the "Life of St. Mac Nisse" we learn that St. Colman was still a boy whilst this saint was bishop of Connor. He is there called "Colmanus Episcopus, qui Ecclesiam nomine *Kellruaid* fundavit" (Acta SS. Bolland, Sept. 1, 665); and the learned Franciscan, Ward, adds the note: "S. Colmanus fuit Episcopus *Kill-Ruadhensis*, quæ nunc obsoleta sedes est in Aradeorum regione (*i.e.*, Dalaradia) ad oram stagni Juvenci vulgo *Loch-Laodh* in Ultonia ubi ejus festum tamquam patroni colitur xvi. Octobris." The "Annals of the Four Masters" and the "Annals of Ulster" record, at 1122, that Connor Mac Lochlin, with an army from Tyrone, laid waste "Kill-Ruaidh, in Ulster," and carried away great spoil.

From the "Life of St. Ailbhe, of Emly" we glean a few interesting particulars regarding the first foundation of this ancient church. It is stated there that, "St. Ailbhe, like an industrious bee with its load of honey, returned from Rome, under the Divine guidance, to his native Ireland. And when he arrived at the sea he blessed it, and, with a breathless calm, he and his whole company crossed its waters in a frail ship uninjured, and landed on the north coast of Ireland. And there, at Ailbhe's order, one of his disciples called Colman, founded a church named *Cill-ruaidh*. And whereas the spot was unprovided with fresh water, St. Ailbhe blessed a stone, in the name of God omnipotent, and forthwith there gushed from it a stream of water. Then said St. Colman to Ailbhe, "The water is scanty;" to whom Ailbhe replied: "Though the water is scanty, it will never fail; but will be a running stream as long as the world lasts." Therefore the name of the stream is called *Buanan Cylle Ruayd*, *i. e.*, the "Unfailing Stream of Kill-ruaidh."—(Codex Kilken. Marsh's Libr. fol. 136, b). The Irish Franciscan, Father MacCana, visited the spot about 1640, and closed his "Itinerary" with the following note regarding it:—"Not far from Carrickfeagus, on the east, is the church of *Kill-ruaidh*, which the English call *Killread*. In all times it was celebrated, and, even in my time, and that of my forefathers, it was always one of the residences of the bishops of Connor. The church was endowed in former ages with very ample possessions, and, even in my day, it was provided with no mean appurtenances. Of this place mention is made in the 'Life of St. Albeus.'"—(See Ulster Journal of Arch. ii, 59.)

³⁸ In an *Inquisitio* of James the First we find *Tullynasaggart* as an *alias* for "Lambeg." In a confirmation of grants to the bishopric of Down, compiled in the fifteenth century, *Landebe*g is used to designate the modern Lambeg.—Reeves, loc. cit. p. 172.

³⁹ In early documents it is called Lenavy, Lunavy, Lynavy, Lennewy, and Glanawy. It is the present *Glenavy*, and gives name to a parish in Antrim. In

Connor, was founded by St. Patrick for Daniel, his disciple, who was very low in stature.¹

It is now a parish church.

Linn.⁴⁰ St. Darerca, sister to St. Patrick, was abbess of a nunnery in Linn, a spacious plain near Carrickfergus.^k

Now unknown.

Linnally.⁴¹ An ancient abbey of this name is placed by Conry^l expressly in this county.

A.D. 771. Died Anfceally, abbot of Coinre and Lynneally.^m

861. Died Aidhecar or Egechar, abbot of the same; he was a bishop and a celebrated chronologer.ⁿ

¹ Tr. Th. p. 756. ^k Act. SS. p. 262. ^l Answer to Sir Geo. Mackenzie, a Mss. ^m M'Geogh. ⁿ Id. and Tr. Th. p. 632.

the *Inquisitiones* of James the First we find, "Clenough, *alias* Linawey, in the territory of Kilultagh," and it was appropriate to the abbot of Bangor. The "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick" relates that our Apostle built a church, at a place called in after times *Letter-Phadruic*, "which he entrusted to the care of his disciple Daniel, who on account of his low stature was called *Abhac*; but, on account of his angelic purity and innocence of soul, was also called *Angelus*."—(Tr. Th. p. 147.) It adds that "In eodem loco e terra produxit (S. Patricius) fontem qui ob multa, quæ confert potantibus, sanitatum remedia, vulgo *Slan*, *i.e.*, sanus, vocatur. Sed antequam inchoatam ibi fabricam perficeret ibi vir Dei, a *Sarano*, terræ illius principe, injectâ in eum sacrilega manu ex illo loco violenter ejectus est."

In the same church were preserved the relics of SS. Colma, Bogha, and Lassera, of whom the "Martyrology of Donegal" relates: "They were three sisters, and three virgins, of the sept of Comghall, son of Fianghalach, &c.; and they were disciples of Comghall of Beannchair; and according to the poem which begins *The Hagiology of the Saints of Inisfail* they are of the Dal m-Buain, of the race of Eochaidh, son of Muireadhach, or they are at Camus-Comghaill." In the "Feliré" of Angus they are commemorated on the same day: "The death of the daughters of Comghall;" and the "Gloss" adds: "At *Lettir*, in Dalaradia, they rest, and it is from Dalaradia they had their birth."—See their lives in Colgan (Acta SS. p. 471).

A St. *Aidan* is also mentioned in the "Martyrology of Donegal" as venerated in this church on the 6th of November: "Aidan, son of Colga, at *Lann-Abhaic*, in Uladh."

⁴⁰ In the "Book of Rights," published by O'Donovan, in 1847, mention is made of the great territory of *Magh-Line* and of the offerings from *Line*, which was situated there. This was the old deanery of *Maulync*, also called Moylinny, Maghaline, and Maulin. In the ancient "Life of St. Comgall" it is Latinized by *Campus Linix*.

⁴¹ Linnally is situated in the King's county, not in Antrim, and was formerly called *Lann-Ela*. It was founded by St. Colman-Ela, who was a contemporary of St. Columbkille, and was united at an early period with the monastery of Connor. Hence the bishops and abbots of Connor are frequently styled "Abbots of Connor and Lann-Ela." See above, notes 14 and seqq.

Sometimes, however, the bishops and abbots seem to have taken their title from *Lann-Ela* alone. Thus, in the "Annals of the F. M.," at A.D. 709, we have, "Tethgal, Bishop of Lann-Ela, died on the 16th of April." Again, in A.D. 735, "St. Bran, of Lann-Ela, died;" and also, at A.D. 884, "Eochaidh, son of Comgan, Bishop of Lann-Eala, ended his life at an advanced age."

In the "Life of St. Mac Nisse" the following account is given of the origin of the monastery at Lann-Ela:—"When this saint, on a certain occasion, accompanied SS. Patrick and Brigid towards Munster, as they passed the spot where subsequently arose the monastery of Lann-Ela, he stopped there, permitting the others to continue their journey. St. Patrick, perceiving this, sent for him and interrogated him as to the cause of his delay. The man of God replied: Over the spot on which I

Massareene,⁴² gives name to the barony ; a small monastery was founded here, in the 15th century, for Franciscan Friars of the third order,^o by O'Neil.^p On the 20th November, 1621, it was granted to Sir Arthur Chichester, Baron of Belfast, by the name of the Friary of Masseryne.^q

Muckamore, on the river called the Six Mile Stone, two miles south of Antrim.

St. Colman Elo, in the year 550, built a noble monastery here, under the invocation of the Virgin Mary. This saint was afterwards made Bishop of Dromore, and died on the 7th of June, or the 27th of October, A.D. 600, or 610.⁴³

A.D. 949. Flannagan M'Alchon, comorb of M'Nyssy, and of Colman Elo, that is, abbot of Connor and Muckamore, died this year.⁵

954. Died Malbrigid, son of Redan ; he was abbot of Connor and Muckamore.^t

1183. P—— was prior ; he was a subscribing witness to the charter granted by Sir John de Courcy to the abbey of St. Patrick at Down.^u

This priory was, on its new foundation, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Colman Elo, and was endowed, after the invasion of the English, by William Mataland, Stephen de Sandall, and Gilbert de Croft.^w

Inquisition 12th November, 1st King James, finds, that Bryan Boye O'Mahanlon, the last prior, was seized both of the spiritualities and temporalities of eight townlands circumjacent to the said priory, viz., Ballymorclaire, Ballyshane, Ochyll, Ballow, Terrograceye, Ballylaghe, and Ballyestiene ; also of the priory of Masserine, in the townland of Ballow ; also in the townland or parish of Bellymohellaine —— ; also in —— two townlands, adjoining the woods of Dumwore and Killwood-Craig, and of the same woods in the Lower Clandeboy, with

^o *Tr. Th.* p. 632. ^p *Allemande.* ^q *Lodge*, v. I, p. 216, note. ^r *Usher*, p. 497 ; *Act. SS.* 191 ; *War. Bishops.* ^s *M'Geogh.* ^t *Act. SS.* p. 387. ^u *Mon. Angl.* v. 2, p. 1020. ^w *War. Mon.*

stood, I saw the Heavens opened and the angels of God ascending and descending. St. Patrick said: We must, therefore, place some holy men there to serve God. But, he replied, holy Father, if thou permittest, it will not be so. But one who sixty years hence shall be born in my family, and who shall be called Colman-Ela, will found there a noble monastery."—(*Boll. Acta SS.* Sept. I, 664.)

For the names mentioned in the text, see the notes above at *Connor*.

⁴² In a fruit-garden, beside the Six-Mile-Water, and adjoining Lord Massareene's demesne, are shown some traces of the Friary. The "Inquisition of Antrim," 1605, finds, that to the *Friary* of Massareene belonged the townland of Ballydonough, in Ederdownen, and a parcel of thirty acres, south of the river *Owen-na-view*, and that near it were the foundations of a castle, called *Cloghanmabree*, alias *Caslemoneybray*, then almost prostrate.—*Reeves*, loc. cit. p. 389.

⁴³ The death of St. Colman-Ela is thus mentioned by the "Four Masters," at A.D. 610 :—St. Colman Eala, *i.e.*, *Mac-Uí-Selli*, abbot, died on the 26th of September,

all the tithes in the town and lands of Carmevr, Cargrande, Duach, Salgodan, Ballyrobarte, Killyenaghan, and Killowan, in the Upper Clandeboye, and two parts of all the tithes of Magherefergan in the Reuts, and of Kilglarne in the Ardes; also the rectory of Whitekirk, in the island of Magee, then in the tenure of Moses Hill, Esq., and of all the tithes of a quarter of land called Carrownaghan, in the Upper Clandeboye, in county of Down; and of the said priory with all its possessions; annual value 53s. 8d., besides reprises.—(Chief Remembrancer, and King, p. 207.)

On the 3rd of December, the 7th of Q. Elizabeth, 1564, a return was made that the prior and all his monks were dead.^y

This priory was granted to — Langford, and Sir Roger Langford was seized of it in the year 1639.^z The grange of Muckamore is named in the visitation book of the diocese of Connor.

Ocymild. About the year 1202, William de Burgh granted

^y King, p. 207. ^z Harris. Tab.

in the 56th year of his age." The "Ulster Annals" have also—"A.D. 610, Quies Colmani-Elo, sic est in libro Cuanach." The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" mark his demise in the preceding year, but the "Chronicon Scotorum" refers it to A.D. 611. Adamnan, in his "Life of St. Columba," more than once mentions this saint, as in lib. 1, cap. 5, where he calls him "*Colmanus Episcopus Mac-U-Sailne*;" and lib. 2, cap. 13, where we find the name, "*Columbanus filius Beognai*;" for, Beogna was the name of St. Colman's father. Colgan, in his "Notes to Adamnan" adds: "Est hic Colmannus a loco *Lann-Ela* dicto (in quo monasterium extruxit) vulgo *Colman-Ela*: et hinc Latine a multis *Colmanellus* appellatur. Vide ejus vitam ad 26. Septembris in qua vocatur *filius Beognæ* ut hic. In ejus genealogia et filius Beognæ, et de stirpe *Salii* seu *Salnii*, filii Clithradii oriundas fertur." Usher tells us that according to the ancient "Life of St. Colman-Ela," he died at Linaly, in the King's county, about four miles from Durrow, "inter chorum sanctorum virorum, sanctissimus senex feliciter ad Christum emisit spiritum." Usher errs, as does Archdall, in confounding this saint with St. Colman, Bishop of Dromore.—See Lanigan, "Ec. Hist." ii. 308.

The name *Muckamore*, i.e., *Magh-Comair*, means "the plain of the confluence;" and the Monastery of St. Colman was erected in the fertile plain where the "Six-Mile-Water" falls into Lough Neagh. Jocelyn relates a prophecy of St. Patrick regarding this monastery:—"One day, when visiting the district of Ulster, which is named *Dalaradia*, he passed through a certain place called *Mucomuir*: and he said to those around him: 'Know ye, my beloved sons, that in this spot, a certain child of life, called *Colmanellus*, will build a church, and will gather together many sons of light and many fellow-citizens of the Angels'" (cap. 96).

The "Ancient Registry" of this monastery, written by Laurentius, who was Prior in 1356, was extant in Ware's time, and his extracts from it are preserved in the British Museum. Lionel, Duke of Clarence and Earl of Ulster, confirmed, in 1363, the possessions of "the Prior and Convent of St. Mary de Mukmore, in Ulster, which was founded by the royal father of Elizabeth, our most beloved Consort." Thus we have an approximate date of its restoration after the English settlement in Ulster. The name of the last Prior was *Bryan Boy O'Maghallon*. In the "Inquisition of Antrim," 1605, and in "Harris's Catalogue," Muckamore is said to have been a Priory of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine. The "Registry of Octavian de Palatio" more clearly defines the matter, when it gives the entry: "*Carolus O'Durnan, Prior de Mucmor, ordinis S. Victoris sub regula S. Augustini.*"—Reeves, loc. cit. p. 384.

the village of Ardimur, with the church and all its appurtenances, to Richard, one of the Monks of Glastonbury, to found a priory to the honour of God and the Virgin Mary; which being done, the place was called Ocymild, and Richard was appointed the first prior.^a It is thus mentioned in the "*Monasticon Anglicanum*;" but M. Allemande changes the name to Drymild, and conjectures that it is in this county; if Drymild be the true reading, we may with some probability suppose it to be Drumwillen, near Ballycastle.

Rachlin,^b an island in the great Atlantick ocean, two miles

^a *Ex Johan. Monac. Glasc. f. 101, b; Mon. Angl. v. 2, p. 1025.* ^b *This island was called anciently by the several names of Ricnea, Rechrea, Raclinda, Rachra, Rachryne, Rachraind, Raclina, Rechran, Rechreyn, and by Ptolemy, throughout, Ricina, and by the Irish Antiquaries, Rochrinne, from the multitude of trees with which it abounded in ancient times. Usher, Prim. Trias Th.*

"In addition to the many variations of the name of this island given above, we find it called in mediæval documents *Rachrunn, Rathlin, Racry, Raghery, and Rauchryne*. In modern maps it is generally written *Rathlin*; but by the natives of the island, and by those who dwell on the adjoining coast, it is known only by the name of *Raghery*.—(Reeves, Ec. Antiq. p. 288, seqq.)

As other islands on the Irish coast, and especially Lambay, off the coast of Dublin, were sometimes designated by the name of *Rachlin*, it is not easy to decide, in regard to particular entries of our ancient annalists, which of them are to be referred to the island of which we now treat. The following events, however, may, with some certainty, be supposed to have reference to it:—In the "*Life of St. Comgall, of Bangor*," it is recorded that he landed on the island of *Reachrain*, for the purpose of seeking a solitary retreat there: "*Cum sanctus Comgallus cellam voluisset ædificare in insula nomine Reachrain venerunt triginta milites, et tenentes manum ejus eum inde expulerunt.*"—(Fleming, Collectan, p. 311. Codex Kilken. fol. 93, b.) Again, where Adamnan, in his "*Life of St. Columbkille*," speaks of the danger to which Bishop Coleman was exposed, "*in mari juxta insulam Rechra*" (lib. 1, cap. 5). The text refers to the dangerous whirlpool off the north coast of Antrim, known as *Coire-Breacainn* in ancient times, and called at the present day *Sloghnamorra*. Elsewhere Adamnan mentions the island of *Rechra* as visited by St. Columba: "*Cum vir sanctus in Rechrea hospitaretur insula*" (lib. 2, cap. 41), and there can be but little doubt that he refers to the same island. St. Columba, on that occasion, healed dissensions that had sprung up between husband and wife, and the means he had recourse to were characteristic of the saints of our early church. He induced the litigants to observe a rigorous fast for one day with him, and he passed the whole of the night in prayer, and when on the following morning he summoned them before him, it was found that God had changed their hearts, and they lived thenceforward in an uninterrupted peace. Colgan, on this passage of Adamnan, adds the note: "This is the island of Rechrea, between Ireland and Scotland, and at the present day, as for all past times, belonging to Ireland, from which it is separated only by a narrow strait. It forms part of the county Antrim, the territory of Randal, Earl of Antrim, who now valiantly defends his hereditary rights and creed against the enemies of our Faith."—(Tr. Th. p. 384.)

The church over which St. Colman the Deacon presided, seems not to have been erected in our island, but in Rechra, the modern Lambay. Its foundation by St. Columbkille is thus recorded in the "*Leabhar Breac*:" "*Columbkille erects a church on Rachra, in the east of Bregia, and leaves Colman the Deacon in it.*"—(Ap. O'Donovan, Irish Gram. pp. 151, 281.) As Bregia was the ancient name of the territory between Dublin and Drogheda, it is manifest that the place referred to in this text was the modern Lambay. This, however, would not justify

(To be continued.)

THE COMING GENERAL COUNCIL.

II.—PREPARATIONS IN THE EAST.

“ONCE again do we raise our voice, and with all our soul, entreat you, advise you, and conjure you to come to this Council, as your ancestors came to the Council of Florence, held by our predecessor Eugene IV., that the law of our former love may be restored, that the peace of our fathers—that heavenly and salutary gift of Jesus Christ—which lapse of time has weakened, may gain fresh vigour, and that thus, after the long night of affliction and the dreary darkness of so long a separation, the peaceful light of long-wished-for union may at length shine upon all.”

These words of the Papal letter, *Arcano divinæ Providentiæ*, of the 8th September, 1868, are addressed to the Bishops of the Oriental churches not in communion with the See of St. Peter. These churches follow different rites, especially in the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The Oriental rites are six in number, the Greek, the Armenian, the Chaldean, the Syriac, the Coptic, and the Abyssinian. The Greek rite is followed by the Greeks of Turkey, of the Ionian Isles, and of Greece; by the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Wallachians, the Montenegrins, the Georgians, and the Russians. But although these nations use the Greek rite, they do not all employ the Greek language in their liturgy. The Catholic and the non-united Greeks employ the ancient Greek: the Russians, the Bulgarians, the Servians, the Montenegrins employ the Slavonic language: the Wallachians and Georgians their own. The Ruthenians and the Catholic Bulgarians also use the Slavonic: the Catholic Wallachians, the Wallachian or Roumanian: the Melchites, or Catholic Greeks of Syria and of Egypt, the Arabic.

The Armenian rite and language are employed by the Catholic and by the non-united Armenians of Russia, Turkey, Persia, Gallicia, and Venice.

The Chaldean is followed by the Nestorians of Turkey, Persia, and Malabar. These, as well as the Catholic Chaldeans of Kurdistan and of Persia, celebrate the Holy Sacrifice in the Chaldean language.

The Syriac rite is followed by the Jacobites of Syria and of Mesopotamia. The Jacobites employ the Syriac tongue in their liturgies, as likewise do the Catholic Syrians and the Maronites, whose rite is, however, different.

The Coptic rite is followed in the Coptic language by the Catholic and by the non-united Copts of Egypt. These latter are Monophysites like the Jacobites.

The Abyssinian rite, in the Gheez tongue, is employed by Catholic and non-united Abyssinians. The latter also are Monophysites.

It will be seen that, speaking generally, these sects may be ranged under the three great heads of the Nestorian heresy, the Monophysite heresy, and the Greek schism. Taken together, they contain some seventy millions of Christians, scattered over Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Persia, and the Russian Empire. No wonder that the heart of Pius IX. yearns with fatherly longing after these separated children, who for so many ages have remained away from their Father's house! Especially when we consider that the immense majority of them are ignorant of the reasons why their fathers broke the unity of the Church, and are, perhaps, unconscious even of the very fact that they are not at one with their brethren of the West. In making this fresh exertion to win back to the one fold these seventy millions of souls, Pius IX. is but following in the footsteps of his predecessors. From the very commencement the Roman Pontiffs made great efforts to convert the Nestorians and Monophysites. But the Persian invasions, the conquests of the Mussulmans, and the weakness of the Greek emperors paralyzed their exertions. In the same way, after Michael Cerularius, in 1054, had renewed the wicked work of Photius, and made a wall of separation between the East and the West, the popes earnestly endeavoured to bring about a union. In 1274 the Council of Lyons, in 1439 the Council of Florence, addressed themselves to this glorious task; and the latter, under Eugenius IV., had the happiness of welcoming back to Catholic unity not only the Greeks, but the Armenians, the Jacobites, and the Ethiopians, who had all been invited to the Council. The cunning malice of Mark of Ephesus once again broke the union between the Greeks and the Holy See; and the fall of the Greek Empire, and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, perpetuated the disunion down to the present day. However, God did not allow the wickedness of man to undo His work entirely. Large numbers of the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, and Copts persevered in union with Rome; and from time to time this little band of faithful souls received a fresh increase in the converts made by the Missionaries, in the East and in Russia. Thus, in 1595, under Clement VIII., the Lithuanians abjured their schism, and remained faithful to Rome, until the deceitful policy of the Emperor Nicholas plunged them once more into schism in 1839. Kollonies, Bishop of Gran, brought into the Church one hundred thousand Greeks in Transylvania. In 1552, Soulaka, patriarch of the Nestorians of Chaldea,

abjured his heresy. Thus, there has been formed in the bosom of the Oriental rites, two churches, as it were, one, of the United or Catholic Orientals—the other, the heretical or schismatical party. The former still preserve their original rites and languages, and are obedient to the Holy See. In 1853, Pius IX. established for the Catholic Wallachians a hierarchy of their own, and on that occasion renewed the constitution of his predecessor, in favour of the Oriental rites. Soon afterwards the Bulgarian movement towards Rome took place, a movement of which the history has yet to be written. In 1862, the Holy Father created a special congregation, under the direction of Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of Propaganda, with authority over all that concerns the rites and discipline of the Oriental churches. The religious orders have also displayed great activity in the East. The Jesuits are at present settled in Palestine and Syria; the Dominicans at Mossoul; the Carmelites at Bagdad; the Mechitarists in Persia; the Franciscans in the Holy Land, at Aleppo, and in Abyssinia; the Lazarists, the Christian Brothers, and the Sisters of Charity, and those of St. Joseph, at Constantinople, in Egypt, and elsewhere. In 1867, on occasion of the Centenary of St. Peter, the Bishops of the West were delighted to welcome thirty-four Oriental prelates, including three patriarchs, and seventeen Armenian bishops.

How has the Papal invitation to the Council been received by the schismatical bishops of these various Oriental rites?

We shall begin with the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, whose Patriarchate includes more than eighty archbishops, who, in turn, govern about one hundred and seventy bishops:

On Saturday, 15th October last, Don Carlo Testa, Vicar-General of the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Paolo Brunoni, in the absence of that Prelate, waited upon the Greek Patriarch at his residence at the Fener, to present formally the Pope's Encyclical. He had already sent two of his priests to arrange the hour of the visit, and was accompanied by the Delegate's chancellor and by two other ecclesiastics. On his arrival he was received with the usual Oriental formalities by the Proto-syn-cellus, or Vicar, and by him was conducted to the Patriarch, who addressed him in a friendly manner. A copy of the Encyclical was then presented to the Patriarch. It was splendidly bound in crimson morocco, with this inscription:—*Sanctissimo Patriarchæ Novæ Romæ Græci Ritus de mandato Beatissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papæ IX., pro Revmo. Archiepiscopo Vicario ae Delegato Apostolico C. Testa, V.G.* The Patriarch did not receive the document into his hand, but motioned that it should be laid on the divan. He then made a short address

in Greek, which the Proto-syncellus interpreted in French. When this was concluded, the Patriarch gave a signal, upon which he took up the Pope's Encyclical and replaced it in the hands of the Latin Vicar-General. This latter, having bowed to the Patriarch, then took his departure.

The substance of the Patriarch's reply was this:—"It is useless that I should go to a Council in which the discussions so often fruitlessly undertaken before, can only divide men's minds still more. The Oriental Church will never abandon the doctrine it has received from the Apostles, and which has been handed down by the Holy Fathers and the General Councils. It is true a union did take place at the Council of Florence; but it was the result of political pressure, and was resisted by the whole of the Eastern Church. We are quite tranquil in conscience." The Proto-syncellus added, that the Greek Church would not recognise the monarchy assumed by the Pope over the entire Church, nor his infallibility, nor his supreme power over General Councils.

From this reply, and from the official remarks which were appended to it in the public journals, it is plain that the Patriarch's uncourteous refusal is based upon the assertion that the union between the churches consummated at the Council of Florence was the result of force, and brought about in spite of the protests of Mark of Ephesus and of the entire Oriental Church. Fortunately, the acts of the Council are there to show that the deliberations resulted in the full and conscientious adhesion of the Greek bishops to the doctrines proposed by the Holy See, and which were defined by the entire Council. The objections of the Greeks were fully discussed and answered to the complete satisfaction of the objectors. It is enough to quote here the letter written by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, twenty-eight days before the Bull of Union was subscribed. The report had gone out that he was dead; and when the bishops hurried to his residence they found him lifeless. He had been writing, said the servants, the evening before, and as soon as he had finished the letter he was seized with sudden illness and breathed his last. The letter was produced, and was found to be to the following effect:—

"John, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople, the new Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch. Finding myself at the end of my life, I wish, with God's help, by this letter, to make known my sentiments to all my beloved children, and thereby fulfil the duty of my office. All things whatsoever the Church of ancient Rome, Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Catholic and Apostolic, believes and teaches, the same I also believe and teach, and to all do I give my fullest assent.

I profess that the most blessed Father of Fathers, the Sovereign Pontiff and Pope of ancient Rome, is the Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ ; and I admit that there is a Purgatory for the souls of the departed. Given at Florence, 8 June, 1439."

The Catholic public of England has recently been scandalized and pained at reading, in a work written by one who calls himself a Catholic, attacks upon the Church of Rome with regard to the insertion of the word *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed. It is sad to think that any one could be found to encourage by such attacks the obstinacy of the Greeks. It will be of some present advantage to quote here an account of Mark of Ephesus, and of his behaviour at the Council given by Gregory the Proto-syncellus, confessor of the Emperor John Palæologus. Mark boasted, on his return from Florence, that he had reduced to silence the Latin bishops. Gregory replied : "The acts of the Council are there to show who it was that was reduced to silence. But are not you that Mark who at Florence was always whispering in our ears—'Let us go away, let us go away?' You were never done repeating—'These Latins are learned, and, what is worse, are terrible at argument. They were so strong on the addition of the word *Filioque* that we had no chance with them. What will it be when we come to discuss the doctrine itself, in defence of which they can cite the Fathers, who say that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son? Let us go away, therefore; better go away now, than be compelled to go away later on in disgrace.' This was what you were always saying when you found yourself silenced by the arguments of the Latins." After extolling the learning of Padre Giovanni, the Dominican, who proved the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son by the authority of the Greek Fathers themselves, Gregory adds :—"But you, unable to bear the truth, kept crying out that the works of these Fathers had been tampered with and altered, and this you did with so much levity that you became the laughing stock of the Council, until the Bishops of the remotest France, full of indignation at the charges brought by you, cried out aloud—'This miserable man is a heretic ! Let him be excommunicated for ever ! He rejects all authority ! He does not believe his own Oriental Doctors ; how then will he treat the Doctors of the West ?' The indignation of these bishops spread through the entire assembly, and you remained terrified and silent.

"Have you forgotten how, in one of the sessions, you sent a servant of the Metropolitan of Nicomedia for a manuscript of St. Basil, containing the passage which begins '*Why is it necessary?*' Either by your directions or through his own wickedness the servant attempted to hide the truth. He took

the manuscript, and went over to the window with the intention of erasing the words in question. He marked the leaf and went off to search for a penknife. But the Spirit of Truth would not allow the truth to be obscured. A gust of wind turned over the leaves, and the dishonest man hurriedly cancelled the words of a passage other than he had intended. He came back in triumph to the Council to confute the Latins. You opened the book; you found the passage untouched, and with an angry frown you showed it to the servant, who cried out trembling: 'I swear by your blessing I cancelled the passage, nor do I know how it comes there.' But there it was, and you were forced to withdraw full of confusion. Are you not ashamed then to assert that you proved the Latin dogma to be absurd?"

The death of this Mark was terrible. In 1445, Bartholomew of Florence, Bishop of Corona, an admirable theologian and good Greek scholar, was at Constantinople. The Emperor John Palæologus wished that he should hold a public disputation with Mark of Ephesus. The result was most unfavourable to Mark, who was so overcome by shame at the defeat that had befallen him before the whole city, that he fell sick and was found dead in his bed within a few days. *He died the shameful death of Arius.*

The other Greek bishops appear to have received from the Patriarch directions to imitate his refusal of the Papal invitation to the Vatican Council. The Metropolitan of Chalcedonia returned the document with the words "send it back" written upon it. The Bishop of Varna refused it saying—"The Bishop cannot accept what the Patriarch has rejected." The Bishop of Thessalonica gave five reasons for his refusal, which it is worth while to mention:—1°. My Patriarch may punish me if I accept this invitation. 2°. Why should the Council be held in Rome and not elsewhere? 3°. The Pope wishes to bring us to Rome that he may domineer over us. 4°. The Pope is a king, and carries the sword, which is contrary to the Gospel. Let him lay down the sword, disband his army, and then we will join him. 5°. The Roman Church has added to the Symbol the word *Filioque*. Let that word be removed, and the Greeks and Latins will become one. The Bishop of Trebizond, a man of venerable age, received the Holy Father's Encyclical with every sign of esteem. He clasped it to his bosom, kissed it, and placed it on his forehead. He looked at it with greatest care, admiring the Latin letters, which, however, he did not understand, and exclaimed—"Ah! Rome! Rome! St. Peter! St. Peter." But he could not be induced

to promise that he would attend the Council, nor, on the other hand, to decline the invitation. The Bishop of Adrianople returned the Encyclical, saying—"I wish first to consider the matter carefully, and to decide for myself."

The laity of the Greek Church does not share the feelings which dictated this refusal on the part of their bishops. On the contrary, they blame the Patriarch and his suffragans, and declare that the real reason of the refusal is, that they felt themselves unable to cope with the Latin Bishops in discussion.

But, by the Providence of God, the pride and obstinacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople was visited with speedy punishment, and that on the very day which witnessed his contemptuous refusal of the Holy Father's loving invitation to union. On that same day he received from Fuad Pasha, the Sultan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, official notification to the effect that the Sultan had sanctioned the separation of the Bulgarian Church from the Greek Patriarchate! How serious a blow this is to the power of the Patriarch will be understood when we remember that of the five millions of Christians over whom he rules, the Bulgarians constitute more than four millions, and that most of the resources of which the Patriarch disposes were derived from Bulgarian sources. Nor did either the Bulgarians or the Sultan ask permission from the Patriarch thus to dismember his Church. Two plans of dismemberment were proposed to him by Fuad Pasha, and he was requested to accept either one or other of them, or to submit a third for consideration. But he was to bear in mind, that the dismemberment itself was an accomplished fact, with which he had no concern. In vain the Patriarch protested, and in vain he appealed in a long letter to the clemency of the Sultan. He insisted that this was an affair which could not be decided without a council; but the Bulgarians retorted by publishing a document, dated 1767, in which the Bulgarian Church was declared united to the Greek Church by the sole act of the Sultan, and without the convocation of any council. In 1767, they say, the Patriarch Samuel declared it to be within the sphere of the Sultan's power to unite the Bulgarians with the Greeks; how then can the Patriarch Gregory, in 1869, say, that the same power cannot separate what it alone had joined? And, in fact, the Bulgarians have already sung the *Te Deum* in all their churches, and have had general illuminations in all their towns, at being at length freed from the yoke of the Greek Patriarch. They have seized upon all the churches, and have expelled the Greek bishops and priests, who are now flocking to Constan-

tinople, to relate to the Patriarch, with tears in their eyes, their misfortunes and sufferings. It is certainly a wondrous retribution, that this blow should have come upon the Greek Church from those very Bulgarians against whom the Constantinopolitan Patriarch has been plotting ever since the ninth century, when Nicholas I., through Paul and Formosus, introduced Bulgaria into the fold of the Catholic Church. Photius and his successors have never ceased to employ all the arts that cunning and hatred could devise, to separate the Bulgarians from the Holy See. Nine or ten years ago there was a marvellous movement of the Bulgarians towards Rome. Pius IX. welcomed them to the Church, and with his own hand, gave episcopal consecration to the archi-mandrite, John Sokolsky, whom he appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the country. But when the new prelate had reached Constantinople, on his homeward journey, he was seized upon, and conveyed on board a Russian ship, which landed him at Odessa, where he was imprisoned in the monastery of Kief, within the walls of which he was so closely guarded, that it cannot be known with certainty whether he is yet alive.

How many salutary lessons does this history convey! The Patriarch who declared that he would not submit to the successor of St. Peter, has been forced to humble himself to the dust before the Turkish Emperor, the sworn foe of the Christian name. The Patriarch who would not treat of Church matters with the Vicar of Christ, has been forced to refer them to the clemency of the Sultan. The Patriarch who refused to obey the Chief Patriarch of the Church, has witnessed his own suffragans rise in rebellion against himself. The Patriarch who proudly assumes the title of Ecumenical, or Universal, lost in one day four millions of subjects, and must be content to exercise his universal sway over a poor million of discontented and impoverished slaves. The Patriarch who forbade his bishops to listen to the voice of Pius IX., calling them to unity, has been forced to hear the voices of the episcopate of a whole nation raised in rebuke of himself, and rebelling against his rule. The Patriarch who scorned the invitation to a General Council, has declared that a General Council is absolutely necessary to settle the Bulgarian question. Finally, the Patriarch who replied to the Pope's envoy, that the Orthodox Greek Church would never cease to hold Apostolic doctrine apart from Rome, on the same day wrote to the Sultan to say, that the Orthodox Greek Church would fall into ruin if the Bulgarians were allowed to shake off their allegiance to Constantinople. History surely presents few instances of punishment following so closely after sin as in this case.

This has been felt even by the Greeks of Constantinople themselves, who laugh at the idea of the proposed Greek Council. "Already," they say, "the entire universe is preparing to celebrate a truly Ecumenical Council. If our Patriarch's pretensions over the Bulgarians be just; if there exist just reasons why he should keep us separated from Rome, why does he refuse to state these reasons at the Vatican Council?"

The following is a list of all the Greek and Bulgarian Bishops to whom, up to the present, the invitation to the Council has been delivered:—

1. Gregory, Patriarch of Constantinople.
2. The Metropolitan of Chalcedonia.
3. The Bishop of Galata.
4. The Bishop of Pera.
5. The Bishop of Fatavla.
6. The Bishop of Therapia.
7. The Bishop of Adrianople.
8. The Bishop of Rodosto.
9. The Bishop of Erzerum.
10. The Bishop of Trebizond.
11. The Bishop of Varna.
12. The Bishop of Salonitto.
13. The Bishop of Monastir.
14. The Bishop of Brussa.
15. The Bishop of Isle of Princes.
16. An Ex-Patriarch, in Isle of Princes.
17. A Bishop, retired in Buyukdere.
18. The Metropolitan of Crete.
19. The Bishop of Smyrna.
20. The Bishop of Ephesus.
21. Cyril, Ex-Patriarch of Alexandria.
22. The Metropolitan of Mytelene.
23. The Bishop of Calone.
24. The Bishop of Marmara.
25. The Bishop of Nicomedia.
26. The Bishop of Nicea.
27. The Bishop of Iconium.
28. The Bishop of Cesarea.
29. The Bishop of Amasia.
30. The Bishop of Sborniki.
31. The Bishop of Nisis.
32. The Bishop of Gisren.
33. The Bishop of Velissa.
34. The Bishop of Stromiza.
35. The Bishop of Grevenon.

36. The Bishop of Castoria.
37. The Bishop of Seron.
38. The Bishop of Larissa.
39. The Bishop of Janina.
40. The Bishop of Arta.
41. The Bishop of Malko Tirnova.
42. Hilarion, Metropolitan of Bulgaria, head of the Independent Bulgarian Church.
43. Dorotheus, Metropolitan of Sophia.
44. Paisios, Metropolitan of Vraza.
45. Macarius, Melchite Archbishop of Diarbekir.

We now turn from the Greek Church to the Armenian Church diffused over Russia, Turkey, Persia, Gallicia, and Venice, and composed of two communities, one of which is in communion with Rome, the other separated from the Holy See. To understand the full value of the impression made upon the separated Armenians by the Papal Letter *Arcano Divinæ Providentiæ*, we must go back to the early history of the Armenian Church. The founder of this Church was St. Gregory the Illuminator, who, in the times of Pope St. Sylvester I., baptized King Tiridates II., his Queen, and all the principal officers of the realm. After establishing monasteries and ordaining priests, he made a pilgrimage to Rome. St. Sylvester gave his apostolic sanction to all that had been done by St. Gregory, and gave him the title of *Catholicus*, which, together with several privileges, was to pass to his successors. Among these successors was Nierses III., who lived and died in communion with Rome. In the year 650 this prelate built the famous monastery of Ecsmiasin, the church of which covers the spot whereon St. Gregory had been blessed with a vision of Christ, the name Ecsmiasin being equivalent to the Latin *Descensus Unigeniti*. In this monastery the Patriarchs continue still to live. On festivals, when commemoration is made of the reigning Patriarch, an ancient hymn is sung to the present day, which runs thus: "Save, O Lord, the son of thy servant Gregory, who was exalted by the See of Rome, wherein is placed the foundation stone of Holy Church." Unfortunately, however, the Patriarchs did not remain united to that corner stone in the faith of St. Gregory. Some of the Armenians adopted the heresy of Eutyches, but from time to time resumed communion with Rome. Eugenius IV., at Florence, addressed to them the famous *Decretum ad Armenos*. The Patriarchs of Ecsmiasin, however, did their best to prevent the union from taking place, and to break it when it was consummated. But, as usually happens, schism

begat schism. From among their own bishops some rose up to refuse to them the obedience they had already refused to the bishop of bishops. The title of *Catholicus* and the jurisdiction it implied were usurped by others. Especially formidable as a rival was the Patriarch Joachim, Bishop of Bursa, in Bythinia, whom Mahomet II., after the capture of Constantinople, in 1453, appointed as Patriarch over the Armenian families by him fixed at Constantinople. The successors of Joachim, as holding their See in the neighbourhood of the Court, have always excited the jealousy of the successors of Nierses, who lived in the remote Ecsmiasin, which is in the hands of Russia since 1827. And this jealousy between the two Patriarchs has shown itself in our own day in the relations subsisting between Kevork IV., Patriarch of Ecsmiasin, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, and has been developed to a singular extent on occasion of the invitation of Pius IX. to the Oriental bishops.

As soon as the earliest rumour was spread abroad that the Orientals were to be invited to Rome, Kevork IV. sent as his legate to Constantinople one of his bishops, by name Serkis Cialalian. But the Pasha who was in charge of home affairs declared that the presence of a legate from Ecsmiasin could but interfere with the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarch who lived at Constantinople, and that in consequence he must decline to receive him in that capacity. But before the legate left the invitation from Rome was delivered to the various bishops.

The Latin Vicar-General who delivered the Encyclical to the Greek Patriarch, waited in like manner upon the Patriarchs of the schismatical Armenians to present the Pontifical invitation. He was received with every mark of respect. Two prelates, wearing their robes, met him at the door of the patriarchal residence, and conducted him with his suite, without delay, into the presence of the Patriarch, who gave the Vicar the kiss of peace. The Patriarch, Mgr. Boghos, then took the letter into his hand, made many inquiries as to the contents and the persons who had conveyed them to him, and added: "Formerly the enemies of Christianity were the Pagans; now they are the bad Christians and infidels. It is high time for us all to lay aside our differences and to unite in opposing a barrier to the impiety which now combats the Church of Jesus Christ." He said he willingly accepted the letter, but declared that not he, but the Catholicus of Ecsmiasin, was to decide whether he was to go to Rome or not. He then invited the Vicar to visit his Church, on leaving which they were conducted with great formality to their carriage. The Pontifical letters were also presented to the whole Armenian

episcopate obedient to Mgr. Boghos, and many of these prelates imitated the courtesy of the Patriarch. There was soon formed among them a party, which was called the Unionist party; the members of which met frequently, to deliberate on the best means of realizing the union they desired. This conduct excited the indignation of the more obstinate among the schismatical bishops, who formed themselves into a party of opposition. The plans of the Unionists accepted, as the basis of their union with Rome, the infallible authority of the Chair of St. Peter; but in other respects they were crude and imperfect. Towards the end of December they all assembled at the residence of the Patriarch, and deliberated on the expediency of attending the Council. The decision appears to have been favourable to unity; for, after their session, they despatched the Encyclical and the minutes of the meeting to the Catholicus at Ecsmiasin. The most distinguished among the laity, some of them high in office under the Turkish government, warmly seconded this resolution of their bishops. Even Mgr. Serkis Cialalian, the legate of the Catholicus of Ecsmiasin, appeared to favour the efforts of the Unionists; but, as after-events will show, his sincerity is very doubtful.

The opposition bishops commenced a most violent persecution against the Patriarch who had received the Pope's Letters, and carried it so far that he was compelled to insert a letter in the public journals, to say that, he had not arrogated to himself the right of accepting the invitation, but that he had referred the matter to the decision of the Patriarch of Ecsmiasin, according to the canons of the Armenian Church.

But the opposition grew every day more and more furious. The press daily teemed with the vilest attacks against the Catholics, and the ignorant people were told that the Pope would make them slaves, and compel them to adopt the Latin rite. This opposition is the result of Russian intrigue.

The Catholic Armenians, however, were not idle in the meantime. They encouraged the Unionists, and published elaborate refutations of the calumnies against Rome. Their bishops are to meet in synod, to agree upon the matters they are to lay before the Council on behalf of the united Armenians. Two committees, each consisting of eighteen priests, are engaged in the study of these subjects. The Turkish government openly favours the Unionists.

But the attacks of the schismatics, hostile to union, far from slackening in their violence, became worse since the beginning of the present year. The populace rose in tumults in several of the Churches, especially in those where the Patriarch was present, nor would they allow the usual commemoration of him to be made at Mass.

The Government condemned these proceedings ; but on the Vigil and on the Feast of the Epiphany the divine service was interrupted by loud clamours, and so savage was the violence of the mob that the Patriarch fainted while officiating at the altar. He became so discouraged that he offered his resignation to the Government, and this was finally accepted. The Armenian Bishop of Scutari takes his place until the election of his successor can be held. Mgr. Serkis Cialalian is straining every nerve to the effect that an anti-Unionist may be chosen to fill the Patriarchal chair.

Leaving for the present the turbulent Armenians, let us next consider the state of the Copts in Egypt. There are to be found in that country schismatics of all rites, but only the Greeks and Copts among them have bishops. The Copts have a Patriarch, who takes his title from Alexandria, where he resides, and fourteen bishops, of whom nine belong to Upper Egypt, one to Sudan, one to Abyssinia, one to Cairo, and two to Lower Egypt.

The Catholic Archbishop of Irenopolis, who is Delegate Apostolic of Egypt and Arabia, was directed by the Holy Father to present to each of these bishops a copy of the Encyclical *Arcano Divinæ Providentiæ*. He caused an elegant translation of the letter to be made into Arabic, and requested a Catholic Coptic prelate, Mgr. Ibrahim Psciai, Bishop of Clariopolis, to convey a copy to each of the nine schismatical bishops of Lower Egypt, whither that distinguished prelate was about to go on the visitation of his flock.

The Archbishop himself paid a formal visit to Demetrius, Patriarch of Alexandria, to present him with the Papal Letter. The Patriarch read the Arabic translation with great interest, and entered upon a long conversation with his visitor, whom at the end of the interview he conducted in person to the foot of the stairs. The points upon which the discussion turned were those connected with the history of the early Ecumenical Councils held in the East, and with the errors peculiar to the Copts. The Patriarch begged that the conversation might be renewed on another day, as he was very anxious to hear the Archbishop's reasons. He was especially pleased to learn from his visitor that the Roman Church has successfully repelled Protestantism, and that so many illustrious and learned Protestants had forsaken their errors, and become Catholics. The Copts have the greatest horror of Protestantism, on account of the mischief it is working in Egypt, and especially on account of its attacks upon devotion to the Holy Mother of God,

CIVILIZATION AND ARTS IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

"CAN anything of good come from Nazareth?" The contemptuous scorn contained in the sarcastic query of Nathanael may be taken as the expression of the English nation, ancient and modern, for the "mere Irish." Nor is this stinging estimate of our national character and attainments at all confined to the animals who grope for livelihood in the mines, or toil at the furnaces of prosperous and proud England. There seems to be a radical incapacity in the Anglo-Saxon mind to appreciate and render justice to the Celtic character. Sometimes the grossest and foulest charges are advanced against our people. Sometimes the weapon is keener and brighter, and used so dexterously that, like the lance in the hands of a skilful surgeon, it leaves a deep incision with a scarcely perceptible trace. Two hundred years ago a resident of London obtained the post of State Physician in Ireland from the Commonwealth. He had purchased, as an adventurer, some lands in Ulster and Leinster, and thus acquired an interest in this country. In a work of his, describing the then state of metallurgy in Ireland, he alludes to the inhabitants in these handsome terms:—"The old English in Ireland, that is, those who are come in from the time of the first conquest until the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, have been so plagued with wars from time to time—one while intestine among themselves, and another while with the Irish—that they could scarce ever find the opportunity of seeking mines. . . . And the Irish themselves, *as being one of the most barbarous nations of the whole earth*, have never *applied themselves to that business*."¹ It was profound worldly wisdom to calumniate and defame the nation that had been robbed of its soil to enrich the invader.

Another goodly adventurer of an earlier date was "the gentle Spenser." He had received upwards of 3,000 acres of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond. He came to reside on these vast territories so ruthlessly torn from their noble owner.

In his "View of the State of Ireland," he first describes the country itself, in which he had acquired so large a stake:—

"And sure it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly; sprinkled with many sweet islands and goodly lakes,

¹ "Thom's Tracts," quoted by Haverty.

like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters; adorned with goodly woods, even fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously as that if some princes in the world had them they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world; beside, the soil itself is most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto; and lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate."

Surely that was too fair a land to leave in the possession of savages, so Spenser proceeds to slander the despoiled:—

"Marry, these be the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people, I think, under heaven; for, from the time they enter into that course they do use all the beastly behaviour that may be;—they oppress all men—they spoil as well the subject as the enemy;—they steal—they are cruel and bloody, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution; licentious, swearers, and blasphemers, common ravishers of women, and murderers of children." Can the English adventurers hesitate for one moment to exterminate such vermin? Such is the clear drift of the lying statement. But the "gentle" Edward indicates that this may cost a little trouble:—"Yet, sure they are very valiant and hardy; for the most part great endurers of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardiness; very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot; very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises; very present in perils, very great scorers of death, &c."

What wonder that the brave people so maligned should have risen against the traducer, burned down his dwelling, and left him no home or refuge in their midst. He had, however, done his work by bequeathing from his starving bed in a London garret a legacy of slander to justify the grossest oppression of our race. Well, we have outlived these lawless times. The contempt shapes itself now in less revolting forms. We have no history, says the modern Englishman. No civilization, no letters, no arts, except those we learned from "the proud invader." Before the English came we were ignorant barbarians. They have imparted to our nation any civilization to which we can lay claim. Such is the theory of the average Englishman. Here an issue, which we mean to try, is raised. How far there is truth in it is worthy of consideration. We hope to meet it without any exaggerated claims, and to base our refutation on facts. We deem it the office of true, rational love of country, to reject spurious pretences, and to state plainly the evidences of our knowledge of the arts, &c., before the English invasion.

Ridicule is universally recognised as an efficient means of demolishing a theory. Ill-considered attempts to trace back

to a pre-Christian period the existence of an advanced knowledge of the arts and sciences in Ireland, afforded a welcome opportunity to opponents to make our history a laughing-stock to the cynical. The occasion was readily seized; our annals were regarded as possessing as much value as the predictions of Partridge, the almanack maker, whose death, as to the day, hour, and circumstances, was so inimitably foretold, in Partridge's own name and "professional" language, by Jonathan Swift!

The virulence and bitterness of the attack upon our nation, so long the best abused in the world, may be well judged of by the following passage of Pinkerton:—

"The contest between those Irish writers and the literati of Europe is the most risible in the world. The former say, their country was highly civilized, had letters and academies, as the Greeks and Romans. The latter say, the Greeks we know, and the Romans we know, but who are ye? Those Greeks and Romans pronounce you not only barbarous, but utterly savage. Where are your authorities against this? In the name of science, of argument, of common sense, where are the slightest marks of ancient civilization among you? Where are ruins of cities? Where inscriptions? Where ancient coins? Where is the least trace of ancient art in your whole island? The old inhabitants of your country, the wild Irish, the true Milesian breed, untainted with Gothic blood, we know to be rude clans to this day. Can a nation once civilized become savage? Impossible. Such a nation may be lost in effeminacy, as the modern Italians and Greeks; but will ever bear the marks of the excess, not the want of civilization." Pinkerton, and hostile writers of his class, carried the day, and our antiquities were made, for many a long year, a butt for good-natured banter or merciless sarcasm.

Some forty years ago the truth, covered with prejudice and hidden in obscurity and disgrace, began to be unveiled. A number of men of distinguished ability devoted their energies to elucidate the antiquities of their country, and to re-build upon a solid foundation the ancient reputation of Erin. Catholics and Protestants buried their religious estrangements, and worked side by side to recover and make known the monuments of our early civilization. Foremost amongst these patriotic pioneers were the great names of O'Curry, O'Donovan, and Petrie. It was fitting that labours undertaken in so truly national a spirit should be recorded by a skilful hand. And it is most gratifying to find that the work has been accomplished by

¹ Quoted by Dr. Stokes, in his most interesting and scholarlike "Life of Dr. Petrie," p. 264.

one associated through a long life with most of the archæological and literary men who felt a pride in the history of their country. Dr. Stokes' "Life of Dr. Petrie," recently published, is a work of great merit, leading the reader into an accurate knowledge of what has been effected to demolish the theories of the ignorant and fanciful, and to restore the national muniments too long neglected and despised. It is full of sympathy for our Celtic race, of respect for our national religion, and of jealous anxiety for our national honour and independence. A *résumé* of its contents will prove interesting to those who have not as yet seen the work, a perusal of which will warm the heart, and gladden the fireside of every true Irishman.

Petrie became a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1827. There was at that period no national spirit amongst the educated classes of Irishmen. United to England by ties of religion, sympathy, interest, and descent, they despised the faith of the people, and acted the part of the "English garrison." The Catholic masses were steeped in poverty, the result of confiscations and penal laws, which, though they had ceased their actual pressure, had placed the wealth of the country in the hands of "aliens in blood and religion." The Catholic Emancipation lifted the multitudes into an atmosphere of comparative liberty, and they began to breathe more freely. Still, education was in a deplorable state, and the pulse of life beat but feebly in the national heart. Petrie proposed to himself two great objects—first, to awaken an interest in the masses for their country's history. This he proposed to effect by the weekly publications of a cheap serial. He enlisted the assistance of some very accomplished scholars, amongst whom were the Rev. Cæsar Otway and O'Donovan. In June, 1832, they published the first number of the "Dublin Penny Journal." "The subjects," says Petrie, "chiefly chosen, were such as were most likely to attract the attention of the Irish people, next to those of politics and polemics—namely, the history, biography, poetry, antiquities, national history, legends, and traditions of the country—subjects which can never fail to interest the feelings of a people. The plan was novel and experimental, and, at the same time, animating to minds zealous for the moral improvements of the country." The work met with only indifferent success. In about a year it passed into inferior hands, and the original staff ceased to contribute to its pages. Yet Petrie did not abandon the hope of awakening the popular mind. In 1840, he started the "Irish Penny Journal," of which he was the sole editor. Its object was the same that called forth the "Dublin Penny Journal." The con-

tributions of the most eminent literary men of Ireland are to be found in its columns ; but the readers of the day were neither numerous nor appreciative, and, after one year, it died. However, the seeds had been carefully sown. In due time they bore, and are every day bearing, fresh fruit. Despite the efforts of the Government to banish, through the so-called National Schools, all knowledge of our country's annals from the minds of the lower classes, a desire for such knowledge is now vast, and deep, and widening, and Petrie's patriotic efforts shall be gratefully treasured in this land. The change in the matter and tone of the new books issued for the National Schools, has been effected by the persevering efforts of our patriot bishops and priests, supported by the earnest demands of the masses, whose literary tastes Petrie laboured to form and nationalize. Petrie's second object was to ensure the co-operation of his fellow members of the Academy, and, through them, to influence the ruling classes. In the pages of both the "Dublin" and "Irish Penny Journal," he had treated with solid learning of the state of the arts and antiquities of Ireland. His graceful, facile style was suited for the humblest reader, yet polished with a simplicity and refinement. He had exposed the shallow, scoffing ignorance of Pinkerton, in decrying our claims to excellence in the arts. The year after he joined the Academy, he found enrolled, as fellow-associates, Dr. Todd, Anster, M'Cullagh, and other men of the same stamp. Their co-operation gave hope and heart to Petrie. He was elected Member of the Council of Antiquities in 1829, and forthwith set himself to the formation of that Museum, which is the glory of the Academy, and which, as a national collection, stands unrivalled. In its presence it is no longer possible to deny the marvellous skill, the fertile imagination, and the artistic excellence which distinguished the Irish nation, long before the tramp of an English soldier had sullied our soil.

When we consider what those objects are that show forth the high civilization of Ireland, we must the more appreciate the liberal large-hearted care of Petrie for them. Shrines containing the relics of some great founder of religious houses ;—crosses carried in procession on solemn feast-days, in a worship different from that in which Petrie believed ;—mementoes of holy men and women, bishops, monks, and nuns, whom it was quite the fashion to denounce as superstitious, or to laugh at as fanatics ; such are the evidences gathered by Petrie's zeal and example, and cherished with proud and anxious solicitude. A few words, descriptive of the most remarkable of these treasures, may prove interesting to those who have not had an opportunity of inspecting them :—

1. The Cross of Cong.

In the year 1822, Petrie made a tour of the West of Ireland. He took in Cong on the way. Furnished with a letter of introduction to the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, "the last mitred abbot of Ireland," he called upon him, and was courteously and hospitably received. We shall let Petrie tell the curious incidents of this interview :

"The object of my visit was to see some interesting remains of antiquity, formerly the property of the abbey, and still in possession of its abbot. The venerable clergyman received us at the door with easy politeness, which warmed into cordiality on perusing his friend's letter of introduction ; and after some general conversation, relative to the object of my visit to that unfrequented part of Ireland, favoured us with a sight of that wonderful relic, the Cross of Cong. This reliquary was found by the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, P.P., in an oaken chest, kept in a cottage of the town, where it and other remains of antiquity had probably been concealed since the Reformation, or at least subsequent to the rebellion of 1641. A great portion of the valuables thus hidden consisted of deeds of grants of land to the abbey, *and of Irish MSS. in vellum, splendidly illuminated!* The abbot, as he confesses, being at the time ignorant of the value of such remains, thought little about them ; and on going to the Continent shortly after, to improve his education, carelessly left them in the charge of a young priest, whom he appointed to do his duty during his absence. He remained abroad eleven years, during which time he found that the most ancient and valuable MS. which he saw on the Continent, appeared to resemble, but not equal in beauty, those he had left at home. Thus awakened to a sense of their value, we may imagine, what at least ought to have been, his astonishment and horror, on finding on his return home, that his deputy had, during his absence, lost or destroyed all those curious and valuable remains, *the cross excepted* ; and that, unfortunately, the very beauty of the MSS. had been a chief cause of their destruction, the ignorant young man having cut them up to decorate his breviaries with the illuminated letters which they contained!" So far for the *discovery*, as it may be called, of this precious article. Petrie's artistic eye at once detected its rare value. He was a poor man, and could not purchase it ; but he never lost sight of it, and fondly hoped to see it one day deposited in the Museum, which it now adorns, in the Royal Irish Academy. At length his wishes were realized. In 1849, Petrie was sent by his friend the late Professor M'Cullagh, to Cong, to purchase the prize. It was bought for one hundred guineas, and generously presented to the Academy. A small but most accurate illustration of this famous cross

will be found in Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities. We subjoin the letter-press description of it :

"The Cross of Cong, the gem of the Academy, affords most striking evidence of the advancement which the Irish artificers had made in several of the arts, and in general manufacturing skill, *previous to the arrival of the English*. It was made at Roscommon, by native Irishmen, about the year 1123, in the reign of Turlough O'Connor, father of Roderick, the last king of Ireland, and contains what was supposed to be a piece of the true cross, as inscriptions in Irish, and Latin in the Irish character, distinctly record. . . . The ornaments generally consists of tracing, and grotesque animals, fancifully combined, and similar in character to the decorations found upon crosses of stone of about the same period. A large crystal, through which a portion of the wood which the cross was formed to enshrine is visible, is set in the centre, at the intersection."

This description, though accurate, is not sufficiently precise and exhaustive. We shall, therefore, endeavour to supplement it by particulars supplied by Petrie, or suggested by a careful inspection of the cross. The questions which naturally present themselves are—first, what was its purpose or object, and what are the evidences of the date or time at which the cross was executed? secondly, what are the peculiar excellencies which mark it out as *distinctively Irish*, and as a work of high artistic skill?

It is most gratifying that the answers to the first class of questions are supplied by the inscriptions on the cross itself, one of them runs thus :—

✠ Hac Cruce Crux Tegitur Qua Passus Conditor Orbis.

We learn from the annals of Inisfallen, at the year 1123, the year in which the first General Council of Lateran was held, during the pontificate of Pope Callixtus, that "a bit of the true cross came into Ireland, and *was enshrined* at Roscommon by Turlogh O'Connor." The "*Chronicum Scotorum*," edited by Mr. Hennessy, at A.D. 1119, registers the same event in the simple but expressive sentence, "*The Cross of Christ* in Connacht, in this year."

So far it is plain that the elaborate ornaments which beautify this cross, were the efforts of Catholic piety and skill to enrich a shrine somewhat worthy of enclosing a portion of the true cross, for which the most profound veneration has been entertained by our Celtic forefathers. Now, as to the date, we gladly avail ourselves of Dr. Stokes' statement :—

"The remaining inscriptions are in Irish and give the names

of the four persons under whose superintendence this shrine for the holy relic was made; the first was Muiredach O'Duffy, archbishop of Connaught, for whose use it was intended; the second was the King, Turlough O'Connor, at whose desire and expense it was executed; the third, Donnel O'Duffy, was the bishop who watched over its progress; and the fourth, Maclisa O'Echan, was the artist who executed it. Of the last mentioned, and now most interesting of those four men, no other record can be found; no monument is left to tell of his former greatness, save the exquisite work that has stood for more than seven hundred years, bearing witness of the marvellous power and delicate skill of the artist!"

Muiredach O'Duffy, the senior archbishop, for whose use this cross was made, was a very illustrious man, whose death is thus recorded in the "Annals of the Four Masters":—

"A.D. 1150. Muiredach O'Duffy, a bishop of Connaught, the arch-senior of Ireland in wisdom, in chastity, in the bestowal of gifts and food, died at Cong on the 16th of May, on the festival of St. Brendan, in the seventy-fifth year of his age." From this passage, we see that the prelate for whose use the shrine was made, died twenty-two years before the English invasion; and more than that, the shrine was actually completed, according to the "Annals of Inisfallen," in 1123, some fifty years before the advent of Henry II.

As to the peculiar excellence of this famous shrine, its Irish character, and its artistic skill, we are aware that our pages will reach those who may probably seldom, if ever, have an opportunity of satisfying themselves by personal inspection. Hence a few words, we trust, will not appear out of place. The general characteristics of what is known as the Irish School of Ornamentation, are to be found not only in the treatment of shrines, but also in Irish stone crosses of the same period which adorn the ruins at Monasterboice, Clonmacnoise, Tuam, and many other sites of ancient monasteries. In the same class, but of still more elaborate style of ornamentation, are to be ranked the famous MSS. known as the "Book of Kells," the "Book of Durrow," the "Book of Durham," executed by Irish monks at Lindisfame; the "Book of Kildare," the "Book of Armagh, &c., &c." Of such, Westwood says, in his "Palæographia Sacra," the series of MSS., from which the fac-similes in the accompanying plate have been copied (in conjunction with the "Book of Kells"), constitute a series of actual proofs, still preserved in Ireland, of the existence of a religious and national school of art in that country at a period when the rest of Europe was almost involved in mental darkness."

Intricate interlacements and *minute elaboration*, may be regarded, Digby Wyatt informs us, as the special character-

istics of the Irish school. Ruskin, in his work on "Mediæval Art," confirms the opinion of Digby Wyatt, and indeed it needs but a glance at our most valuable MSS., stone crosses, or shrines, to see the same spirit pervading and directing all. Our gifted countryman, O'Neill, in his valuable work, entitled "Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland," says:—"Various styles of ornamental art prevailed throughout Europe, from the age of Constantine to the period of Renaissance; that is, from the earlier part of the fourth till the fourteenth century; but during that thousand years, the Irish hold the pre-eminence for every quality which renders works of art excellent, namely, great originality and fertility of invention, wonderful powers of execution, combined with a profound knowledge of the principles of art, to which we may add, a thorough mastery of colour, or chromatic effect..... The works of the early Christian artists which remain show that in fertility of invention, and a profound knowledge of the principles of their art in practical taste and most wonderful dexterity of execution, the Irish artists have never been equalled."

It is not for one moment to be supposed that Mr. O'Neill was led away by any national predilections, in advancing these strong claims for his country. Giraldus Cambrensis maligned the Irish nation in a style quite worthy of Dr. Boate or Edmund Spenser, yet he bears the fullest testimony to the great excellence of Irish music, and to the marvellous ornamentation of the "Book of Kildare," a MS. not now known to exist:

"Amongst all the miraculous things of Kildare, nothing surprised me so much as that wonderful book, said to have been written from the dictation of an angel, in St. Bridget's own time. This book contains the four Gospels, according to Jerome's version, and is adorned with almost as many richly-illuminated figures as it has pages. Here you see the majesty of the Divine countenance, there the mystical shapes of the Evangelists, furnished with six, four, or two wings; here is the eagle, there the calf; in another part the face of a man, or of a lion, together with other designs without number, which, if carelessly surveyed, seemed rather blots than intertwined ornaments (*ligaturæ*), and appeared to be simple where there was, in truth, nothing but intricacy. But, on close examination, the secrets of the art were evident; and so delicate and subtle, so laboured and minute, so intertwined and knotted, so intricately and brilliantly coloured did you perceive them that you were ready to say they were the work of an angel, and not of man. The more intently I examined them the more was I filled with fresh wonder and amazement. Neither could Apelles do the like; indeed, mortal hand seemed incapable of forming or painting them."

We are inclined to forgive Giraldus half his malice and slanders, in consideration of that tribute to the artistic genius of our early Christian artists. The "Book of Kildare" is, unfortunately, lost, being destroyed very probably in that age of fierce, fanatical fury which spared nothing Catholic that could be desecrated. However another "gem of purest ray serene" has been saved, namely, the "Book of Kells." All that Cambrensis has said of the "Book of Kildare" may be applied to its surviving rival, which is safely housed and most carefully protected by the accomplished Irish scholar, Rev. Dr. Todd, in whose charge, as Librarian of T.C.D., it is lodged. Westwood, in his great work, entitled "*Palæographia Sacra*," gives us his estimate of the style in which the MS. is illuminated:—"Ireland may justly be proud of the 'Book of Kells.' This copy of the Gospels, traditionally said to have belonged to St. Columba, is unquestionably the most elaborately-executed manuscript of early art now in existence....At a period when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and other parts of the Continent, namely, from the fifth to the end of the eighth century, the art of ornamenting MSS. had a perfection almost miraculous in Ireland....The invention and skill displayed, the neatness, the precision and delicacy far surpass all that is to be found in ancient MSS. executed by Continental artists....The artists who executed the MSS. were also the originators of the stone crosses....The style and ornament in both classes of monuments is essentially the same."

It is well to bear in mind such testimonies to the artistic capabilities of the Irish race, now that a Royal Commission has reported against the demand made by the representatives of the Irish people for a Central Institution of Science and Art in Dublin. Whilst seven millions have been lavished on the Kensington Museum and on art training for the benefit of English artisans, a people of higher intelligence and artistic capabilities of a much superior order, are denied their right to equal privileges, or even to an approximation thereto. A writer in an able Conservative journal says, significantly: "It will be asked to-day, how would an Irish Legislature disposing of Irish revenues in Dublin deal with such a question?"

NOTE.—The reader who is interested in the subject of Irish ornamentation will find very valuable information in Miss Stokes' "*Notes on Ornamentation*," printed in the beautifully-illuminated work, "*The Cromlech of Howth*." The paper referred to treats of the "Book of Kildare," the "Book of Kells," the "Book of Durrow," the "Garland of Howth," which is still older than the books of St. Columba; the "Book of Dimna," the "Book of St. Moling," the "Liber Hymnorum," the "Book of Armagh," &c.

(To be continued).

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We have been favoured with the following letter, which was addressed to the Rev. C. P. MEEHAN, of this City. We are deeply grateful to this distinguished Antiquarian, and to his correspondent, for the valuable information contained in this letter, and we trust that we may be honoured with many similar communications from other districts.]

Larne, March 17, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—Seeing by an advertisement in “Notes and Queries” that Archdall’s “Monast. Hib.” was to be republished, with notes, in the “Irish Ecclesiastical Record,” I ordered from the publisher this month’s number of that periodical; and not knowing any other channel by which to communicate with Archdall’s Editor, I venture to trouble *you* with the following identification, of which you may make any use you please:—

“Irish Ecc. Record,” p. 289. “*Achadh-dub-thuigh*, in Maghli, a small territory near the river Bann”—is stated by Archdall in the text to be “now unknown;” and the Editor in his note does not name any place precisely as the location of this religious house—merely stating that it was “on the west side of the river Bann.” I am happy to be able to supply this deficiency. The place referred to is the present *Aghadowey*, in the county Derry, which quite suits the etymological construction of the Irish word, and also the position of the ancient territory Magh-li, which was near the Bann, and on the west side of that river. But this identification is, I think, rendered complete by the following extract from the Patent Rolls of James I.:—

“*2nd James I. part 2, dorso. lv. 5, 3rd April.*—Grant from the King to Sir George Carewe, Knt., Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen. . . . Site, &c., of the late Hospital or Termoe of *St. Goury*, of *Aghadowey*, in O’Kane’s country, &c.”

Now, I think, there can be very little doubt that the “*St. Goury*” of the Patent Rolls was identical with the “*St. Goar*” of Archdall; and therefore “*Aghadowey*” in the Patent Rolls must also be identical with the “*Achadh-dub-thuigh*” of Archdall.

Excuse this intrusion on the part of,

Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

CLASSAN PORTER.

Rev. C. P. MEEHAN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

We have been asked :—

1st. Can the Apostolical Blessing, with Plenary Indulgence, *in Articulo Mortis*, be given more than once to the dying in their last illness?

2nd. Is it necessary to use the form assigned in the Ritual for that blessing?

3rd. What conditions are requisite to gain the usual Indulgences granted to the faithful for their dying moments?

1. To the first question we reply that the *Apostolical Blessing* may be given each time that the sick person is in danger of death. This is expressly declared in the Papal Indult: "*Quoties aliquem, in mortis articulo constitutum esse contigerit, . . . toties Apostolicam benedictionem impertiri valeas.*" Even whilst the same danger of death continues it is sometimes lawful to repeat the Apostolical Benediction, viz.—if there be prudent grounds for doubting whether the Indulgences had been as yet gained by the sick person, either through defect in the ceremonies, or through want of some of the other conditions requisite for gaining such Plenary Indulgences. Without some such prudent doubt, the blessing should not be repeated, for the Sacred Congregation has more than once declared that the Indulgences attached to such Blessing, *in articulo mortis*, can be obtained but once; see, for instance, in Prinzivalli's collection, the decrees of 23rd April, 1675; 5th April, 1841; 12th February, 1842; and 12th March, 1855.

2. As regards the second question, the Form of Benediction marked in the Ritual, and prescribed by Benedict XIV., must be observed. This not only results from the constitution *Pia Mater*, published on the subject by Benedict XIV., but also from the Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences of 5th April, 1841, already referred to, which expressly declares that such Indulgences, *in articulo mortis*, are not granted, even when a priest, through defect of a "Ritual," and without any fault of his, is unable to use the prescribed form. Except in the case of necessity, the *Confiteor* should be said, even although it had been already said a short time before, in the administration of the Holy Viaticum or Extreme Unction. The Priest should wear the surplice and purple stole: entering the room of the sick person he should say *Pax huic domi*, &c., and then he should give the usual aspersion of holy water, reciting the antiphon, "Asperges me," &c. Should the danger of death seem imminent, the Rubric assigns the portions of the formula which may be omitted, and, if necessary, the simple form may

then be used:—" *Indulgentiam Plenariam et remissionem omnium peccatorum tibi concedo, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.*" The Constitution of Benedict XIV. adds, that the priest should excite the person sick to fervent acts of contrition and charity; however, the Apostolical Blessing may be given even to those who are deprived of the use of their faculties, for, according to the same Constitution, the habitual intention suffices for gaining these Indulgences *in articulo mortis*.

3. Although the Plenary Indulgences attached to the Apostolical Benediction can be gained but once, the other usual Indulgences may be gained as often as the prescribed conditions are fulfilled. For gaining the Indulgences attached to crucifixes or beads, &c., it is only prescribed that the dying person, being in the state of grace, should invoke the sacred name of *Jesus*.¹ Sixtus the Fifth grants a special Plenary Indulgence to those who, having had the custom during life of invoking the holy names of *Jesus* and *Mary*, should also invoke them at the hour of death; and, if unable to pronounce them with the lips, would at least desire to invoke them, at the same time accepting death in resignation of God's adorable will, and in atonement for all past offences. We will only add on this subject of Indulgences at the moment of death, a decree of Benedict XIV., of 30th May, 1744, which is inserted in the authentic Collection of Prinzivalli, p. 89; it is as follows:—" *Urbis et Orbis. Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Benedictus XIV., die 30. Maii, 1744, benigne declaravit Imaginem Crucifixi Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quae Parochis pro impertienda benedictione cum Indulgentia Plenaria in articulo mortis decernitur, etiam ipsimet Parocho, cui concessa est, in articulo mortis constituto, qui singula in decreto eidem expedito injuncta peregerit, pari modo suffragari, sive per se sive per alium ejusmodi Imago eidem porrigatur.*"

¹ This holds good even in the case that the sick person may be prevented by his illness from receiving the Holy Communion or Viaticum.

DOCUMENTS.

I. — DECREE EXTENDING TO THE WHOLE CHURCH, THE OFFICE OF ST. PAUL OF THE CROSS.

DECRETUM.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Inconfusibilis Evangelii Praeco extitit profecto Sanctus Paulus a Cruce, qui a Domino hisce propemodum temporibus, undecima nempe hora, ad erudiendam plebem suam missus, mercedem plenam et supereffluentem accepit. Hic enim Christi passionibus communicans et per Urbes ac pagos pertransiens verbum vitae in aeternitatis cibum alendae Christi-fidelium familiae dispendebat, doctrinae opportunitate et veritate infirma confirmabat, disrupta consolidabat, et depravata convertebat; donec in exultatione metens quod in lacrimis seminaverat, manipulos plenissimos obiens in aeterna tabernacula portavit; spiritum vero suum Alumnis, quos sub Crucis Vexillo congregaverat, reliquit ut in Vineae cultura continuo adlaborarent.

Dextera autem Dei ad superos exaltatus in gloriae hujus indicium portentis inter mortales resplenduit, quibus permotus Sanctissimus Dominus Noster PIUS PAPA IX audito consilio Eminentissimorum et Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romane Ecclesiae Cardinalium, Sacrorumque Antistitum, qui Anno 1867 ex universo terrarum orbe ad colendum saeculare Principum Apostolorum Natalitium frequentissimi in Urbem convenerant, Apostolicum hunc Virum in Sanctorum Albo adscripsit.

Post amplissimos Altarium honores Ei tributos permulti ex iisdem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Patribus Cardinalibus, Sacrorumque Antistitibus quo facilius Christifideles ad Crucis amorem ita excitarentur, ut nil aliud scire judicarent nisi Jesum et hunc Crucifixum, a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro PIO PAPA IX postularunt ut Officium et Missam Sancti Pauli a Cruce Congregationis Clericorum Excalceatorum a Cruce et Passione Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Institutoris ad universam extenderet Ecclesiam. Eorum postulationibus a me subscripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario eidem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro fidelissime relatis, Sanctitas Sua Apostolica auctoritate decrevit ut deinceps festum Sancti Pauli a Cruce cum Officio et Missa pro Clero Urbis approbatis die 11 Julii anni superius memorati sub ritu duplici minori quotannis die 28 Aprilis ab omnibus tam de Clero saeculari, quam Regu-

laribus utriusque sexus, qui in Ecclesia universali ad horas Canonicas tenentur, celebraretur servata tamen Rubricarum dispositione. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 14 Januarii 1869.

C. EPISCOPUS PORTUEN. ET S. RUFINAE CARD.
PATRIZI S. R. C. PRAEFECTUS.

Loco ✠ Signi.

DOMINICUS BARTOLINI S. R. C. SECRETARIUS.

II—CIRCULAR TO THE BISHOPS ON THE VESTMENTS TO BE BROUGHT BY THEM TO THE COUNCIL.

Illme et Rme Dne.

Hisce adiectum literis Amplitudo tua elenchum recipiet a Praefecto Caeremoniarum S. Sedis redactum. In eo vestes indicantur ac Sacra paramenta quae RR. PP. DD. Archiepiscopi et Episcopi latini ritus Romam adventuri pro Oecumenico Concilio Vaticano secum deferenda curabunt. Id habebam, quod Amplitudini tuae communicarem, precor vero Deum ut te diu sospitem servet incolumemque.

Dat. Romae ex aed. S. C. de P. F. die 20 Febr. 1869.

Ampl. Tuae

Uti Frater addictissimus

AL. C. BARNABO, PR.

Joannes Simeoni Secretarius.

ELENCHUS.

Vestium et Sacrorum paramentorum, quae Rmi Domini Archiepiscopi et Episcopi latini ritus Romam advenientes pro Oecumenico Concilio Vaticano celebrando secum deferri curabunt.

1. Vestes Praelatitias ea forma, quae praescripta est in Caeremoniali Romano lib. I Cap. I pro Antistitibus ex Clero Saeculari §. 1; ex ordine vero Regulari promotis §. 3: et biretum nigrum.
2. Cappam, de qua sermo est in memorato I lib. Caerem. Cap. 3 §. 3.
3. Amictum et tria pluvialia, unum coloris albi, alterum coloris rubri, tertium violacei, quae tamen non sint auro vel argento illita, aut acu picta, vulgo ricamati.
4. Mitram ex lino coloris albi.

ALOISIUS FERRARI Proton. Apost. SSmi D. N.
et S. Sedis Caeremon. Praefectus.

III.—LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER, PIUS IX., TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.

We omit the reviews of books and other interesting papers, which were already in type for the present number, in order to insert the following most important letter of His Holiness, addressed to the Archbishop of Paris, which, though written as far back as the 25th of October, 1865, has been kept a profound secret till the past few days. It treats in full of the principles and practices of those who seek in vain to revive Febronianism in France, and it repeats the warnings so often addressed to the Catholic Episcopate by preceding Pontiffs, in regard to Freemasonry, and all other secret societies.

VENERABILI FRATRI GEORGIO, ARCH. PARISIENSI
LUTETIAM PARISIONUM.

Venerabilis Frater, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Ex Epistola quam manu Nostra exaratam, die 24 mensis Novembris, anno proxime superiore ad Te dedimus, perfacile noscere potuisti, Venerabilis Frater, Paternam Nostram in Te benevolentiam. Ea profecto spe nitebamur fore ut illis amantis nostri in Te animi sensibus permotus, velles Nostræ erga Te dilectioni studiosissime respondere, Nostrisque desideriis perlibenter obsecundare, Tuamque erga Nos et hanc Petri Cathedram Observantiam ac Devotionem luculenter ostendere, veluti Catholicum Antistitem omnino decet. Atque eo magis id sperabamus quod cum ad istam Parisiensem Archiepiscopalem Ecclesiam fuisti designatus, Tuas ad Nos litteras perferendas curasti, quibus profitebaris Te Nobis et huic Apostolicæ Sedi esse addictissimum et summa Nos eamdemque Sedem Reverentia colere. Hac igitur spe freti, in commemorata Nostra Epistola ne verbum quidem facere existimavimus de Tuis litteris, Kalendis mensis Septembris, eodem superiore anno, datis quibus respondisti Nostræ Epistolæ, die 26 Aprilis ejusdem anni Tibi scriptæ circa aliquas res ad istam Tuam Diœcesim pertinentes, quæ Tuæ litteræ non leviter Nobis admirationi et tristitiæ fuerunt, cum ex illis, præter omnem expectationem Nostram, intellexerimus Te eas habere opiniones quæ divino Romani Pontificis in universam Ecclesiam Primatui omnino adversantur.

Et sane asserere non dubitas Romani Pontificis Potestatem in Episcopales diœceses nec *Ordinariam* nec *Immediatam* esse. Opinaris Romanum Pontificem tunc dumtaxat in alienam Diœcesim posse Suam interponere Auctoritatem

quando diœcesis ipsa ita aperte sit inordinata ac perturbata, ut Summi Pontificis interventus sit unicum remedium quo animarum saluti et Pastorum negligentiae consulatur. Divinum autem jus, ex quo Episcopus est solus in Sua diœcesi Judex, minime recognosci arbitraris, cum Summus Pontifex extra commemoratum evidentis necessitatis casum Sese diœcesis negotiis commiscet. Atque existimas diœcesim canonice erectam in qua Hierarchia est constituta, in missionum regiones converti, si Romanus Pontifex extra prædictum casum, Suam potestatem erga diœcesim exerceat. Insuper, in sermone potissimum a Te ad Senatum habito, affirmasti abusum esse appellationes ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem, et oppugnas jus quo singuli fideles potiuntur appellandi ad Summum Pontificem, et inquis id impedire ac prope impossibilem reddere diœcesis administrationem.

Dum vero hanc doctrinam manifestare minime hæsit, clare aperteque declaras quibus modis uti velis ad eam firmiter servandam. Namque significas Tibi in animo esse totis viribus obsistere et curare ne directus Romani Pontificis interventus extra sæpe repetitum necessitatis casum locum habeat, asserens Regularium et istius Nunciaturæ et Romanarum Congregationum agendirationem eo spectare ut Summi Pontificis interventus directo in diœceses inducatur. Ac præterea ais Te velle, tum alios Venerabiles fratres Galliæ Sacrorum Antistites excitare ut una Tecum conspirent, tum ad vulgus appellare, apta adhibita instructione.

Eodem autem sermone a Te penes istum Senatum recitato haud veritus es varios in medium proferre modos supremæ Romani Pontificis et Apostolicæ hujus Sedis Auctoritati maxime contrarios, retinendi scilicet Apostolicas Litteras, illasque civilis Auctoritatis arbitrio placitoque subjiçendi, et confugiendi ad laicam Potestatem. Quo sermone, typis in lucem deinde edito, verba etiam faciens de articulis organicis, quamdam eisdem Auctoritatem et Reverentiam deferendam censuisti, utpote respondentibus præexistenti et graviori Societatis conditioni ac necessitati, cum haud ignores quomodo Apostolica Sedes contra eosdem articulos a laica Potestate editos et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Doctrinæ ejusque Juribus ac Libertati adversos protestari nunquam omiserit.

Equidem, Venerabilis Frater, nunquam credere potuissemus Te hisce sensibus esse animatum, nisi illos ex prædictis Tuis Litteris mense Septembri ad Nos datis, et ex memorato Tuo sermone, cum summo animi Nostri dolore agnovissemus. Non possumus enim non vehementer dolere et angi, cum præter omnem opinionem cogitationemque Nostram, hac Tuasentiendi agendique ratione videaris favere et erroneis Febronii Doc-

trinis, quas, uti nosis, hæc Sancta Sedes reprobavit, damnavit, et Catholici scriptores doctissimis operibus reprobarunt et profligarunt. Ac per Te ipse perfacile intelligere potes, Venerabilis Frater, quanta afficiamur admiratione, dum animo reputamus eas a Te proferri sententias, quæ Catholicæ Doctrinæ repugnant et a quibus iccirco, uti Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Antistes, vel maxime abhorrere debes.

Et quidem asserendo Romani Pontificis Potestatem in singulas diœceses non esse *Ordinariam* sed *Extraordinariam*, propositionem enuntias omnino adversam Concilii iv Lateranensis Definitioni, in qua luculentissima ac decretoria illa leguntur verba : “ Romana Ecclesia, disponente Domino, super omnes alias Ordinariæ Potestatis obtinet Principatum, utpote Mater Universorum Christi Fidelium, et Magistra ” (Conc. iv. cap. 5), scilicet eorum omnium qui pertinent ad Christi Gregem. Quæ gravissima ejusdem Concilii Verba, Tibi apprime nota ac perspecta esse debent, Venerabilis Frater. Neque ignorare potes eandem Tuam propositionem plane contrariam esse constanti usui et Doctrinæ ab Universali Catholica Ecclesia, omnibusque ejus Episcopis cum omni Veneratione exceptæ ac traditæ, secundum quam, tum præsentis, tum præteritis ætatibus, Ecclesia semper tenuit ac docuit, et docet ac tenet Divina illa Verba: “ Pasce Agnos meos, pasce Oves meas,” Beatissimo Apostolorum Principi ita a Christo Domino dicta fuisse, ut eorundem verborum vi, omnes et singuli fideles Petro, ejusque Successoribus, velut Supremis et Ordinariis totius Ecclesiæ, omniumque Sacrorum Antistitibus immediate subjecti esse debeant, sicuti ipsi Christo Domino, cujus Romanus Pontifex verus est his in terris Vicarius ac totius Ecclesiæ Caput omniumque Christianorum Pater et Doctor.

Non parum autem miramur, cum, quin forsitan animadverteris, ex Febronianis placitis sentias, ex commemorata doctrina, diœceses in missionum regiones et Episcopos in Vicarios Apostolicos converti, cum omnes cognoscant a Catholicis merito responderi, id tam esse falsum quam falsum est asserere in civili ordine, Ordinarios provinciarum Præfectos, Judices, aliosque Magistratus non posse amplius nominari Magistratus Ordinarios, propterea quod Rex vel Imperator Directa seu Immediata et Ordinaria potestate in singulos sibi subditos potiuntur. Qua aptissima sane similitudine utitur Doctor Angelicus cum inquit: “ Papa habet plenitudinem Pontificalis Potestatis, quasi Rex in Regno ; sed Episcopi assumuntur in partem sollicitudinis quasi Judices singulis civitatibus præpositi.” (S. Th. q. 26, art. 3.)

Atque etiam non possumus non mirari Te, Venerabilis

Frater, queri de petitionibus et appellationibus quæ ad Romanum Pontificem deferuntur, quæque ab Ipso excipiuntur, quandoquidem, uti Catholicus Antistes, scire optime debes, appellationum jus ad Apostolicam Sedem, veluti inquit Immortalis Memoræ Benedictus XIV Decessor noster, "adeo necessario connexum cum Romani Pontificis in Universam Ecclesiam Jurisdictionis Primatu, ut nemo possit illud in controversiam adducere, nisi et hunc velit præfracte inficiari." (Bened. XIV, de Synodo diœc. lib. iv. cap. 5.) Quod quidem jus adeo omnibus fidelibus notum est ut S. Gelasius Prædecessor item Noster (Epist. 7 ad Episc. Sardin.) scriberet: "Cuncta per Mundum novit Ecclesia quoniam quorumlibet Sententiis ligata Pontificum, Sedes Beati Petri Apostoli Jus habeat resolvendi, utpote quod de omni Ecclesia jus habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio; si quidem ad Illam de qualibet mundi parte Canones appellari voluerunt, ab Illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus."

Hinc admirationem moves, cum affirmas hujusmodi Apostolicæ Sedis morem excipiendi eorum querelas, qui ab Episcoporum Judicio ad eandem Sedem appellant, Tibi impossibilem reddere Tuæ diœcesis administrationem. Talis enim impossibilitas a nullo Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcoporum tum præsentium, tum superioribus ætatibus fuit unquam cognita. Quod si ejusmodi impossibilitas a Te asserta existere unquam posset, eam Romanus Pontifex sentire deberet, qui gravissima omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudine distentus, omnium diœceseon petitiones excipere, easque accurate examinare ac dirimere tenetur; numquam vero simplex Episcopus qui de propriæ diœcesis factis tantum respondere debet, quæ totius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ exigua pars est.

Atque hujusmodi Tuæ quærimoniæ contra appellationum jus ad Romanum Pontificem et contra ordinariam ac directam ejusdem Pontificis in omnes diœceses jurisdictionem, eo majorem excitant admirationem, quod omnis religiosæ mentis Episcopus ex eodem jure ac jurisdictione, veluti per Te ipse noscere potes, Venerabilis Frater, maximum solatium, consolationem ac robur percipit coram Deo et Ecclesia et coram ipsis Ecclesiæ hostibus. Et quidem coram Deo: propterea quod, dum ex parte se a reddenda villicationis suæ ratione eximit, salutari Apostolicæ Sedis Lumine perfusus, magis in dies dirigitur ad suam diœcesim prospere administrandam; coram Ecclesia: nam hoc facto eam majore usque conjunctione ac firmitate et regiminis unitate vigere et florescere videt; coram Ipsius Ecclesiæ inimicis: propterea quod contra ipsos hac ratione Episcopus fortior et constantior evadit. Omnibus enim probatum exploratumque est Episcopum, non solum

debilem, verum etiam adversariorum ludibrium tunc majorem in modum fieri, cum Ipse minus adhæret Immobili Illi Petræ super Quam Christus Dominus Suam ædificavit Ecclesiam et adversus quam inferi portas numquam prævalituras esse promisit.

Quod autem declaras, Te velle resistere, aliosque Galliarum Episcopos commovere et ad vulgus appellare, vides profecto hisce seditiosis sane modis a Febronio contra Apostolicam Sedem propositis, et Ipsum Divinum Ecclesiæ constitutionis Auctorem graviter offendi et maximum tum Tuis Collegis, tum Catholico Galliarum populo injuriam inferri.

Jam vero, de Regularium quæstione loquentes, scias imprimis velimus, Regulares ipsos nihil omnino ad Nos detulisse, cum visitationem a Te ipsis factam aliunde noverimus. Hac de re prædictis Nostris Litteris, die 26 Aprilis datis, Te amanter monuimus : et idem Nostrum monitum tibi *sententiam* appellare placet, *parte inaudita* latam ; et inquis, id esse contra juris præsumptionem, quam semper pro Superiore stare existimas, quando inter Superiorem et inferiorem, veluti sunt Regulares, habito ad Te respectu, agitur controversia.

Vix credere possumus id a Te dici, Venerabilis Frater, cum notissimus sit Tibi liber Decretalium Prædecessorum Nostrorum, et iccirco scias, omni semper ætate, hoc in more positum fuisse Romanorum Pontificum, ut cum audirent aliquid ab Episcopo quolibet minus recti specie peractum, ad Eundem libere scripserint exprimendo propriam ægritudinem. Et quam plurimi existunt Canones incipientes illis verbis : “ Relatum... Quærelam.....Ad audientiam.....Ad Nostram audientiam.....Ad aures.....etc.” Neque Episcopi, hujus modi Romanorum Pontificum Litteras unquam acceperunt veluti *sententias*, *inaudita parte editas*, neque unquam indignati sunt ; sed easdem Litteras eo quo scriptæ fuerant sensu exceperunt, scilicet tanquam invitationes, vel ad comprobandam rem a se peractam vel ad recognoscendum malefactum, illudque reparandum. Diversa agendi ratio nimis difficile Christi his in terris Vicario redderet totius Ecclesiæ Regimen, et Episcopali mansuetudini haud satis esset consentanea.

In plures autem ambiguitates Te incidisse dolemus, Venerabilis Frater, quoad Regularium negotium. Nam, pro Tua prudentia, primum serio consideres velimus hic agi de Episcopali visitatione, tum Religiosis Societatis Jesu, tum Franciscalis Ordinis Capucinorum viris facta, qui pluribus ab hinc annis in ista Parisiensi civitate, et sub variis Archiepiscopis Tuis Prædecessoribus commorantes, pacifica eorum Exemptionis possessione potiebantur ; et proinde Apostolica etiam Sedes peculiari seu privativa sua in ipsos

Jurisdictione pollebat. Itaque de spolio agitur per factum patrato contra possessionem quam Apostolica Sedes et Regulares habebant. Hic verus est quæstionis status, ex quo perfacile perspicis Apostolicam Sedem juste egisse, etiam si placeret in Judicium Sententiamque convertere verba illa quibus Te monendum duximus. Etenim, Venerabilis Frater, quamquam plenam haberes rationem, tamen minime ignoras ex utriusque juris præscripto, neminem de possessione disturbari posse. Quamobrem antequam Regulares et Apostolicam Sedem propria possessione ac Jure spoliare, Tuam erat, tum Reverentiæ, tum Justitiæ causa, eandem Sedem de Tuis rationibus certior facere, et ab eadem Sede expectare responsum. Quæ Apostolica Sedes justissime est operata, quandoquidem apprime nosis quod intercedat discrimen inter Judicium *petitorium* et *possessorium judicium*, ac quæ utrumque jus præcipue statuas circa cujusque generis spoliatorum et ausuum judicia. Vehementer optamus, Venerabilis Frater, ut id pro Tua prudentia sedulo considerare et intelligere velis.

Arbitraris autem Apostolicam Sedem ex præsumptionis jure, pro Superiore semper stare debere, quando inter dispares gradus quæstio habetur, ac regulam proponis illi longe dissimilem quam Sanctus Bernardus Innocentio II Decessori Nostro proposuit illis verbis: "Hoc, inter cætera Vestri singularis primatus insignia specialius nobilissimeque nobilitat, Vestrum et inclytum reddit Apostolatam, si eripitis pauperem de manu fortiorum ejus." (S. Bernardus, Epist. 198.)

At contendis Religiosas familias, Lutetiæ Parisiorum degentes, haud posse perfrui exemptionis juribus, propterea quod ipsæ, veluti Tibi videtur, tres ob causas, non sunt canonice erectæ. Et primum, quia istius Status leges non tribuunt Regularibus legitimam existentiam; secundo propterea quod ipsæ leges non sinunt Regularium domos alicujus Dominium rei et Possessionem habere ex quo evenit ut minime possit executioni mandari quod Apostolicæ jubent Constitutiones, quæ præscribunt ut ante foundationem omnino constet quomodo se decenter sustentare queant; ac denique propterea quod Tridentina Synodus et Romanorum Pontificum Constitutiones, ad Canonicam Regularium in diocesis existentiam requirunt Episcopi Consensus, quem asseris uumquam impertitum fuisse Regularibus de quibus sermo est. Atque etiam asseris præcedentis existentiae factum nullomodo Canonicum eorundem Regularium statum efficere posse: non titulo implicitæ Approbationis, quandoquidem Pontificiæ Constitutiones et Concilium Tridentinum postulant, veluti opinaris, ut hujusmodi Episcopi Consensus et Auctoritas sit expressa et scripto data, ante

Regularium adventum; non titulo præscriptionis, propterea quod ais agi de Lege irritante ac de Lege publici Ordinis quæ, uti existimas, præscriptionem haud admittunt. Sed non dubitamus, quin per Te ipse cognoscas, Venerabilis Frater, hujusmodi argumenta nullam plane vim habere, si, pro Tua intelligentia, serio perpendas quæ dicturi sumus quæque a Te sedulo considerari summopere cupimus.

Et sane quoad leges Status quæ Legitimam seu Civilem Regularibus Ordinibus existentiam denegant et vetant illorum domos alicujus possessionis Dominio potiri, et ita impediunt quominus impleatur conditio a Canonicis Sanctionibus eorundem foundationi imposita, ut nempe constet quomodo se cum decentia alant: quid valere umquam possunt hujusmodi Civiles Leges ad Ecclesiasticorum jurium rationem administrationemque? Te minime latet has Civilis Status Leges, hisce præsertim turbulentissimis, miserrimisque teterrimæ ac perniciosissimæ rebellionis temporibus, posse etiam Episcopalibus et cuilibet alii Ecclesiasticæ Institutioni denegare in dies Legitimam seu civilem existentiam, quum admodum Ipsis omnem cujusque rei possessionem Dominiumque injustissime denegant. Ipsis igitur canonica existentia et propria eorum Ecclesiastica jura erunt unquam deneganda? Probe cognoscis Evangelicorum consiliorum exercitium, ad Christianam assequendam perfectionem maxime necessarium, facilius in Religiosis Familiis obtineri posse. Poterunt ne Civiles Leges Christianæ Perfectionis exercitium in statu impedire, et Episcopi ejusmodi legibus Canonicam vim attribuere debent? Omnes quidem, et Episcopi imprimis, agnoscunt quæ semper fuerit Ecclesiæ et hujus Apostolicæ præsertim Sedis, omnium Ecclesiarum Magistræ, agendi ratio circa hujusmodi Leges Regularibus Ordinibus inimicas et infestas. Episcopus igitur possetne ab hujusmodi traditione discedere, ac deserere locum quem in Ecclesia tenet, hasce leges sancire eisque coram Ecclesia aliquem attribuere effectum? Quæ quidem considerationes evidenter ostendunt quam inanis sit oppositio ex ejusmodi civilibus legibus petita.

Quod autem hæ leges per summam injustitiam decernunt Religiosas domos nihil omnino posse Domini jure possidere, et iccirco censes haud posse impleri conditionem a Sacris Canonibus Regularium foundationi præscriptam, ut nempe constet de eorum decenti sustentatione, si eorundem, quos appellas Canonum, spiritum et litteram penitus et accurate perspexeris, Venerabilis Frater, certe videbis Te falli ac decipi. Etenim quidnam Canones postulant præscribendo illam conditionem? Nihil profecto aliud exigunt et volunt nisi eorundem Regularium bonum tum Singulorum tum recti præsertim

cujusque Religiosæ Familiæ regiminis et administrationis ratione habita. Itaque, cum omnino impossibile ipsis sit illam exequi conditionem, qua æqualitate posset in eorumdem damnum verti quod pro ipsorum bono est constitutum? Notissimæ Tibi sunt de hac re non solum Canonum (Cap. Quod ob gratiam de Reg. juris in 6), sed etiam Civilium legum regulæ (Leg. null. 25 ff. de legit.): “Nulla juris ratio aut æquitatis benignitas patitur ut quæ salubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur ea Nos duriore interpretatione contra ipsorum commodum producamus ad severitatem.”

Si autem Canonum litteras inspicias, num ipsi præcipiunt ut Regulares, quemadmodum Tibi videtur, possessionibus duntaxat eorum Dominii alantur et sustententur? Non certe. Hi Canones sunt: Constitutio “*Cum alias*” Gregorii XV Decessoris Nostri, die 17 Aug. 1622 edita; Constitutio “*Cum sæpe*” Urbani XVIII item Decessoris Nostri, die 21 Junii 1625, et Constitutio “*Nuper*” Innocenti XII item Decessoris Nostri, die 23 Decembris 1697. Ac satis erit eam afferre quæ recentior est, aliasque duas complectitur. Hæc igitur Constitutio ita loquitur: “Deinceps vero monasterium, conventus, domus, etc...Regularium nullibi recipiatur nisi in singulis hujusmodi locis duodecim saltem religiosi degere et ex *redditibus et consuetis eleemosynis*, detractis detrahendis, competenter sustentari valeant.” Itaque Canones minime loquuntur unice de possessionibus, sed generatim de redditibus et eleemosynis contenti sunt.

Sed jam loquamur oportet de alia conditione seu de Episcopali Venia et consensu quem Tridentina Synodus et Pontificiæ Constitutiones ad Canonicam Regularium domorum existentiam constituendam requirunt. Nemo certe, Venerabilis Frater, de hujusmodi Episcopalis Consensus necessitate dubitare potest, sed in præsentī quæstione est videndum, si hic Consensus modo extiterit. Ac rebus omnibus sedulo examinatis, qua æquitate negari unquam poterit ejusmodi extitisse Consensum? Et sane, ut cætera omittamus, omnes norunt, Venerabilis Frater, commemoratos Religiosos tum Franciscalis Ordinis, tum Societatis Jesu viros reipsa plures abhinc annos istic extitisse sub variis Parisiensibus Antistitibus Tuis Prædecessoribus, qui eorumdem Regularium opera ad Animarum Salutem curandam, et ad omnia Sacri Ministerii Munia obeunda quam libentissime uti sunt, quique eosdem Regulares benevolentia et honoris significationibus sunt prosecuti. Quæ tuorum Prædecessorum erga ipsos Regulares agendi ratio clare ostendit Canonicum Consensum sufficienti modo expressum fuisse, illumque negari haud posse, quin maxima Tuis ipsis Prædecessoribus inferatur injuria. Atque percommode cadit quod (de institut. cap. “non

amplius") Fagnanus auctor æqualis et etiam posterior Urbano VIII aliisque Romanis Pontificibus Prædecessoribus a Te appellatis et illarum Canoniarum Constitutionum quas recens scientissimus scribebat, quin nemo unquam vel antea vel postea adversatus fuerit: "Glossa ultima in cap. de Monachis quæst. 2, ponderando verbum *probante* notat 'satis esse ut Episcopi Consensus accedat post erectionem, quia ratihabitione potest confirmare,' et consentiunt ibi Hugo Archidiaconus et alii." Et revera aliter esse non potest, cum ita æquitas exigat, et, quemadmodum jurisperiti loquantur, facta potentiora sunt verbis.

Ex quo pro Tua sapientia intelligis nullum pondus habere tuam animadversionem ex Urbani XVIII Constitutione deductam, ut scilicet Ordinarii venia expressa esse debeat, et non implicita aut præsumpta, veluti existimas, quoniam non minus id exprimitur quod certis, evidentibus et longa annorum serie continuatis factis exprimitur, quam quod verbis etiam scripto exprimitur. Ac multo minus valet alia animadversio, ut scilicet hæc Episcopalis Venia scripto sit tradenda, propterea quod non solum facta potentiora sunt verbis et scriptis, verum etiam propterea quod nulla Canonica Constitutio hanc scripti conditionem statuit. Neque afferri potest argumentum a Concilio Tridentino depromptum, ut scilicet Ordinarii Consensus foundationem præcedere debeat. Nam Te minime latet, hunc esse proprium, naturalem et judicum omnis ratihabitionis quæ ex sequentibus factis oritur effectum, sanandi scilicet defectum illius actus qui recte præcedere debuisset. Nihil autem ad præsentem quæstionem attinet quod de præscriptione loqueris, cum nemo prorsus intendat aut velit Ordinarii Consensum per præscriptionem excludere, sed unice dicitur hujusmodi consensum, tot factis ac longa annorum serie amplissime declaratum, sine dubio ac sufficienti modo existere, ac non solum haud posse eundem negari consensum, verum etiam pro certo haberi debere, illum omni meliore forma extulisse.

Jam vero dum hæc prædictis Tuis potissimum litteris, Kalendis Septembris ad nos missis, rescribenda Tibique diligenter consideranda esse censemus, haud possumus quin alia quoque non levis certe momenti Tibi significemus. Namque dissimulare non possumus, Venerabilis Frater, summam fuisse Nostram molestiam admirationemque ubi accepimus Te exequiis interfuisse Magni utriusque militiæ Magistri Magnan et Solemnem Absolutionem fuisse impertitum, dum ex illius feretro Massonica etiam extabant insignia, et eidem funeri, socii illius damnatæ sectæ cum eisdem insignibus adsistebant. Tuis litteris, die 1 proximi mensis Augusti ad nos scriptis, asseveras illa insignia nec a Te nec a Tuis Presbyteris visa fuisse, neque ea ullo modo

a Te cognosci. Verum optime sciebas, Venerabilis Frater, illum defunctum virum, dum vixit, Magni uti appellant *Orientis* munus proscriptæ ejusdem sectæ misere sustinuisse; et iccirco facile funeri esse interfuturos ac simul curaturos ut ipsius sectæ insignia ostentarentur. Itaque pro Tua Religione omnia Tibi erant sedulo considerata et omnino ab illis exequiis cavendum ne Tua præsentia et opera excitarentur gravissima illa admiratio et offensio qua omnes viri Catholici merito affecti fuerunt. Etenim haud ignoras quomodo, gravibus etiam irrogatis pœnis, *Massonica*, aliæque hujusmodi iniquitatis societates a Romanis Pontificibus Decessoribus Nostreis et a Nobis ipsis damnatæ fuerunt. (Clemens XII Constitut. "In eminenti." Benedictus XIV "Provideas." Pius VII "Ecclesiam." Leo XII "Quo graviora." Nostra Encyclica Ep., die 9 Novembris 1846, et alibi.)

Siquidem hujusmodi impietatis sectæ, nomine licet diversæ, tamen nefario scelestissimorum consiliorum fœdere inter se conjunctæ, ac teterrimo contra Sacrosanctam Nostram Religionem et hanc Apostolicam Sedem odio inflammatæ, tum pestiferis scriptis longe lateque disseminatis, tum pravis aliis quibusque ac diabolicis prorsus artibus adhibitis omnium mores mentesque corrumpere, omnemque Honestatis, Virtutis, Veritatis ac Justitiæ ideam de medio tollere, et monstruosa opinionum portenta usquequaque spargere, et abominanda quæque vitia, et infanda scelera fovere, propagare et Legitimæ cujusque Auctoritatis Imperium labefactare, et Catholicam Ecclesiam, si fieri unquam posset, Civilemque Societatem funditus evertere, et Deum Ipsum de Cœlo detrudere emolliuntur.

Nunc autem silentio præterire non possumus ad aures Nostras pervenisse istic erroneam æque ac perniciosam invaluisse opinionem, Apostolicæ Hujus Sedis acta nullam parere Obligationem, nisi acta ipsa, Civilis Potestatis venia, executioni fuerint mandata. Quod quidem quam erroneum et Ecclesiæ atque Apostolicæ Sedis Auctoritati injuriosum et Spirituali fidelium bono adversum sit, nemo certe non videt. Suprema enim Ecclesiæ ejusdemque Sedis Auctoritas Civilis Potestatis imperio et arbitrio obnoxia nullo modo esse unquam potest, in iis omnibus quæ ad Ecclesiasticas res ac Spirituale Animarum Regimen quavis ratione spectant; et illi omnes qui Catholico Nomine gloriantur eidem Ecclesiæ et Apostolicæ Sedi Religiosissime obtemperare, debitamque Reverentiam ac Devotionem exhibere omnino tenentur.

Atque hic animadvertas velimus Te, in commemorato sermone penes istum Senatam pronunciato, perperam asseruisse a Felicis Memorix Benedicto XIV Prædecessore Nostro

in Conventione cum Sardiniae Rege inita, eidem Regi concessum fuisse Regiae executionis jus circa Pontificia Acta, quandoquidem affirmasti in instructione eidem Conventioni adjecta dici: "Pontificias Constitutiones ad disciplinam pertinentes subjiciendas esse illius Senatus recognitioni, easque Regia executione indigere ut obligandi vim habeant, exceptis constitutionibus et Apostolicis Litteris, quae ad Dogma Moresque spectant." Quae falsa sane assertio numquam fortasse ex ore Tuo excidisset, Venerabilis Frater, si ante oculos habuisses diligenterque attendisses ejus instructionis verba. Et requidem vera in articulo tertio illius instructionis haec verba leguntur:

"Nel Concordato col Pontefice Benedetto (XIII) trattossi dell'esecuzione de' Brevi e Bolle apostoliche, come puo leggersi nello stesso Concordato. Fu tollerata la semplice visura, senza porre alcun segno, o fare alcun decreto in ordine all'esecuzione delle sopra dette Bolle e Brevi; e si sa che tutto cio è stato fedelmente adempito. E benchè si dica con ogni asseveranza, e si creda, che nè il Senato, nè verun altro tribunale non ha assunta ad istanza di chi si sia la cognizione sovra la giustizia o pretesa ingustizia delle Bolle o de' Brevi, desiderandosi nulladimeno, che il tutto mai sempre proceda con una perfetta armonia, quando mai s'incontrasse qualche difficoltà contraria all'esecuzione della Bolla o del Breve, e si bramasse di saperne i motivi dovranno i Ministri di sua Maestà, con i chiarimenti bastevoli per appagare, informarne o il Ministro della Santa Sede residente in Torino, oppure i ministri Apostolici residenti in Roma. Dalla semplice visura poi resteranno eccettuate le Bolle dogmatiche in materia di fede, le Bolle e i Brevi regolativi del ben vivere e de' santi costumi, le Bolle de' giubbilei e d'indulgenze i Brevi della sacra Penitenzieria, e le lettere delle Sagre Congregazioni di Roma, che si scrivono agli Ordinarii o ad altre persone per informazione."

Atque ejusmodi circa Regiae executionis, veniam dispositiones nunquam immutatae fuerunt in posterioribus Conventionibus inter hanc Apostolicam Sedem et Sardiniae Regem initis, et in Conventione a recentis memoriae Gregorio XVI Praedecessore Nostro cum defuncto Sardiniae Rege Carolo Alberto super *immunitate personali* anno 1842 facta, ad plenum vigorem revocatae fuerunt praecedentes Conventiones, in iis omnibus quibus per eandem Conventionem non fuit derogatum.

Tibi autem persuade, Venerabilis Frater, Nos haec omnia pro supremi Nostri Apostolici Ministerii Munere ac pro Pontificia Nostra in Te Dilectione manifestare debuisse; ac futurum plane confidimus ut pro tua Religione velis haec omnia Aman-
tissima Nostra Monita ac documenta quamlibentissime excipere,

iisdemque studiosissime obsequi, firmiterque adhærere, ac germanam Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Doctrinam et Jura strenue tueri, debitamque erga Apostolicam hanc Sedem et Christi his in terris Vicarium Devotionem et Obedientiam omnibus inculcare et omnes boni Pastoris partes quotidie magis explere in hac præsertim tanta temporum iniquitate. Pro certo etiam habere Te apud Nos in pretio et honore esse et a Nobis vehementer diligere. Atque præcipuæ hujus Nostræ in Te benevolentiæ testem et omnium Cœlestium Munerum auspicem esse volumus Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam toto cordis affectu Tibi ipsi, Venerabilis Frater, et Gregi Tuæ curæ commisso peramanter impertimur.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, die 26 Octobris, anno 1865, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

P. PP. IX.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

—◆—
MAY, 1869.
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CIVILIZATION AND ARTS IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

FROM the valuable notes on ornamentation given in the "Cromlech of Howth," we learn that "before the irruption of the Northmen, almost every Irish church of any note was provided with a costly reliquary and a cumdach, that is, a case made of gold, embossed bronze, or silver, in which a copy of the gospels and other sacred writings were enclosed, and which was generally ornamented in the richest manner and inlaid with precious stones."

In the numerous invasions from the wild Scandinavian hordes who infested our coasts, many of these invaluable works of Irish art were destroyed. Many also perished in the unfortunate disturbances which attacked churches and monasteries in the Reformation period. A few only remain to preserve to after-ages evidences of the perfection attained by our early Christian artists in the plastic art, in sculpture, casting, &c.

Two of the most interesting are connected with our national Apostle, namely, the shrine known as "The Hand of St. Patrick" and "The Bell of Armagh." The former is a silver arm from the elbow downwards, with the right hand in the position of blessing, and having on the second finger a representation of the episcopal ring. It was constructed to preserve a relic of our Apostle's arm, which was enshrined at Down in 1186,—hence its name. It has no elaborate ornamentation. Its history is ably given in an article of the "Dublin Review," December, 1847. It is the property of the Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, and a model of it may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

The second relic, known as "The Bell of Armagh," is a small hand-bell, traditionally revered as actually used by the founder of our national church; on that account we give an accurate description of the bell itself, which we take from H. O'Neill's work, "The Fine Arts of Ancient Ireland:—"

"The bell is of two pieces of rather thick sheet iron, closely riveted, with a very small loop-handle at the top; the metal is very much corroded. The shape is that peculiar to the ancient Irish bells, namely—four straight sides, a little wider below than above, and two of the sides a little broader than the others. The bell is six inches high, four and three-quarters by one and a half inches in width at the top, and five by nearly four inches at the mouth. The handle is three inches long, and the space within the handle little more than half an inch. In an illustrated work on St. Patrick's Bell, published in 1850, by Marcus Ward & Co., of Belfast, there is an excellent article, to which we refer such of our readers as may desire further information respecting this ancient bell. The case in which the bell is enclosed, being an admirable specimen of Irish oak, is the object of special interest to us." From an inscription in the Irish language and letter on the back of this case, we learn that it was made for Donnell O'Locklainn, monarch of Ireland, who reigned from A.D. 1091 till 1105, so that it may be said to belong to the twelfth century. O'Neill, in his work just quoted, gives two beautiful coloured illustrations of this shrine. The ornamentation is of the same character as that of the Cross of Cong. O'Neill says of it—"The richness and beauty of these two compositions are of the highest order. The patterns within the circles have been given a peculiarly delicate character in order that they may not interfere with the effect of the compositions above and below them. . . . The ornaments above and below the circles are very rich and elegant compositions, designed by one who was perfect master of his art; and the execution is equally excellent." The bell and case are the property of the Rev. Dr. Todd, and are kindly deposited by him in the Museum of Trinity College for the inspection of the public.

About the time when Petrie got the first sight of the Cross of Cong in 1822, some alterations were being made at Lismore Castle, the property of the Duke of Devonshire. Upon the opening of a built-up recess in a wall, a valuable Irish MS. and a bishop's crozier, richly decorated in the Irish style, were discovered. This episcopal staff has since been known as the Devonshire crozier. Its date is happily fixed by an inscription in Irish upon it—"A prayer for Nial Mac Meic Aeducain; for whom was made this precious work." "A

prayer for Necktan, the artist who made this precious work."

The "Annals of Inisfallen" inform us that a bishop named Mac Æducain (now McGettigan) presided over Lismore, and died in 1113. Hence the work belongs to the early part of the twelfth century. We must refer the reader for a full description of this crozier to O'Neill's work, wherein are three exquisite coloured engravings of this valuable specimen of Irish art. Some idea of its beauty is given by a few words of our gifted countryman—"The great effect which Nechtan has produced with the small means at his command, must strike the most inexperienced observer. Gold, silver, and niello; or, in other words, deep yellow, white, and dark blue, were almost the whole of his resources. Yet, out of these very limited means how rich, varied, and telling is the combination he has formed! What modern work in ornamental metal can excel the artistic effect which this old crozier presents?"

Amongst the various objects of Ancient Irish Art in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, besides those to which we have already referred, we shall confine our attention to one of special interest. It is of world-wide fame, and is known as the Tara Brooch. The title is suggested by the principle "*Lucus a non-lucendo*." It has no connection with Tara. It was found in 1850 by the children of a poor woman, whilst they were at play on a strand near Drogheda. It was sold by her for a trifle to a watchmaker in Drogheda, from whom it passed by purchase into the possession of Messrs. Waterhouse, of Dublin. It bears no inscription, so that its date must be fixed by a comparison with similar remains of Celtic art. O'Neill and Petrie are here at variance. The former holds that "the Tara Brooch belongs, at the latest, to the early part of the Christian era, if—which is more probable—it be not a relic of heathen times." For Mr. O'Neill, as a mere artist, we entertain the highest respect, and therefore we take, with fullest confidence, his estimate of the artistic excellence of the brooch. But his knowledge of the history of Irish art is not to be compared to Petrie's; hence we incline much more to the date assigned by the latter, who says—"The form and general character of this brooch are Celtic, and, perhaps, Moorish; while they may belong to the most remote antiquity, yet the arts shown in the workmanship of the details are those which belong to that period when such arts were carried to the greatest artistic perfection in Ireland—namely, the eleventh century."

The minuteness of elaboration in the tracery of the Tara Brooch, is amazingly beautiful. O'Neill tells us that—"The brooch is formed of white bronze as a basis, which is covered with a variety of ornaments in gold, silver, niello, variously-coloured glass, and enamel. . . No language can convey an idea of the wonderful delicacy of the workmanship of this relic." It is now (1863) being exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, and a writer in the *Times* has said that it is "more like the work of fairies than of human beings." We have ourselves heard the most practised and able jewellers say, "that so wonderful is the workmanship, that they cannot be imitated exactly at the present day. They have been executed in a peculiar manner, unknown to modern times."

Enough has now been advanced, upon testimonies of the greatest value, to establish the special, and altogether exceptional, excellence of the Irish nation in the departments of design and execution, before the advent of the English to our shores. It may seem astonishing to us at the present day, how that excellence could ever have been questioned. But the truth is—ignorance of our national history and utter heedlessness of our national claims were the fashion with the educated classes. The Catholics—to whom the glories of Irish art, intertwined as they were with their religion, in shrines, reliquaries, manuals of devotion, the lives of the Celtic saints, and the holy Scriptures—the Catholics had such a battle for mere existence that they had neither time nor heart for studies which would teach them the value of the precious deposits in their hands.

The reverence of the Irish for their graveyards, ancient and modern, is one of the characteristics of our race. Hence, in the ages of faith and prosperity, our forefathers planted throughout the land, in the cemeteries which received the remains of noble chief or sainted abbot, those beautiful stone crosses which proclaim at once our creed and our civilization.

"Placed midst the foxglove and the moss
Behold a 'parted warrior's cross!
That is a spot where, evermore,
The lady, at her shieling door,
Enjoys that, in communion sweet,
The living and the dead can meet."

Time, which has swept away so many monuments of ancient Ireland, has dealt gently with our stone crosses. They are planted firmly in the soil, like some great oak, fresh despite the

wear of centuries. But the spirit which erected them was afterwards broken and depressed. They were passed by unnoticed and unprized. To George Petrie is due the credit of fixing public attention upon them, and of vindicating the genius of the artists by whom they were executed. The same tour which in 1822 led to his "discovery" of the Cross of Cong enabled him to visit Tuam. His searching eye sought out and found scattered fragments of the stone cross of Tuam. He was at once struck with its singular beauty.

"In the MS. of his *Western Tour*," says his biographer, "written about the year 1822, he has the following passage:—

'I have still to describe another piece of antiquity, of which no notice has hitherto been taken—the ancient market-cross of Tuam. This monument, the most remarkable of its kind, and the most splendid existing in Ireland, no longer remains in the situation for which it was intended. It is broken into three pieces, of which I discovered two lying in the church-yard; and the third, which was the base or pedestal, in the fish-market, where it was covered over with a heap of stones and rubbish. When together, it stood sixteen feet high, and is composed of three blocks of sandstone, and all the sides are covered with sculpture.' " Dr. Stokes informs us that Petrie then goes on to comment on the designs of this cross, and the similarity they bear to the ornamental designs of our ancient MSS., showing that they belong to the same school of art as that which existed in this country as far back as the sixth century. The nature of the designs is also the same as that of the rude tombstones of this early period, although the execution is infinitely superior, and shows the progress in art up to the twelfth century.

"The progressive decline of the fine arts in Ireland from the end of the twelfth century is as yet an unwritten chapter in the history of our country. Nevertheless, there are few circumstances in our annals that more strongly depict the debasement which it was the unhappy fate of Ireland to have suffered in those troubled times, or that more strikingly indicate the indissoluble connection which ever exists between the cultivation of fine arts and the civilization, greatness, and happiness of a people. If in such a state of barbarism as Ireland was then reduced to, genius had arisen, it would have died like a flower of the desert, unnoticed and unknown; for it was not the warrior's rude and bloody hand that could preserve and cherish it, nor his yet ruder mind that could appreciate its excellence and beauty; the seed should be wafted to some more genial clime before it could be nurtured into vigour."—*"Dublin Penny Journal,"* vol. I.

In that passage of Petrie's, replete with the full but delicate perfume of early spring violets, we see that our countryman was no mere antiquarian. He was a master of pure English, was gifted with great imagination, and had as complete power of painting with the pen as with the brush. We deem it due to his retiring and timid nature to give our full meed of praise to his many-sided genius. Those who had the good fortune to listen to Dr. Stokes lecturing, some two years ago, upon Petrie as a landscape painter, or who have examined the exquisite pictures of Irish scenery which Petrie has executed, must be convinced that eminence awaited him, had he confined himself to the brush alone. His picture of "Clonmacnoise" bears the stamp of exquisite sensibility and expression. The loneliness of the situation, not a single human figure in sight, nought to break the silence at the twilight hour save the batch of wild-duck, which, in the confidence of their solitary haunt, are brooding over the sluggish waters of the Shannon—all befit the scene of the deserted graveyard.—

"No heart was there to heed the hour's duration.
All times and tides were lost in one long term
Of stagnant desolation."

As Petrie was the first to call public attention to the cross of Cong and to the stone cross of Tuam, so was it reserved for him to awaken the interest of his countrymen in the ruins of Clonmacnoise. In a letter written to Sir Bernard Burke, under the date 24th Feb., 1860, Petrie says:—

"MY DEAR SIR BERNARD—Let me premise that about thirty years ago the architectural and other ancient remains of Clonmacnoise, in the very heart of Ireland, and up to that time but little known or noticed, excited in my mind a very deep interest—so deep, indeed, that I resolved to collect all the information it might be in my power to discover, with a view to the compilation of a history of a locality so singularly interesting."

We have read over, again and again, Petrie's description of his first visit to Clonmacnoise; and with a vivid recollection of his oil painting of the ruins stamped upon our memory, we are at a loss whether we should prefer the canvas or the lettered page. As far as we can form any idea of the beauty of word-painting, combined with the utmost simplicity of language, we know not where we have met a passage descriptive of Irish scenery to which we turn with greater pleasure:

"FIRST VISIT TO CLONMACNOISE.

"The road from Shannon Harbour to Cluain M'Noise presents no interesting feature. At about a mile from Clonmacnoise we ascended the hills, and saw the ivied round towers on an eminence below us, but the Shannon was still concealed, and neither the towers nor the scenery assumed a striking character till on descending through these hills, we found ourselves suddenly among the ruins on the bank of the great river.*

"Here, indeed, we looked at each other with expressions of excited astonishment, and involuntarily exclaimed, 'this is worth having travelled for.'

"Let the reader picture to himself a gentle eminence on the margin of a noble river, on which, amongst majestic stone crosses, and a multitude of ancient grave-stones, are placed two lofty round towers, and the ruins of seven or eight churches, presenting almost every variety of ancient Christian architecture. A few lofty ash trees, that seem of equal antiquity and sanctity, wave their nearly leafless branches among the silent ruins above the dead. To the right an elevated causeway carries the eye along the river to the ruins of an ancient nunnery, and on the left still remain the ruins of an old castle, once the palace of the bishops, not standing, but rather tumbled about in huge masses, on the summit of a lofty mound or rath, surrounded by a ditch or fosse, which once received the waters from the mighty stream, now no longer necessary. The background is everywhere in perfect harmony with the nearer objects of this picture; the chain of bare hills on either side, now sere and wild, but once rich with woodland beauty, shut out the inhabited country we so lately left, and the eye and mind are free to wander with the majestic river in all its graceful windings, in an uninhabited and uninhabitable desert, till it is lost in the obscurity of the distance! Loneliness and silence, save the sounds of the elements, have here an almost undisturbed reign. Sometimes, indeed, the attention is drawn by the scream of the wild-fowl which inhabit this solitary region, or the shot of the lonely sportsman. At other times we could hear the measured time of the oar—or rather paddle—of a solitary boat, long before the little speck in the water became visible; and the melancholy song of the shepherd or the milk-girl might sometimes be

*From a learned work now passing through the press, on Irish Local Names, by P. W. Joyce, Esq., we learn that Cluain-mic-nois means "the meadow of the Son of Nos."

heard in the boggy flat, although the singer was too remote to be visible. To such sounds I have been glad to turn for company during the course of the day.

"Readers who have had no experience of the feelings excited in the mind by scenes like this, can have little idea of the deep effect they are capable of producing, and will, perhaps, smile when I tell them that I have felt a degree of regret when the song of the milkmaid ceased, and the paddle of the boatman would be no longer heard, and when the little dusk figure of the fisherman was no longer found on the margin of the river, like the depression caused by parting with a friend whom we do not expect to meet for a long time again. This landscape, so striking and harmonious, is rendered still more affecting by the appropriate figures of groups of pilgrims, that give at once increased interest and picturesqueness to the scene.

"This is but an outline of Clonmacnoise, such as may be intelligible to general readers. The deep interest which this astonishing place afforded in detail, can only be appreciated by the enthusiastic painter or accomplished antiquary. The former will understand the kind of delight with which I was inspired by those groups of pilgrims, clothed in draperies of the most picturesque form, and the most splendid and varied colours. The aged sinner supported by his pilgrim's staff, barefooted and bareheaded; his large gray coat, the substitute for the forbidden cloak or mantle, sweeping the road; his white hair floating on the disregarded wind! The younger man, similarly attired, whose face betrays the deepest guilt, hurrying along with energetic strides. The females of all ages, to whom uninquiring faith and enthusiastic devotion seem natural and characteristic; but, above all, the young and beautiful girl, with pale face, blue eyes, long black eyelashes, and dark hair, whose look betrays no conscious guilt in the midst of her sighing prayers, but rather a feeling of love and devotion; who, notwithstanding her religious duties, is not so entirely unconscious of the power of her beauty but that she can spare an occasional glance towards the strangers who are endeavouring to fix her figure on their paper, or on their memories—a figure, as a friend well observed, that no one but Raphael could draw; such are the poor remains of the once celebrated Cluainmacnoise, for a considerable time the chief retreat, not alone of piety, but also of such learning as the age possessed; a place which the petty kings of three provinces of Ireland contributed to adorn; a spot so sacred that all that were high in the land desired it as their last resting place."

The name of Petrie will ever be associated with the Round Tower controversy. Before the publication of his well-known essay, read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1832, the origin of the Round Towers was "lost in the twilight of fable." Two years previously the Academy offered fifty pounds and the gold medal to the writer of the best essay on these interesting national memorials. Petrie won the prize, and the essay which carried off the palm developed itself into the magnificent quarto volume, in which the subject is exhaustively treated. It would require a separate paper to give even an outline of the various theories which have been broached relative to the date of these towers, and the objects for which they were built. We must refer the reader to Dr. Stokes' work for the ablest and clearest statement of the whole question to be met with. Petrie's theory is now universally accepted by the learned antiquarians of Ireland. Dr. Stokes observes—"It has been said by a learned and witty writer, that a ready method of testing the sanity or insanity of an Irish antiquary is to ask him his opinion as to the Round Towers."

Petrie's opinion, held by all "sane" antiquaries, is as follows: "1st—That the towers were meant to serve as belfries to the Christian churches. 2nd—That they also were intended and used as keeps or places of strength, in which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables, were deposited, and into which, the ecclesiastics to whom they belonged, could retire for security in cases of sudden predatory attack." Petrie then holds that they were not constructed before the Irish became Christians, and that their construction ranges from the sixth to the thirteenth century. His main argument to prove that they could not be pre-Christian is: that before the advent of our National Apostle, the Irish did not know the use of cement or mortar, and were ignorant of the principle of *the arch*. In support of these two points he appeals to all the known remains of Pagan buildings in Ireland—on the Boyne, in the Arran Islands, &c. No opponent of Petrie's theory has attempted to adduce one single Pagan building that shows in its construction any presence of mortar, or any formation of arch. As these occur in all our Round Towers, together with the Symbols of Redemption forming part of the original doorways of some of the towers, there seems to be no evading the force of Petrie's argument.

"O mystic tower, I never gaze on thee—
Altho' since childhood's scarce remember'd spring
Thou wert to me a most familiar thing—

Without an awe, and not from wonder free :
 Wild fancies, too, oft urge themselves on me,
 Working as though they had the power to fling
 The veil aside, year after year doth bring
 More closely round them, thing of mystery !
 Yes, thou dost wake within me such a sense
 As few things earthly can,—thy airy brow
 Hath felt the breeze for centuries immense ;
 Who knows what hand hath raised thee, or how ?
 And Time so much of his own reverence
 Hath lent to thee, we venerate thee now.”—

Quoted in the History of St. Canice's Cathedral.

We observed in the first of these papers that there seemed to be a radical incapacity in the Anglo-Saxon mind to do justice to Celtic character—an inherent indisposition to value the tone of our national mind, to understand our national aspirations, or to appreciate our national genius. When we turn from the flippant leader of the *Times* to the cynical bitterness of the *Saturday Review*, we find the same hostility showing itself in more vigorous onslaughts of unscrupulous writers ; nor does the evil end here.

Mr. Matthew Arnold is an able, conscientious critic, who dispassionately weighs and calmly adjusts the balance—hence his judgments command respect. Now let us hear him upon the shortcomings of our Celtic race :—

“Ireland, that has produced so many powerful spirits, has produced no great sculptors or painters.”—(Study of Celtic Literature.) It would be strange, indeed, if this were true. That a people acknowledged to be gifted with great imagination, poetic instincts, and quickest sensibilities, should not have given any examples of excellence in the sculptor's or the painter's art, would seem a startling paradox. But it is the old story—we are an inferior race—any good in us has been borrowed from our Anglo-Saxon neighbours. In reply to Mr. Arnold's criticism, we refer to Maclise and Barry, as painters, and we note with pride the fact, that of the four artists now engaged on the sculpture of the Albert Memorial for Hyde Park, two are Irish, M'Dowell and Foley. The latter has won his way to the highest eminence, and stands unrivalled amidst the living sculptors of these kingdoms. As Pericles, when he got his artist, Phidias, employed him to decorate Athens with those numerous statues which are the glory of sculpture, so does it seem reserved for Mr. Foley to ornament and beautify his native city of Dublin. We are gratified to learn that the last commission he has received is to execute

the statue of Henry Grattan. When to the graceful form of Goldsmith, and the life-like energy of Burke, are added the colossal figure of the great tribune of the Irish people, O'Connell, and the impassioned vehemence of emancipated freedom embodied in the form of Grattan, then may we with benefit read these books lying open in our thoroughfares, to teach us that we have Celtic names worthy of our best hero-worship.

But we must return from this pleasing digression to the ancient sculpture of Ireland, and ask, what have we to show in this department? We answer at once—Go to Monasterboice and examine the stone crosses there; go thence to the centre of Ireland and see crosses of the same character at Clonmacnoise; pass thence to Castledermot, and, having surveyed the great cross there, proceed northwards and examine the Irish stone cross at Drumclieff, and then show us any monuments in England of the *same date*, so beautiful in design, so graceful in form, so delicate as the interlacements which decorate the arms of the Irish cross. England has truly reason to boast of her glorious cathedrals. They are the evidences of Catholic times, when the earnest faith of the people prompted them to raise those palaces of religion. They are also the proofs of splendid, artistic genius, devoted to the highest purposes of Christian worship. But these gorgeous temples which cover the land and delight the eye of the traveller—

“A thing of beauty is a joy for ever”—

such temples were erected long subsequent to the period in which our exquisite stone crosses were executed. Dr. Stokes, with that moderation and truthfulness which characterize his admirable biography of Petrie, observes:

“The art of the carver or sculptor may next be considered; and to deny the quality of a certain beauty to the early stone and metal work of Ireland, is only an example of a narrow prejudice. True it is that in the drawing of the figure, as seen in the older MS. and in sculpture, whether in stone or metal, it is easy to perceive a deficient power of execution and design; but even with such defects the old Irish artists are often most successful in expression. In the Petrie Museum the small metal shrine of St. Moedoc, which is of great antiquity, and ornamented with bas-reliefs of ecclesiastics and holy women in their early costumes, of an execution marvellously delicate, the expression of the countenances is in a high degree felicitous and varied; and, to come to later times, the crowned effigies of O'Brien and O'Connor, at Corcomroe and Roscommon Abbeys, exhibit a power of sculpture which may

compare with anything of the same date in England. The same admirable quality of expression may be seen in the figure of the Saviour on the cross of Tuam, and in many other examples. . . . But it is in the variety of form, and the exquisite tracery in metal work, that the skill and the taste of the old artificers is mainly shown. The jewelled shrines of the consecrated bells, as well as many of the earlier and even of the later croziers, down to the fifteenth century, exhibit great power both in design and execution. This Irish art has been by some styled barbarous. It may be presumed, in the same sense, that the pointed architecture was called Gothic; but to him whose sense of beauty and of excellence is not narrowed or tied down by formulæ, it has, in all the qualities of proportion, variety, and gracefulness, a singular and unapproachable beauty."

(*To be continued.*)

RELIGION IN EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MENTAL CULTURE.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE HISTORICAL, LITERARY, AND ÆSTHETICAL
SOCIETY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, BY THE
VERY REV. MONSIGNOR WOODLOCK, D.D.

WE have been accustomed to hear the arguments developed which prove the importance, or rather the necessity, of uniting religious with secular instruction in the great work of Education. With Bacon we have considered Religion as the precious perfume of the sciences which hinders them from corrupting the human heart—"aroma scientiarum." We know, that it alone, by being the basis, the companion, and the crown of the instruction of youth, can make that instruction an *Education* which will fit man for the two-fold end of his existence, to be for a while a worthy denizen of earth, and thus to become an everlasting citizen of heaven. These holy and supernatural advantages of Religion in Education are often considered. But not so frequently, as it seems to me, do we reflect on another very important part, which the study of religious truth, and the scientific acquirement of sacred knowledge ought to occupy in the education of a Christian citizen; and many persons, I think, do not sufficiently bear in mind the grievous intellectual loss sustained by those whose minds are submitted to a system of culture, from which is excluded a study of Religion proportionate to

the other parts of their Education. The acquirement of religious knowledge, corresponding to the extent of a youth's secular information, is a most important element in his mental culture; and I ask your indulgence, while I endeavour briefly to set before you some of the intellectual advantages which arise from uniting the study of Religion with the cultivation of other subjects, advantages which are jeopardised, or lost, when religion is excluded from the schools.

The advantages to which I refer were thoroughly known and appreciated in those ages of faith to which Christendom is indebted for nearly all the institutions, intellectual, political, or social, which form the basis of European civilization. The minds of those great men, who drew order out of the chaos of barbarism, were trained chiefly, though not exclusively, by the study of religious truths. The authors of our Irish Brehon Laws, Charlemagne, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Lewis of France, to say nothing of the great fathers of civilization, the glorious Popes, St. Gregory the VII. and Innocent the III., have left after them unmistakable signs, that to the deep study of Religion were they chiefly indebted for that mental culture which raised them so far above their fellows, and enabled them to leave their mark upon the world for ages.

But even those whose fundamental principle would, if applied universally, sap the foundation of all doctrinal teaching; even those who reject the authority of a divinely-appointed teacher of Religion upon earth, admit in practice the truth of the principle for which I contend; and it is worthy of remark, that some of the greatest Protestant philosophers, orators, and poets, borrow from the sacred pages, or from the doctrines of the Christian Religion, their happiest illustrations or wisest maxims.

With your kind permission, then, I shall endeavour to show what a valuable instrument of mental culture is to be found in a deep and extensive study of Religion, corresponding to the depth and extent of the other studies, in which a youth happens to be engaged, and since we Catholics know that true Religion, with all its attendant blessings, is to be found only in the living teaching of the Catholic Church, I shall draw the illustrations of my subject chiefly, although not exclusively, from the doctrines and practices which distinguish Catholicity from every other religious denomination.

The polish of the human mind, which is the fruit of a liberal education, seems to me to consist chiefly: 1st, in sharpening the reasoning powers; 2ndly, in teaching the mind what is morally good, that she may love it; and 3rdly, in storing the imagination with images of the truly beautiful.

Now this triple fruit is produced in a remarkable manner by a systematic and deep study of the sacred truths of the Catholic Religion, as a part of education in youth.

The first thing to be considered in any system of religious teaching is; the nature of the dogmas upon which it is founded. Those fundamental truths or dogmas it is, which give a tone to the whole body of doctrine; they it is, which give to it unity, consistency and strength; which make it powerful for good or evil over the minds of its adherents; which are the *tessera* or mysterious sign, by which its disciples are bound together, are known to each other, and are recognised outside. These truths or great principles exercise a most powerful influence on all, who accept them as the foundation of their belief, and as the foundation consequently of all their supernatural hopes and most important interests. If these principles be spiritual and sublime, they raise the mind, and fill it with noble and exalted convictions; if they be low and degrading, the mind which is imbued with them, becomes degraded, grovels in the mire of sensuality, and even adores the vilest forms of depravity and vice. What is it, that has given its peculiar tone to Christian Civilization and raised it so high above the boasted civilization of Pagan Greece, or Rome, but the holy principles and the sublime teachings of the Christian Religion? Now, in proportion as these sacred truths and ennobling principles are brought home to each mind, their effect in the individual case becomes more apparent to all, and more fruitful of real advantage to the intellect and whole man. And if we consider in particular the chief truths proposed by the Catholic Church to the belief of her children, we shall find the great force of these remarks. The doctrines of the Trinity or of Three Divine Persons in one God, of the Incarnation, of the Redemption of mankind by the sufferings of a God made man, of the real presence of the same Man-God in a permanent sacrament and continual sacrifice, of the living teaching of the Spirit of God in an infallible Church, of the presence on earth of one, who, although only a mortal and weak man, is still God's Vicar on earth, and as such, invested with power from on high, to be the ruler, and the unerring teacher of all God's children: these doctrines, I say, exercise a wonderful influence in the development of the human intellect; each one of them opens out, as it were, a new field on which the mind and its faculties may expatiate, developing themselves, and becoming more and more thoroughly educated by the study of subjects, which are at once the most sublime and the most interesting, because they are the communications of God to his creatures. And think not that I suppose that

these truths should be studied equally by all. The form of Religious Education I advocate is one in which the study of Religion would be in proportion to the rest of the intellectual culture, for I maintain that, even as a Christian child, acquainted with its catechism is, as has been well said, more learned on many matters of the deepest import than were the sages of old, and with its intellect more fitted for the knowledge of truth, and better stored; so in every grade of learning the Catholic Christian who has studied his religion systematically and deeply, has an intellect better prepared for the appreciation of truth than his brother who has not enjoyed the like advantage. And most assuredly the knowledge of these Divine truths disposes the educated mind, and sharpens its reasoning powers in order to the appreciation of the great metaphysical truths regarding personality, and substance, and essence, and being, and causes and effects, with many other abstruse points, which are set before the intellect by the mental and moral sciences.

The study of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic religion promotes mental culture also to a remarkable extent, by teaching the mind what is morally good, that she may love it. And here I regard moral good, not under its usual and holiest aspect, as it is referred to the service of our Maker, or is the only source of true happiness; but I look on it merely inasmuch as the lively appreciation of the true principles of moral rectitude ennobles the soul, and enlarges and elevates the mind; in a word, I view it in the sense in which we may apply to it the poet's words:—

“*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*”

Now it seems to me that to deprive Catholic youth of the opportunity of studying deeply and systematically the moral principles and the sacred rites and the holy practices, prescribed or recommended by their religion, and in use among her children is, in truth, to deprive them of this great element of mental culture. And who can express the valuable education imparted to the mind, especially of youth, by studying the gentleness, the purity, the holiness of the church's moral and disciplinary code? Who can tell the elevating influence of the examples of her sainted heroes and heroines in every age, in every station of life, in every imaginable variety of circumstances? Who can sufficiently explain the refining effect of her sacred liturgy, acting through the senses as well as through faith on the moral feelings of man? It has been said, and with great truth, that the barbarians, who devastated the Roman Empire, were civilized and changed into modern Christendom in

a great measure by the glorious Ritualism of the Church ; by her noble cathedrals, her gorgeous liturgy, her gentle but inflexible morality, her holiness. The great influence of her teaching on the development and perfection of the fine arts, of painting, of sculpture, of music, has been explained by much abler tongues than mine ; and no one doubts the immense power exercised by these noble arts in civilizing, that is, educating the masses and individuals. Who can say the chastening effect of her solemn funeral rites, when with one word she comforts the mourning survivors by pointing to the glory of heaven and of its angelic citizens, and teaches them by telling how Lazarus, once a beggar, enjoys a place which the riches of earth cannot give ? Who can measure the salutary influence exercised on the mind and heart, and on the whole man by the sacred ceremonies with which the Catholic Church consecrates her sacred virgins to God ? Who can estimate the ennobling sentiments inspired by the solemn ceremonies with which she offers sacrifice to the Most High or ordains ministers for His altar ? Now of each of these things, both as regards generations and individuals, it may be said with truth, *emollit mores*. With respect to one of the institutions of the Church, to which I have referred above, and which is most frequently misrepresented or maligned, I mean, the religious state, the illustrious Balmez says, with good reason : " What man with a tender and sensitive heart can endure the shameless declamation of Luther, especially if he has read the Cyprians, the Ambroses, the Jeromes, and the other great writers of the Catholic Church, on the sublime honour of the Christian Virgin. Who, then, is there who will not rejoice to see, during ages when the most savage barbarism prevailed, those secluded dwellings where the spouses of the Lord secured themselves from the dangers of the world, incessantly employed in raising their hands to heaven, to draw down upon the earth the dews of Divine mercy. In times and countries the most civilized, how sad is the contrast between the asylums of the purest and loftiest virtue, and the ocean of dissipation and profligacy ? Were these abodes a remnant of ignorance, a monument of fanaticism, which the coryphaei of Protestantism did well to sweep from the earth ? If so, let us protest against all that is noble and disinterested ; let us stifle in our hearts all enthusiasm for virtue ; let everything be reduced to the grossest sensuality ; let the painter throw away his pencil, the poet his lyre ; let us forget our greatness and our dignity ; let us degrade ourselves, saying, ' Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' "

I have the more readily quoted these words of the great

Spanish philosopher, because, unhappily, they have had of late, a sad application in his own Spain, through the wickedness of a few adventurers, despite the protests of that Catholic people. And again, even within the last few weeks, we have seen how ignorance or contempt of these noble sentiments has made men and women—yes, and leaders of public opinion—forget the respect and honour due to holy and devoted ladies, who have given up their lives to the service of the poor and the suffering.

The application of these principles to my purpose is clear; and from them I conclude, that the doctrine and practices, and even the sacred rites of the Catholic Church, teach the mind what is morally good, and that, consequently, the study of these sacred things, that is, the study of religion, enlarges and ennobles the mind, and elevates by giving it a lively appreciation of the true principles of moral rectitude.

The third fruit of a liberal education in refining the human mind seems to me to consist in storing the imagination with images of the truly beautiful. Now the study of religion produces this effect in a wonderful manner. And here I am met on all sides with most numerous illustrations of my meaning and proofs of my assertion.

First, then, I would remind you of the large extent to which the sacred Scriptures are used by the greatest orators and poets. Examples are, without doubt, familiar to you all. I remember an occasion in which I had the pleasure of hearing, in the House of Commons, one of the greatest orators—perhaps the greatest orator—who now sits in the Imperial Parliament; I mean Mr. Bright. His audience on that occasion was, indeed, an unwilling one—unwilling to hear the home truths, but most unpalatable ones, he told, and still entranced everyone by the marvellous strength, and sweetness, and eloquence of his words. Every sentence he uttered entered into the depths of his auditors' hearts; but it is quite impossible for me to express the effect on that vast assembly, when, to conclude his soul-stirring address, he borrowed the language of inspiration:—

“The noble lord, towards the conclusion of his speech, spoke of the cloud which is at present hanging over Ireland. It is a dark and heavy cloud, and its darkness expands over the feelings of men in all parts of the British Empire. But there is a consolation which we may all take to ourselves. An inspired king and bard and prophet has left us words which are not only the expression of a fact, but we may take them as the utterance of a prophecy. He says, ‘To the upright there ariseth light in the darkness.’ Let us try in this

matter to be upright. Let us try to be just; and that cloud will be dispelled; the dangers which we see will vanish; and we may have the happiness, perhaps, of leaving to our children the heritage of an honorable citizenship in a united and prosperous empire."

And again, who has not admired the eloquent sentences with which, referring to the sacred pages, the same orator concluded his recent speech on the Irish Church Bill, now before Parliament:—

"If I were particular as to the sacred nature of the endowments, I should even then be satisfied with the propositions in this bill—for, after all, I hope it is not far from Christianity to charity; and we know that the Divine Founder of our faith has left much more of the doings of the compassionate and loving heart than he has of dogma. I am not able to give the column, or the chapter, or the verse, or the page; but what has always struck me most in reading the narratives of the Gospel is how much of kindness and how much of compassion there was in them, and how much also there was of dealing kindly with all that were sickly, with all that were suffering. Do you think it will be less a misappropriation of the surplus funds of this great establishment to apply them to some kind of object such as that described in the bill? Do you not think that from the charitable dealing with these matters even a sweeter incense may arise than when these vast funds are applied to maintain three times the number of clergy than are of the slightest use to the church with which they are connected? We can do but little, it is true. We cannot relume the extinguished lamp of reason. We cannot make the deaf to hear. We cannot make the dumb to speak. It is not given to us—

From the thick film to purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eyeballs pour the day.

But at least we can lessen the load of affliction, and we can make life more tolerable to the vast numbers who suffer. When I look at this great measure, and I can assure the house that I have looked at it much more than the majority of honourable and right honourable members, because I have seen it grow from time to time, and from clause to clause, and have watched its growth and its completion with great and increasing interest. I look at this measure as one tending to a more true and solid union between Ireland and Great Britain. I believe it will give tranquillity to our people. When you have a better remedy, I at least will fairly consider it. I repeat I see this

measure giving tranquillity to our people, greater strength to the realm, and adding a new lustre and a new dignity to the Crown. I dare claim, then, for this bill the support of all thoughtful and good people within the bounds of the British Empire, and I cannot doubt that in its early and great results it will have the blessing of the Supreme, for I believe it to be founded on those principles of justice and mercy which are the glorious attributes of His eternal reign."

Now I have quoted these eloquent passages in order to give a sample of the ennobling effect of the study of the Sacred Scriptures in educating the human mind. The Catholic Church has been accused of forbidding her children, especially the laity, to study the sacred volume. This accusation you know, gentlemen, is unfounded; for we have the words written by the glorious Pontiff, Pius VI., on receiving from the Archbishop of Florence his Italian translation of the Holy Bible: "Your sentiment is a sound one, when you desire to urge on the faithful to a diligent study of the Sacred Scripture; for they are a most copious fountain, open to all, that each may draw from them holiness of life and doctrine, rejecting those errors which are so prevalent in this corrupt age. And this, as you say, has been fittingly done by your publishing the sacred pages which you have translated into the vernacular tongue, so that all may understand them; especially since you declare, and the work itself shows, that you have added notes and remarks which you have taken from the writings of the Holy Fathers, and which will guard readers from the danger of error." Catholics then are not forbidden to study the Sacred Scriptures, although they are forbidden to receive them from other hands than from those of their infallible guardian, the Church. Nay more; most assuredly, a grievous intellectual injury is inflicted on those young educated Catholics, who are not allowed and even encouraged to become conversant with the holy volume, under the guidance of her who is its divinely appointed guardian, and in the manner she prescribes.

From the oratory of the senate I pass to the drama, and from the sacred pages to the living teaching of the Catholic Church. Every Catholic who studies the pages of the immortal Shakespeare, must be struck by his frequent allusion to the doctrines and practices of our holy religion, and by the touching appeals, which through them he makes to the feelings. Among a thousand similar passages I have been always struck by that scene in *Hamlet*, where the Ghost, enumerating the injuries received at the hands of a guilty brother, sets down as the climax of them all, what every Catholic regards as well-nigh the greatest of all misfortunes, viz., to be deprived of the last

Sacraments, by which the Church prepares the dying Christian to appear before his Judge:—

“Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother’s hand,
Of life, of crown, of queen, at once despatched ;
Cut off ev’n in the blossoms of my sin,
Unhousel’d, disappointed, unanel’d ;
No reckoning made, but sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head.”

Hamlet.—Act 1, Sc. 5.

To take another instance: one of our contemporary British writers, who (to say the least) is far from having the Catholic instincts or mode of expression familiar to Shakespeare, Lytton Bulwer, in his play of *Richelieu*, pays homage again to the nobleness of the sentiments which the teachings and practices of the Catholic church inspire. Even a London audience has, I am told, been forced more than once, despite its anti-Catholic prejudices, to applaud the sublime beauty of the passage. Cardinal Richelieu is introduced endeavouring to save his orphan ward Julie from King Louis XIII. Every means has proved unavailing. A courtier is sent to the cardinal:—

“Pardon, your Eminence—even now I seek
This lady’s home—commanded by the King
To pray her presence.

RICHELIEU.

To those who sent you !
And say you found the virtue they would slay
Here—couched upon this heart, as at an altar,
And sheltered by the wings of sacred Rome !
Begone !

COURTIER.

My Lord, I am your friend and servant—
Misjudge me not ; but never yet was Louis
So roused against you : shall I take this answer ?
It were to be your foe.

RICHELIEU.

All time my foe,
If I, a Priest, could cast this holy sorrow
Forth from her last asylum.

The messenger returns :—

My Lord, the King cannot believe your Eminence
So far forgets your duty, and his greatness,
As to resist his mandate ! Pray you, Madam,
Obey the King—no cause for fear !

JULIE.

My father !

RICHELIEU.

She shall not stir !

COURTIER.

You are not of her kindred—

An orphan——

RICHELIEU.

And her country is her mother !

COURTIER.

The country is the King.

RICHELIEU.

Ay, is it so ?

Then wakes the power which in the age of iron
Burst forth to curb the great, and raise the low ;
Mark where she stands !—around her form I draw
The awful circle of our solemn Church !
Set but a foot within that holy ground,
And on thy head—yea, though it wore a crown—
I launch the curse of Rome !”

From this scarcely Catholic expression of beautiful Catholic sentiment, which loves to consider the Holy See as the protector of the weak, let us turn to one whose lovely language has never been accustomed to express in matters of religion aught but Catholic truth, and whose mind was thoroughly imbued with the teachings and sentiments of the Church ; Francesco Petrarca. Among the beautiful Sonetti and Canzoni of that exquisite poet I know of none more lovely, indeed I doubt if in any language there can be found one more exquisite, than the 49th Canzone. It is addressed to our Blessed Lady, and each line is inspired by some one or other of the beautiful truths which the Catholic Church teaches us regarding Her, who is fair as the moon, chosen as the sun, lovely as the morning dawn.

“ Vergine bella, che di sol vestita,
Coronata di stelle, al sommo sole
Piacesti sì, che'n Te sua luce ascose,
Amor mi spinge a dir di Te parole ;

Ma non so 'ncominciar senza tu 'aita,
E di Colui ch' amando in Te si pose.

Invoco lei che ben sempre rispose
Chi la chiamò con fede.

Vergine, s'a mercede

Miseria estrema dell 'umane cose

Giàmmai Ti volse, al mio prego T'inchina :

Soccorri alla mia guerra

Bench' i'sia terra, e Tu del ciel Regina."

A literary friend has favored me with the following beautiful translation, which has the merit of being in the metre of the original, and of being almost literal :—

I.

Virgin of beauty, who in sun arrayed,

And crowned with stars, didst so the highest Sun

Please, that his own light he did in Thee hide,

To utter words of thee love spurs me on,

But how begin know not without thine aid

And his, who loving lay within thy side.

Her I invoke who always well replied

To faith-incited prayer.

Virgin, if pity e'er

Of woe extreme with human things allied

Hath moved thee, favoring to thy suppliant lean,

Bring succour to my strife,

Though I am earth, and thou of heaven art queen.

II.

Virgin of wisdom, of the fair band one

Of the blest virgins who were named the wise,

Yea, first of them, with brightest lamp displayed ;

O shield secure of whoso suffering lies

'Gainst every blow by death and fortune done,

Which gives, not refuge, triumph 'neath its shade :

O calming of that flame which still hath preyed

On foolish mortals here :

Virgin, those eyes so clear

Which once, in sadness plunged, the wounds surveyed

Stamped on thy Son's sweet limbs most cruelly,

Turn on my state perplexed,

That, wildered, doth for counsel come to thee.

III.

Virgin of purity, perfection bright,
Daughter and Mother of thy offspring mild,
Who dost this life illumine, that life adorn;
Through thee th' Almighty Father's Son, thy child,
Thee, window of high heaven's most shining light,
Came us to save when dawned earth's latest morn;
Above all other earthly dwellings borne,
Thou chosen wert alone,
Virgin, most blessed one,
That should Eve's sorrow to rejoicing turn,
Make, for thou canst, me fit His grace to prove,
Thou blissful without end,
Now crown'd with glory in the realms above.

IV.

Virgin of holiness, full of all grace,
Who by most true and deep humility
Didst mount to heaven from whence thou hear'st my
prayer;
Thou didst produce the fount of pity high,
The Sun of justice, who dispels all trace
Of error thick, of mortal's life the share:
Three names most sweet and dear 'tis thine to bear,
O mother, daughter, bride,
Virgin all glorified,
Queen of the King who us from every snare
Hath loosed, and freedom given and happiness,
In whose most holy wounds
Steep thou my heart, true source of blessedness.

V.

Virgin all peerless, who alone dost shine,
Whose beauties even in heaven all love secure,
Whose first, or like, or second, none hath viewed,
Whose thoughts and acts, all holy, pious, pure;
Of the true God the sacred living shrine
Rendered thee in thy fruitful virginhood.
Through thee life might for me have every good,
If, Mary, thou entreat,
Virgin, in pity sweet,
And grace abound where fault abounding stood.
My soul's knees I before thee humbly bend,
And pray that thou me guide,
And lead my tortuous way to happy end.

VI.

Virgin renowned, constant for ever known,
 Star shining bright o'er this tempestuous sea,
 Of every faithful pilot trusty guide,
 In what a fearful storm attend and see,
 With rudder lost, I find myself alone,
 And the last cries already close beside,
 But yet in thee my soul doth still confide;
 Sinful hath been its way,
 Virgin, but thee I pray,
 Let not thy enemy my woe deride;
 Remember how our sin made God to come,
 And for our rescue's sake,
 Take human flesh within thy virgin womb.

VII.

Virgin, what tears have I so often shed,
 What flatteries and what prayers in vain sent forth,
 All for my heavy pain and loss alone!
 Since upon Arno's bank I had my birth,
 Seeking now here, now there, my steps I've sped,
 But nought has been my life but troubled moan,
 With mortal beauty, acts, and speech, hath gone,
 My soul embarrassed quite.
 Virgin serene and bright,
 Delay not; my last year may soon draw on,
 Swifter my days than arrow from the bow,
 Mid miseries and sins,
 Have passed, and only death awaits me now.

VIII.

Virgin, one now is earth, and leaves in woe
 My heart, who living kept it tear-bedewed;
 Of all my thousand pains she none did see,
 And had she seen, that which did happen would
 Have happened; other will for her to show
 To me were death, to her were infamy.
 But thou, oh, Queen of Heaven, Goddess (might we
 Unblamed such name apply),
 Virgin of wisdom high,
 Thou seest the whole, and that which could not be
 By her e'er done is nought to thy great power.
 Put to my pain an end,
 'Twill honor thee, be my redemption's hour.

IX.

Virgin, on whom my every hope I ground,
Who canst, and wilt, aid me in my great strife,
Forsake me not when rises my last moan ;
Not me, see him who deigned to give me life :
Let not my worth, but his high image, found
In me, move care of man so wo-begone,
Medusa and my fault made me a stone
Whence vain drops would distil ;
Virgin, do thou now fill
My weary heart with pious tears alone ;
Be my last plaint at least devoutly sped,
Free from all earthly soil,
As was my first not of mere folly bred.

X.

Virgin all lowly, enemy of pride,
Let love of him who made us both thee move :
Pity a heart with deep contrition fraught :
If for a poor frail mortal body love
With faith so wondrous used in me abide,
What shall to thee, sweet thing, by me be brought ?
If I from my vile wretched state be caught,
By thy hand raised again,
Virgin, I cleanse from stain,
And to thy name devote art, style, and thought,
And tongue and heart, and every sigh and tear.
Lead me the better way,
And to my changed desires give favoring ear.

XI.

The day draws near, must nearer soon approach,
So doth the time speed on,
Virgin, thou only one ;
And conscience now, now death my heart reproach,
Me to thy Son not uncommended leave,
To him true man, true God,
That he my last sigh may in peace receive.

Although I have trespassed so much on your patience, still I cannot refrain from another brief example of most beautiful poetic inspiration caught from the teaching of the Catholic religion. We find it in the exquisite lines pronounced, it is

said, by Metastasio, when about to receive the Most Holy Viaticum in a dangerous illness :

“ Io T'offro il proprio Figlio,
Che del suo amor in pegno
Racchiuso in picciol segno
Si vuol a me donar.
A Lui rivolgi il ciglio ;
Miralo in faccia, e poi
Lascia, Signor, se puoi,
Lascia di perdonar.”

For the translation of these lines I am also indebted to my friend :

“ Thine own dear Son I offer thee,
Enclosed in symbol small,
Who once a victim deigned to be,
Pledge of his love for all ;
Look upon *him*, one glance accord
To what I offer thee ;
Refuse, *then*, if thou canst, O Lord,
Refuse to pardon me.”

I conclude; and in doing so I borrow the eloquent words of one whose unworthy successor I am. “The Religion which numbers Baptism and Penance among its Sacraments, cannot be neglectful of the soul's training ; the Creed which opens and resolves into so majestic and so living a theology, cannot but subserve the cultivation of the intellect ; the Revelation which tells of truths otherwise utterly hid from us, cannot be justly called the enemy of knowledge ; the Worship which is so awful and so thrilling, cannot but feed the aspirations of genius, and move the affections from their depths.”— (*Newman, Disc. on University Education*, p. 28.)

The reasons as well as the examples I have given, serve to show the important part occupied in education by religion as an instrument of mental culture, and abstracting from its holier and most important office of preserving knowledge from corruption. Any educational system must, therefore, as far as Catholics are concerned, be incomplete, and consequently most faulty, which omits an element so effectual in sharpening the reasoning powers, in teaching the mind what is morally good, and in storing the imagination with images of the truly beautiful.

REMARKS ON SOME STATEMENTS OF MARCUS KEANE, ESQ., M.R.I.A., IN HIS WORK—"THE TOWERS AND TEMPLES OF ANCIENT IRELAND."

WHEN Petrie convinced the literary world by his immortal work on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, that the Round Towers were Christian in their origin and uses, it was thought that the question was for ever set at rest, and that in the face of the overwhelming evidence he succeeded in bringing forward, Irish antiquarians would in future abandon the shadowy arguments usually advanced to prove that they were Pagan structures. But the theories of Vallancey and his disciples were too seductive to be at once abandoned, and during the twenty years that have elapsed since the appearance of Petrie's work, they have been reproduced and re-argued, often with no small amount of ability and enthusiasm, and by men whose character and attainments entitled them to the respect of their countrymen. These attempts to undermine Petrie's solid foundation, have culminated in what is undoubtedly the most pretentious essay of all, "The Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland."

The author of this book adopts most of the theories of Vallancey and O'Brien regarding the Round Towers, maintaining that they were Pagan temples, erected centuries before the Christian era; he also undertakes to prove that not only the Round Towers, but all the other structures erected before the twelfth century, which we have been accustomed to call early Christian—churches, oratories, crosses, baptismal fonts, croziers, and crucifixes—are, without exception, pre-Christian and Pagan in their origin and uses.

Mr. Keane maintains that a colony of Cuthites, a remnant of the once powerful family of Cush, the son of Ham, inhabited this island, previous to immigration of the Celts; that the Tuatha De Danaans, so celebrated in our bardic histories, belonged to this race, and that they were the real architects of all the stone structures found in this island before the twelfth century.

He promulgates a theory still more singular and startling; that, with the exception of St. Patrick and a few others, all our great early Irish saints—St. Bridget, St. Columba, St. Ciaran, St. Molaise, St. Finbar, and a host of others—names remembered with pride, and cherished with affectionate veneration by Irish Catholics, are purely fabulous; nothing more than the representatives of Indian and Canaanitish Heathen

divinities, worshipped in Ireland centuries before the Christian era. The whole Irish race, including all those great scholars that have adorned our country for the last two hundred years—men who knew the language, studied the literature, and mastered the history of Ireland—all have laboured under an extraordinary delusion, which is now for the first time dispelled by Mr. Keane. To account for this unparalleled hallucination, the author asserts that the monks and clergy of the eighth and following centuries, in order to divert the worship of the people from Pagan to Christian objects, forged the Latin “Lives,” and ascribed them to imaginary saints, whom they called by the names of the old Cuthite Gods, slightly changed, in order more effectually to conceal their real origin.

That Mr. Keane has proposed to himself a formidable task, no one will deny ; it requires no small amount of hardihood to come forward with the openly-expressed intention of overturning the ecclesiastical history of a whole nation ; and it will be readily admitted that the man who professes to do so, should be fortified with some sources of information, or some line of argument unknown to previous investigators. Mr. Keane’s readers will in this respect be doomed to disappointment ; the evidences he adduces in support of his positions are nothing more than what has been often advanced before ; except, indeed, that he has the merit, such as it is, of amplifying some of them far beyond what his predecessors had attempted.

The book is little more than a reproduction of the writings of Vallancey and O’Brien. He has exhumed from the obscurity into which they have long deservedly sunk, and adopted to the fullest extent, most of their baseless speculations and etymological dreams, and has added others of his own, more startling and visionary than any they ever conceived.

It would be a weary and a very unnecessary task to follow this writer through all his arguments ; most of them, indeed, scarcely deserve the name of arguments, and the wonder is that the author could bring himself to believe that any man in his senses would be convinced by the sort of evidence he has adduced.

It would seem to be necessary that a man who undertakes to decide questions in Irish philology, should know the Irish language, and Mr. Keane accordingly tells his readers that he possesses “some knowledge” of the language, and elsewhere speaks with the air of a man who wishes it to be understood, that he is quite capable of appreciating its

peculiarities and its beauties. He soon undeceives his readers, however; and, as he proceeds, it becomes perfectly evident that he possesses no knowledge whatever of the Irish language, its structure, or its grammatical laws.

Yet he does not hesitate to contradict such men as John O'Donovan on the meanings of Irish words, and he decides philological questions against the concurrent testimony of the greatest Irish scholars that ever appeared, with the utmost complacency, and with all the happy unconsciousness of a blind man walking over a precipice.

One of the strongest arguments that Mr. Keane calls to his aid is the long-exploded method of conjectural etymologies. This was formerly a favourite weapon in the hands of visionary antiquarians; in our own country, Vallancey and O'Brien were the great manipulators in this kind of literary legerdemain, and our author fully equals them in fertility of imagination. In order to exhibit the kind of evidence by which Mr. Keane expects to convince his readers, we will examine a few of them.

He revives the oft-told story that the ancient name of Ireland was *Irin*, and that it means, Sacred Island. However much we might be inclined to overlook this error in a writer of fifty years ago, an author of the present day, with all the modern discoveries in Irish philology within his reach, deserves no such indulgence. It is well known that the final *n* in *Erin* does not form a part of the name at all; it is merely a portion of the oblique inflexion, the most ancient native form of the nominative case being *Erin*, of which the genitive is *Ereann*, and dative, *Erinn*. Consequently, in searching for the etymology of the name, we must work on the form *Erin*, leaving the *n* out of consideration altogether.

Baltinglas, the name of a town in Wicklow, seems to have had a very special attraction for our etymologists. O'Brien restores it *Baal-tinne-glas*, which he translates Baal's-fire-green. Seward has it, the fire of Baal's mysteries; and our author, professing to follow Lewis, translates it, "The fire of the green Ball," in which, however, he misquotes; for Lewis gives the ancient form *Baal-Tin-Glas*, and renders it the pure fire of Baal. And here it is proper to make a remark regarding the authorities quoted by Mr. Keane, for the character of a book may be very fairly estimated by the character of the authorities on which the writer relies. For many of the innumerable erroneous assertions in his book, he quotes Ledwich and Henry O'Brien, the former remarkable for his vindictive charlatanism in all things relating to the history of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and the latter the author of one of the most non-

sensical books that ever appeared in print. He quotes Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary," which, however useful as a compilation, is utterly worthless as an authority regarding the origin of names. He adopts the "Chronicles of Eri," and seriously quotes from it, though it is well known to have been a very contemptible forgery.

But, to return to Baltinglas. Even supposing that we were ignorant of the ancient form of the name, any of the interpretations given above would be perfectly worthless, based as they are upon the modern corrupt form, or on random restorations; and this by men who knew nothing of the language or of the laws of phonetic change in Irish names. And even supposing the restorations to be correct, they could not bear the meaning put on them, nor indeed any meaning at all, for they are mere gibberish.

We know, however, the original name of Baltinglas, which sets the matter at rest. In all our written authorities it is written *Bealach-Chonglais*, which is a plain compound signifying Cuglas's-road. So well was this understood that our old romancers have given a history—whether true or not is a matter of no consequence to the present inquiry—of Cuglas, who has left his name imperishably fixed on the locality; he was, according to them, the son of Donn Desa, King of Leinster, and master of the hounds to Conaire Mor, monarch of Ireland.

It would be impossible and useless to follow this writer through the vast maze of haphazard etymologies scattered through his book—abounding almost in every page. They neither deserve nor require serious refutation, for no man in his senses would give them a moment's consideration, and it may be questioned how far the author himself was serious in putting them forward. A few more specimens may, however, be given to show more clearly their general character. *Cluain* is a very common Irish word, denoting a meadow, and usually translated *pratium* by the Latin writers. Vallancey conjectured that it is derived from *Cul-luain*, the return of the moon, but our author is much more adventurous; for, first, he asserts, on his own authority, that it was originally applied to a pillar-stone, and afterwards to a meadow; and, secondly, that it was derived from *Clochain*, the stone of Ana, the mother of the Gods! In this case Ana must have been worshipped in a vast number of places, for there are about three thousand localities in Ireland whose names are partly formed from this word *Cluain*.

Adamnan, who wrote the "Life of St. Columba," about the close of the seventh century, translates *Tir-da-glas* (the modern Terryglass, in Tipperary), *Ager-duorum-rivorum*; but Mr.

Keane knows better than Adamnan, for he finds that it means the Tower of the Green God. *Tir*, tower; *da*, God; *glas*, green!

Ardmore is a name of frequent occurrence in Irish topography; there are altogether nearly thirty Ardmores in different counties. Latin writers often translate it *altitudo magna*; and every Irish-speaking peasant will tell you that it means *great height*. Mr. Keane, however, first corrupts it to *Ardimore*, and then nonsensically translates it "The high place of the great God."

Diseart is an Irish word applied to a sequestered place—a hermitage; scholars know that it is only borrowed into Irish from the Latin *desertum*, and accordingly Latin writers translate it variously, *eremus*, *desertus locus*, and *desertum*. According to Mr. Keane, however, it means in reality a *round tower*, a discovery entirely his own, and is a corruption of *Di-eas-ard*, the high place of the God of death!

It is difficult to conceive what could induce any writer to question the existence of the Irish saints, a class of men whose history is as well authenticated as that of Julius Cæsar, or Henry VIII., unless it be a mere passion for notoriety. The author himself seems to have some lurking suspicion that his assertions are rather too much for even the most credulous reader; for, first, he accepts "St. Patrick and a few others"—but who the few others were he does not state; and secondly, he says, more than once, that although the early saints never existed, yet he has no doubt that other illustrious men bearing the same names, flourished afterwards. In other words, the great men whose history is so remarkable, and whose lives are recorded with such affectionate minuteness, are nothing but myths, while those who have never been commemorated at all, happen to be the only individuals who had a real existence; a historical phenomenon which cannot fail to astonish the literary world.

As in case of his etymologies it is impossible not to feel that, by dealing seriously with such assertions, one involves himself to some extent in the ridicule that is so justly due to the author, yet it may be worth while to ask whether this writer ever reflected on the testimony given by the Venerable Bede, not to mention many other witnesses, who notices several of the individuals that Mr. Keane consigns to heathenism or nothingness; for it seems probable that he will not reckon this great historian as one of the sacerdotal conspirators.

The identifications of the names of Irish saints with those of the heathen divinities, are many of them very amusing, and undoubtedly original. "St. Oissene *alias* Ossan, *alias* Ussen,

derived from Oceanus the Titan, also answering to Oissen, or Oishin, the Finian hero, and the father of Irish bards." The author seems not to be aware that the soft *c* in Oceanus is only a modern corruption, and that the original name is Okeanos. An Irish name formed on Okeanos, would have in place of *k*, not an *s*, but a hard *c* in the ancient, or a hard *g* in the modern language; just as *sacerdos* is represented by *sacart* and *sagart* (*c* and *g* hard); for *sacerdos* was originally pronounced *sakerdos*, and the Irish word, which was borrowed in the fifth century, has preserved the hard sound of *c*, which has been changed to that of *s* in English, according to the phonetic law of the language. And we have in fact, an Irish word *aigein* for the ocean, which is either cognate with or derived from this word *oceanus*.

"It is an important fact, accounting for the care with which ancient names and words were preserved, that the peasants always committed those legends to memory, repeating the stories verbatim, as handed down from one generation to another. Thus they came to use many obsolete words, which they were most careful to repeat unaltered; and stopping in the story to interpret such words was not the least interesting part of the entertainment.

"These circumstances account for the fact that, the intelligent Irish Ecclesiastics found it impossible to erase from their calendar such names as Dagan and Molach—the heathen origin of which they could not fail to observe. All that remained was to give them *aliases*, such as Dagens and Molaise, or else to alter the orthography so as in some measure to conceal the derivation. The written language was almost exclusively in the custody of the clergy, but the original sound of the names was preserved with wonderful correctness in the oral traditions of the peasantry, and could not be very much altered.

"A remarkable example of this is found in the name of the Devil, which in Irish is 'Dia Bal' (literally the god Baal), but sounded Diul; and accordingly we find Saint 'Di[ch]ul' was introduced. It is pronounced as if the bracketed letters were omitted, exactly like the Irish name of Satan, 'Diul'—this is one of the names in which *sanctity seemed to be inherent*, as twelve saints are said to have borne it—'St. Devil, in Irish!' " (p. 52.)

This passage, which is a fair specimen of the whole book, contains almost as many misstatements as there are sentences. Passing over several of minor importance, let us examine his assertions as to names: Molaise is only a fraudulently altered form of Molach, and he leaves his readers

to infer that the peasantry always use the latter form ; but no peasant in Ireland ever calls the saint by any other name than Molaise. The first syllable is one of the two well-known particles, *mo* and *do*, or *da* (my and thy), often prefixed to the names of Irish saints as terms of endearment ; and accordingly this saint is also often called Laisrean or Laserian. And these two particles are often used indifferently, as the patron saint of Kilmallock is sometimes called Mocheallog, and sometimes Lacheallog. If Mr. Keane had been aware of these facts he would scarcely have recognised Molach in either Molaise or Kilmallock, for he does so in both.

As for Dagan being a fictitious name, it is enough to remark that Bede ("Eccl. Hist.," lib. 2, cap. 4) records an Irish bishop Dagan as one of his cotemporaries.

The etymology given for Diabhal is too ridiculous to be seriously examined ; only it may be remarked that the Irish Diabhal, the French Diable, the German Teufel, the English Devil, &c., are all well known to be only modified forms of the Latin Diabolus, introduced by the early Christian missionaries, which is itself from the Greek Diabolos. And for the identification of St. Dichul with the devil, the author may be left in undisturbed possession of the discovery ; only it is necessary to remark that Di[ch]ul is not pronounced as if the bracketed letters were omitted ; on the contrary, every Irish scholar knows that the *ch* has a remarkably distinct guttural sound.

The following passage, in which he merely follows O'Brien, is interesting only so far as it illustrates the extent of our author's knowledge of Irish :—"The name of this Budhist Incarnation of the Divinity—Sullivahana—is strikingly like the name Sullivan. The latter may be interpreted 'The seed of the woman,' from 'siol,' seed, and 'a-van,' of the woman." The man who asserts that he has "some knowledge" of the Irish language, and who undertakes to settle questions in Irish philology, ought to know that the genitive of *an bhean* (the woman), is not *a-van*, nor anything like it, but *na mna* in every Irish authority, from the MSS. of Zeuss down to the spoken language of the present day.

"Astoreth (pronounced ashtorech), a term in common use among the Irish, signifying 'my love, or treasure'" (p. 468). "The Irish term *astoreth* or *astorech*, corresponds so exactly with Astoreth, the Phœnician Venus, as to leave no doubt of both terms having the same origin" (p. 297). In thus identifying the Irish term *astore* (in such expressions as "Molly astore") with Astorath, the author is again led by O'Brien. The latter, however, very probably knew well that he was

writing what was false, as he appears to have had at least a colloquial knowledge of Irish ; for everyone who can speak the language knows that *astore*, or more correctly *a stor*, is the vocative case of the word *stor*, i.e., treasure, which is obviously connected with the English word *store*. The initial *A* is not a part of the word ; it is merely the vocative particle, and is commonly translated by the English interjection *O*. And *stor* is, in fact, used as often with the prefix *mo* (my) as with *a*, for we all know that *mastore* is as common as *astore*.

The present writer, notwithstanding that he has "some knowledge of Irish," is evidently unaware of all this, and blindly follows his treacherous guide, venturing even farther on his own account. In order to show more fully the identity of the word with the name of the Pagan Goddess, he makes it *astoreth*, which he says is pronounced *astorech*. *Astoreth* is not an Irish word at all, and even if it were, it would not be pronounced *astorech*. *Stor* is, indeed, often lengthened *storach* by the addition of the suffix *ach*, which is very common in Irish, and is cognate with the Latin termination *ax* ; and this, when used in the vocative, becomes *astorach*, a very different word from *astoreth*.

Our author's manner of carrying on a chain of reasoning is well illustrated by his argument regarding Goban Saer, in which he is partly original, and partly follows O'Brien. Goban Saer is a personage traditionally remembered in every part of Ireland as a celebrated architect, and the builder of many of the round towers ; according to the most reliable authorities, he flourished in the seventh century. Petrie quotes a passage from the "Book of Ballymote," in which it is stated that it was not known from what race he sprung ; but the ancient writer conjectures, on account of the colour of his hair, that he might have descended from the Tuatha De Danaans.

In this passage Goban is styled "The rusty, large black youth" (*Giolla mergeach mor dubh*), and the Tuatha De Danaans "The goodly dark race" (*sil degdair dubh*). Every man having the least knowledge of Irish knows well that the term *dubh* is applied to a person with black hair, or dark complexion, and so Petrie correctly interprets it. Mr. Keane, however, holds a different opinion, which will best be understood by allowing him to speak for himself.

"In the countries whither the reputation of the Cuthites extended, and their worship prevailed, such as Ireland, China, and India, and very ancient Egypt, the hero of the people's worship was represented as *black*. Hislop informs us (pp. 62 and 82) that 'the great God Buddh is generally represented in China as a *negro*,' and that Plutarch records a tradition

that Osiris was *black*. These names Hislop identifies with Nimrod. So also in Ireland, 'Gobban Saer,' the Tutch de Danaan Hero, of building celebrity, is represented as a 'rusty black youth' (p. 230). Again:—"The only historical references made to the colour of the Tuath-de-Danaans, describe them as *black*." The 'rusty, large black youth, Gobban Saer,' and his 'black race,' thus far answering to the black divinity of the Chinese Budhists, and to Osiris above mentioned' (p. 235). And lastly:—"I think the Doctor (*i.e.*, Dr. Petrie) would have been more correct if, instead of the 'blackness of his hair,' he had used the words, the 'blackness or darkness of his *skin*.' The Irish poem refers not only to the colour of Gobban himself—the rusty, large *black* youth, but to 'the goodly dark race,' the Tuath-de-Danaans, who, as descendants of Ham, may be supposed to have been dark-skinned. The 'darkness of the race' referred to in this ancient poem, is corroborative of the other evidence before adduced, to prove the Cuthite origin of the Tuath-de-Danaans" (p. 290.)

So then it appears that Goban Saer was really a *black*, and the Tuath de Danaans a race of blacks, and consequently they were Cuthites, the descendants of Cush, the son of Ham!

According to this, Ireland has at all times produced, and still produces, abundance of blacks; for the "Annals of the Four Masters" mention no less than ninety-seven persons whose names begin with the word *Dubh*, besides innumerable others with such names as Finghin Dubh, Domhnall Dubh, &c. Mr. Keane might have learned the proper use of the word from the peasantry in his own county of Clare, where they sing the well-known song, "*Rois gael dubh*," a lady whom even Mr. Keane will hardly maintain to have been a black.

The whole work is built up of such reasoning as this, and these are the species of arguments that are put forward to prove that the church ruins and other Christian remains that abound in our island, are all Pagan, and that our long and glorious race of saints is a myth—the invention of priests and monks—the shadowy representatives of centaurs, demons, and obscene Pagan divinities.

The book is well brought out, good paper, clear type, and handsome binding; it is profusely illustrated, and the engravings are beautifully executed; but the greater number of those on Irish subjects are from Petrie's two volumes, the published and the unpublished one, on the Round Towers. In nothing else can it be recommended. Irish history and antiquities, more than those of any other country, require illustration. The materials are there, and we have men indeed of ability and learning, but they are too few. Mr. Keane is

not one of them; his book adds nothing to our literature, it is an anachronism, a retrograde step of fifty years; it is a tiresome repetition of views and arguments long since exploded, unrelieved by that charm of novelty, of learning, or of acuteness in reasoning, which often renders even an erroneous book attractive.

When Mr. Keane undertook to bring into discredit everything that Irish Catholics hold dear in the ecclesiastical history of their country, it should be expected that his book would not be allowed to go forth unchallenged. But its character is its safeguard; it is beneath the notice of scholars—sufficiently secured from any serious attempts at refutation, by its shallowness, its silliness, and its grotesque absurdity.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

“I beg respectfully to submit a few questions regarding which I would be very much obliged to be informed, and regarding which I have never been able to find any authoritative explanation. And I may mention that I have frequently heard other Clergymen talk over the same in rather an uncertain way, as regards what is right in the matter. The questions I submit for explanation are:—

“1st.—In reciting the ‘Acts of Contrition,’ &c., and the other prayers usually recited before Mass, on Sundays and holidays, is the Maniple, or Chasuble, or both, to be on or off the priest?

“2nd.—When the bishop orders the Litany of the B.V.M., or any other Litany, to be recited by the priest before Mass, for any particular purpose, as is often done, is the Maniple or Chasuble, or both, to be on or off during the reciting of such prayers?

“3rd.—In case the priest preaches from the altar steps, as mostly happens in country churches, is the Maniple or Chasuble to be on or off? I know from experience that different practices prevail in different parts of Ireland regarding those queries; and I would be very much obliged to be informed what is the correct practice regarding the above questions.

“An answer to the above questions in the next issue of the ‘Record’ would oblige a constant reader of the ‘Record.’

“DUNENSIS ET CONNORENSIS.

“*April 10th, 1869.*”

We give the letter of our esteemed correspondent in full, in the hope that some of our Liturgical readers may be able to illustrate in detail the questions which he proposes. For ourselves, we can only say, at present, that the use of the

Chasuble and *Maniple* in the three cases referred to, is very general in this country—that it is known to our bishops, and tolerated by them—and that we have not met with any decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites condemnatory of it. Such being the case, it would be presumptuous, indeed, to censure in Ireland this use of the *Chasuble* and *Maniple*.

At the same time, it must be admitted that this custom is not generally followed in the Continental churches. Rubricists, too, lay down, as a rule, that the use of the *Chasuble* and *Maniple* should be restricted to the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. We will merely cite the words of the learned treatise, "*Origines, et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique*," published by Migne, in 1844:—

"Dominic Macri, a Rubricist of the seventeenth century, writes that a priest should only use the *Maniple* at the altar whilst celebrating the Holy Sacrifice, and never at any other function, even though he should wear the *Chasuble*; as, for instance, in the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, before or after Mass, &c. This decision must appear to us most conformable to reason and ritual, if we reflect on the origin of the *Maniple*, which has reference solely to the Sacrifice of the Mass" (p. 750).

It would not be difficult to produce many examples in illustration of the rule thus laid down by this learned Rubricist. One for the present shall suffice. At the *Asperges*, which immediately precedes the Parochial Mass in Italy, France, and other Catholic countries, it is expressly prescribed that the *Maniple* should not be worn. We may add that the reason which is generally assigned for laying aside a portion of the sacred vestments at this and similar ceremonies, either before or after Mass, viz.—*lest the faithful should be led to suppose that such prayers or ceremonies formed part of the ritual of the Holy Sacrifice*—would seem to hold also for the cases referred to by our Correspondent.

DOCUMENT.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE
PIUS IX., 11TH APRIL, 1869, GRANTING A
JUBILEE TO THE WHOLE CHURCH.

OMNIBUS CHRISTIFIDELIBUS PRÆSENTES LITTERAS INSPECTURIS.

PIUS PP. IX., SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

NEMO certe ignorat, Oecumenicum Concilium a Nobis fuisse indictum in Basilica Nostra Vaticana die 8 futuri

mensis Decembris Immaculatae, Sanctissimaeque Deiparae Virginis Mariae Conceptioni sacro inchoandum. Itaque hoc potissimum tempore nunquam desistimus in humilitate cordis Nostri ferventissimis precibus orare et obsecrare clementissimum luminum et misericordiarum Patrem, a quo omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum descendit ⁽¹⁾, ut mittat de caelis sedium suarum assistricem sapientiam, quae Nobiscum sit, et Nobiscum laboret, et sciamus quid acceptum sit apud eum ⁽²⁾. Et quo facilius Deus Nostris annuat votis, et inclinet aures suas ad preces Nostras, omnium Christifidelium religionem, ac pietatem excitare decrevimus, ut, coniunctis Nobiscum precibus, Omnipotentis dexteræ auxilium, et caeleste lumen imploremus, quo in hoc Concilio ea omnia statuere valeamus, quae ad communem totius populi christiani salutem, utilitatemque, ac maiorem catholicae Ecclesiae gloriam et felicitatem, ac pacem maxime pertinent. Et quoniam compertum est, gratiores Deo esse hominum preces si mundo corde, hoc est animis ab omni scelere integris ad ipsum accedant, iccirco hac occasione caelestes Indulgentiarum thesauros dispensationi Nostrae commissos Apostolica liberalitate Christifidelibus reserare constituimus, ut inde ad veram poenitentiam incensi, et per Poenitentiae Sacramentum a peccatorum maculis expiati, ad Thronum Dei fidentius accedant, eiusque misericordiam consequantur, et gratiam in auxilio opportuno.

Hoc Nos consilio Indulgentiam ad instar Iubilaei Catholico Orbi denunciamus. Quamobrem de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi ex illa ligandi, ac solvendi potestate, quam Nobis Dominus licet indignis contulit, universis ac singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus in alma Urbe Nostra degentibus, vel ad eam advenientibus, qui a die primo futuri mensis Iunii usque ad diem, quo Oecumenica Synodus a Nobis indicta fuerit absoluta, S. Ioannis in Laterano, Principis Apostolorum, et Sanctae Mariae Maioris Basilicas, vel earum aliquam bis visitaverint, ibique per aliquod temporis spatium pro omnium misere errantium conversione, pro sanctissimae fidei propagatione, et pro catholicae Ecclesiae pace, tranquillitate, ac triumpho devote oraverint, et praeter consueta quatuor anni tempora tribus diebus, etiam non continuis, nempe quarta et sexta feria, et Sabbato ieiunaverint, et intra commemoratum temporis spatium peccata sua confessi Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum reverenter susceperint, et pauperibus aliquam eleemosynam, prout unicuique devotio suggeret, erogaverint, ceteris vero extra Urbem praedictam ubicumque degentibus, qui Ecclesias ab Ordinariis locorum, vel

¹ S. Iac. c. 1, v. 17.² Sapient, cap. 9, v. 4, 10.

eorum Vicariis, seu Officialibus, aut de illorum mandato, et, ipsis deficientibus, per eos, qui ibi curam animarum exercent, postquam ad illorum notitiam hae Nostrae Litterae pervenerint, designandas, vel earum aliquam praefiniti temporis spatio bis visitaverint, aliaque recensita opera devote peregerint, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum remissionem et Indulgentiam, sicut in anno Iubilaei visitantibus certas Ecclesias intra, et extra Urbem praedictam concedi consuevit, tenore praesentium misericorditer in Domino concedimus atque indulgemus, quae Indulgentia animabus etiam, quae Deo in caritate coniunctae ex hac vita migraverint, per modum suffragii applicari poterit.

Concedimus etiam, ut navigantes, atque iter agentes quum primum ad sua se domicilia receperint, operibus suprascriptis peractis, et bis visitata Ecclesia Cathedrali, vel Maiori, vel propria Parochiali loci ipsorum domiciliis eandem Indulgentiam consequi possint, et valeant. Regularibus vero personis utriusque sexus etiam in claustris perpetuo degentibus, nec non aliis quibuscumque, tam laicis, quam saecularibus, vel regularibus itemque in carcere, aut captivitate existentibus, vel aliqua corporis infirmitate, seu alio quocumque impedimento detentis, qui memorata opera, vel eorum aliqua praestare nequiverint, ut illa Confessarius ex actu approbatis a locorum Ordinariis in alia pietatis opera commutare, vel in aliud proximum tempus prorogare possit, eaque iniungere, quae ipsi poenitentes efficere possint cum facultate etiam dispensandi super Communionem cum pueris, qui nondum ad primam Communionem admissi fuerint, pariter concedimus atque indulgemus.

Insuper omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus Saecularibus et Regularibus cuiusvis Ordinis et Instituti, etiam specialiter nominandi, licentiam concedimus, et facultatem, ut sibi ad hunc effectum eligere possint quemcumque Presbyterum Confessarium tam Saecularem, quam Regularem ex actu approbatis a locorum Ordinariis (qua facultate uti possint, etiam Moniales, Novitiae, aliaeque mulieres intra claustra degentes, dummodo Confessarius approbatus sit pro Monialibus), qui eos ab excommunicationis, suspensionis, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, et censuris a iure vel ab homine quavis de causa latis vel inflictis praeter infra exceptas, nec non ab omnibus peccatis, excessibus, criminibus et delictis quantumvis gravibus et enormibus, etiam locorum Ordinariis, sive Nobis, et Sedi Apostolicae speciali licet forma reservatis, et quorum absolutio alias quantumvis ampla non intelligeretur concessa, in foro conscientiae, et hac vice tantum absolvere, et liberare valeant; et insuper vota quaecumque etiam iurata, et Sedi Apostolicae reservata (castitatis, religionis, et obligationis, quae a

tertio acceptata fuerit seu in quibus agatur de praeiudicio tertii semper exceptis, quatenus ea vota sint perfecta et absoluta nec non poenalibus, quae praeservativa a peccatis nuncupantur, nisi commutatio futura iudicetur eiusmodi, ut non minus a peccato committendo refraenet, quam prior voti materia) in alia pia et salutaria opera dispensando commutare, iniuncta tamen eis, et eorum cuilibet in supradictis omnibus poenitentia salutari, aliisque eiusdem Confessarii arbitrio iniungendis.

Concedimus insuper facultatem dispensandi super irregularitate ex violatione Censurarum contracta, quatenus ad forum externum non sit deducta, vel de facili deducenda. Non intendimus autem per praesentes super alia quavis irregularitate sive ex delicto, sive ex defectu, vel publica, vel occulta, aut nota, aliaque incapacitate, aut inhabilitate quoquomodo contracta dispensare, vel aliquam facultatem tribuere super praemissis dispensandi, seu habilitandi, et in pristinum statum restituendi, etiam in foro conscientiae, neque etiam derogare Constitutioni cum apposis declarationibus editae a fel. rec. Benedicto XIV. Praedecessore Nostro "*Sacramentum Poenitentiae*" quoad inhabilitatem absolvendi complicem, et quoad obligationem denunciationis, neque easdem praesentes iis, qui a Nobis, et ab Apostolica Sede, vel aliquo Praelato, seu Iudice Ecclesiastico nominatim excommunicati, suspensi, interdicti, seu alias in sententias, et censuras incidisse declarati, vel publice denunciati fuerint, nisi intra tempus praefinitum satisfecerint, aut cum partibus concordaverint nullomodo suffragari posse aut debere. Quod si intra praefinitum terminum iudicio Confessarii satisfacere non potuerint, absolvi posse concedimus in foro conscientiae ad effectum dumtaxat assequendi Indulgentias Iubilaei, iniuncta obligatione satisfaciendi statim ac poterunt.

Quapropter in virtute sanctae obedientiae tenore praesentium districte praecipimus, atque mandamus omnibus, et quibuscumque Ordinariis locorum ubicumque existentibus, eorumque Vicariis et Officialibus, vel ipsis deficientibus, illis, qui curam animarum exercent, ut, cum praesentium Litterarum transumpta, aut exempla etiam impressa acceperint, illa, ubi primum pro temporum ac locorum ratione satius in Domino censuerint per suas Ecclesias ac Dioeceses, Provincias, Civitates, Oppida, Terras, et loca publicent, vel publicari faciant, populisque etiam Verbi Dei praedicatione, quoad fieri possit, rite praeparatis, Ecclesiam, seu Ecclesias visitandas pro praesenti Iubilaeo designent.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, praesertim quibus facultas absolvendi in certis tunc

expressis casibus ita Romano Pontifici pro tempore existenti reservatur, ut nec etiam similes, vel dissimiles Indulgentiarum, et facultatum huiusmodi concessionem, nisi de illis expressa mentio, aut specialis derogatio fiat, cuiquam suffragari possint, nec non regula de non concedendis Indulgentiis ad instar, ac quorumcumque Ordinum, et Congregationum, sive Institutorum etiam iuramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque indultis, et Litteris Apostolicis eisdem Ordinibus, Congregationibus, et Institutis, illorumque personis quomodolibet concessis, approbatis, et innovatis, quibus omnibus et singulis etiamsi de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus, specialis, specifica, expressa et individua, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio, seu alia quaevis expressio habenda, aut alia aliqua exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum tenores praesentibus pro sufficienter expressis, ac formam in iis traditam pro servata habentes, hac vice specialiter, nominatim, et expresse ad effectum praemissorum, derogamus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Praecipimus autem, a commemorato die primo Iunii usque ad diem, quo Oecumenica Synodus finem habuerit, ab omnibus universi catholici Orbis utriusque Cleri Sacerdotibus quotidie addi in Missa orationem de Spiritu Sancto, deque eodem Sancto Spiritu divinum, praeter consuetam Missam Conventualem, Sacrificium fieri in omnibus huius Urbis Patriarchalibus, aliisque Basilicis, et Collegialibus Ecclesiis, nec non in cunctis totius orbis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis Ecclesiis ab earum Canonicis, atque etiam in singulis cuiusque Religiosae Familiae Ecclesiis Regularium, qui Conventualem Missam celebrare tenentur, feria quaque quinta, qua festum duplex primae et secundae classis non agatur, quin tamen haec de Spiritu Sancto Missa ullam habeat applicationis obligationem.

Ut autem praesentes Nostrae, quae ad singula loca deferri non possunt, ad omnium notitiam facilius deveniant, volumus, ut praesentium transumptis, vel exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutae munitis, ubicumque locorum, et gentium eadem prorsus fides habeatur, quae haberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die 11 Aprilis Anno 1869.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimotertio.

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,
A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT
MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

north of Fairhead Point, on which St. Comgall landed with an intent to erect a cell, but he was instantly seized by a band of 30 military men, who, holding his hands, drove him out of the island.^c We are not informed by whose orders the holy man was so inhospitably received and so rudely treated; but St. Columba, who founded Derry, A.D. 546, succeeded better: he founded a church here, and placed over it Colman, the deacon, who was the son of Roi.^d

A.D. 590. Lugaid Laither was abbot, and flourished about this time. He is said by some to have been the founder.^e

630. St. Segene, the abbot of Hy, repaired this abbey, either in this year,^f or in 632,^g but in 635, according to the “Annals of Ulster.”^h He is esteemed by some to have been its founder.ⁱ

651. This second founder died this year.^k

734. Died the bishop St. Flann; he was son of Kellach.^l

738. Died the abbot St. Cumineus Hua Kierain.^m

743. Died the blessed Cobthach, abbot of this church.ⁿ

764. The abbot Murgail M’Ninned died September the 29th.^o

768. Died the abbot St. Aid; he was son of Corbreus.^p

790. A fleet of Danish pirates ravaged this island with fire

^cUsher, *Prim. Trias Th.* ^dTr. Th. pp. 400, 450, 509. ^eUsher, *ibid.* ^fTr. Th. p. 498, 509. ^gM’Geogh. ^hUsher, *ibid.* ⁱId. ^kTr. Th. p. 498. ^lId. p. 509. ^mId. ⁿId. ^oM’Geogh. Tr. Th. p. 509 and Index. ^pTr. Th. p. 509:

(Continuation of Note 44, from page 308.)

us in concluding that St. Columba did not found a monastery in the northern Rathlin; for Colgan expressly mentions that “St. Columbkille founded a monastery there, which was constructed or repaired by his disciples.”—(Tr. Th. p. 494.)

The “Annals of the F. M.,” at A.D. 630, give the entry: “Segene, abbot of Hy-Columbkille, founded the church of Rechrainn,” *i.e.*, adds O’Donovan, at Rathlin Island, “off the north coast of the county Antrim.”—(Annals, p. 251.) The “Annals of Ulster” place this erection of the church of Rechrainn in A.D. 634, whilst it is marked in the “Annals of Clonmacnoise” at A.D. 632.

To the list of abbots copied in the text from Colgan we have nothing to add. The entry regarding St. Flann is of special importance. He is expressly called in the “Annals of the F. M.,” “Bishop of Rechra.”

and sword ; the shrines and holy altars perished in the general destruction.^a The "Annals of Ulster" place this melancholy event in the year 794, which answers to our year 795.^f This was the first descent of those barbarians upon our coasts.⁴⁵

794. Died the blessed Feradach, son of Segineus, and abbot of this place.^g

848. Died the blessed Tuathal, son of Feradach, abbot of Rachlin and also of Darmagh.^h

973. In this year the Danes, those cruel despoilers of this kingdom, crowned with martyrdom St. Feradach, the holy abbot of this church.ⁱ

King John afterwards granted this island to Alan of Galway.^w

1558. The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, attacked the Scots, who had got possession of this island, and drove them out with a great slaughter.^x ⁴⁶

^a*Tr. Th.* p. 509. ^f*Usher, Supr.* ^g*Tr. Th.* p. 509. ^h*Id.* ⁱ*Id.* ^w*War. Works,* v. 2. p. 201. ^x*War. Annal.*

⁴⁵ The "Annals of Ulster," at A.D. 794, thus mention this first inroad of the Danes into Ireland: "The burning of Rechru by Gentiles, and its shrines were broken and plundered." The Welsh chronicle known by the name "Chronicle of the Chieftains," has a corresponding record under the year 790: "Ten years, with fourscore and seven hundred, was the age of Christianity when the pagans first went to Ireland" (*Monum. Hist. Brit.*, p. 843); three MSS. of this old chronicle add the sentence "and destroyed *Rechrenn*." The "Gwentian Chronicle of Caradoc" of Llancarcan registers the same event at A.D. 795: "The black pagans first came to the island of Britain from Denmark and made great ravages in England: afterwards they entered Glamorgan and there killed and burnt much; but at last the Cymry conquered them, driving them into the sea and killing very many of them; from thence they went to Ireland and devastated *Rechreyn* and other places."—(Todd, *Wars of the Danes*, p. xxxiii.) The connection of *Rechreyn* in this text with the defeat of the Danes in Wales proves that it refers to the island off the Antrim coast.

⁴⁶ It was in the year 1213 that the island of Rathlin was granted by King John to *Alanus de Galveia*. This grant was confirmed in 1215 and 1220.—(*Hardy's Rot. Tur. Londinen.*) In 1279 the island was held by John Byset, and its value was rated at £4 8s. 5d. It afforded a safe retreat to Robert Bruce, when in 1306 the Scottish troops had to yield before the English army; and it was thence he set sail with his chosen leaders when he had matured his plans to assert the independence of Scotland. The Bysets having forfeited their lands by aiding the Scots, Rathlin was granted to *John de Athy* by Edward the Second in 1319. The most important entry regarding this island in the "Annals of the F. M." is the following, at A.D. 1551: "A hosting was made by the Lord Justice into Ulster in the beginning of Autumn, and he sent the crews of four ships to the island of *Reachrainn* to seek for plunder. James and Colla Mælduv, the sons of MacDonnell of Scotland, were upon the island to protect the district. A battle was fought between them in which the English were defeated, so that not one of them escaped to relate their story except their leader, a lieutenant, whom these Scots took prisoner and kept in custody until they obtained in exchange for him their own brother, Sorley Boy, who had been imprisoned in Dublin by the English for the space of a year before, and another great ransom along with him." Sydney, in the "Memoir of his Government in Ireland," written in 1583, confirms the truth of this narrative: "The second journey (he writes) that the Earl of Essex made into those quarters of Ulster, he sent me and others into the island of Raghlyns,

Raghlin is a rectory in the diocese of Connor.^y

Rathaige,⁴⁷ in Dalaradia. St. Foilan, or Fullen, was abbot or bishop here.^z

It is now unknown.

Ratheaspuicinnic,⁴⁸ St. Patrick founded a church here, and

^y *Visitation Book.* ^z *Act. SS. p. 104.*

where before, in the time of Sir James Croft's deputation, Sir Ralf Bagenal, Captain Cuffe, and others sent by him, landed, little to their advantage, for there were they hurt and taken, and the most of their men that landed either killed or taken."—(*Ulster Journ. of Arch.*, 1860, vol. 8, p. 193.)

⁴⁷ The "Martyrology of Donegal," on 30th of September, gives us the name of "St. Faelan, of Rath-Aidhne in Dalaradia." This has been conjectured to be the present Killaney, in the diocese of Down, barony of Upper Castlereagh, county Down. Reeves (*Antiq. of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, p. 217) writes it was "called in the Inquisitions, *Killenny*, alias *Anaghalone* or *Anaghdoloun*. The ancient graveyard, enclosed by a ring-fence, but without any traces of a building therein, lies in the southern extremity of the parish, a little S.E. of Lough Henney, called locally, Loughinney (*Ord. Survey, SS. 15, 22*). The rectory, extending over seven townlands, was, at the dissolution, appropriate to the abbey of Moville." The seven townlands are now reduced to four, and the rectory is inappropriate in the Marquis of Downshire.

⁴⁸ Colgan tells us that St. *Vindic*, or *Winnic*, was "Bishop of 'Rath-easpuic-Innic,' in the barony of Antrim, and in the valley of Hy-Dercachen." He adds that the saint's memory was also honoured "at *Tegnetha*, in the diocese of Armagh, on the 29th of August."—(*Tr. Th.*, p. 183.) The "Martyrology of Donegal" also marks his feast on that day: "*St. Vinnic of Trighnetha*;" and Dr. Donovan writes that Tuighnetha is the modern Tynan, in the county Armagh. As regards the site of the valley of Hy-Dercachen, O'Donovan was of opinion that it was a tract in the north of Down, or on the confines of Down and Antrim. The "Book of Rights" mentions Hy-Dearca-Chein as a sub-territory of Uladh:

"Entitled is the King of Ui-Dearca Chein
To five horses bright as the sun,
Six war-swords, six drinking horns,
And six bondmen of great merriment."

(*Book of Rights*, p. 161.) The "Four Masters," at the year 1199, relate that Rodubh Mac Roedig, chief of Kinel Ængus, was slain by the English while plundering *Ua-n-Earca-Chein*. Again, at 1391, Mac Giolla Muire, who was otherwise called Cu-Uladh O'Murna, is presented to us as chief of "Ui-Earca Chein." Rymer's "*Fœdera*" has a charter of 3 Edward the First, A.D. 1275, which preserves the same name, "Mac Gilmorani dux de Anderken." (vol. 1, p. 520). O'Donovan concludes from various references to the family of Mac Giolla Mac Muire (now known as M'Gillmurry, Gilmore, but principally Murray), that they originally possessed the barony of Lecale, a part of Kinnelarty, and the barony of Upper (correctly Lower) Castlereagh. Dr. M'Dermott, in his notes to Connellan's Translation of the "Four Masters," very strangely fixed this territory as the barony of Iverk, county Kilkenny, but there can be no doubt, as Dr. Reeves suggested (*Ant. p. 339*), it was in the north of the county Down. It lay in the eastern portion of the present barony of Lower Castlereagh, south of Comber, and abutting on Strangford Lough, a few miles distant from the ancient Nendrum.—It was almost identical with the sub-territory of South Claneboy, which was variously spelt Slut Henderkees, and Slut Cenderkeys, probably corruptions of the more ancient name, and the Anglicised form, *Anderken*.

Rath easpuic innic is probably the present *Castle espie*, called in the see leases, Bally-casland especk, in the parish of Tullynakill. It is still bishop land, as is the entire parish, forming the manor of Island Maghie (the ancient *Nendrum*), otherwise Ballindrean. Colgan's error, in assigning it to the barony of Antrim, very

appointed St. Vinnoc bishop of it; it is in the territory of Hua-derchain, a valley in the barony of Antrim; there are four churches in this valley, viz., Rathmor (which probably is Rath-easpuic-innic), Rathcabain, Ratheochuill, and ——. ^a

Now unknown.

Rathmoane,⁴⁹ near Ballycastle, in the barony of Carye. St. Patrick founded Rathmodhain, and placed St. Ereclasius therein; it is now, according to Colgan, a parish church in the Reuts and diocess of Connor. ^b

Rathmuighe,^{c 50} on the sea-shore, eight miles from Dunliffisia, as Colgan observes, which may probably be Dunluce. It was formerly a principal town of the Dalriedans, and an episcopal seat and monastery, but is now reduced to a small village with a church. ^d

The mother of St. Olcan, or Bolcan, died about the year 440. After her interment a noise was heard in the grave, which being immediately opened, the child was providentially taken out alive. St. Patrick received this infant of birth so extraordinary, baptized and educated him in this town; he was afterwards sent to France to finish his studies; and on his return he became the first abbot and bishop of a monastery built in Rathmuighe. ^e

St. Brugachius was appointed by St. Patrick to succeed St. Olcan; he was surnamed the Hospitable, and his feast is held on the first of November. ^f

^a *Tr. Th. p. 183.* ^b *Act SS. p. 455.* ^c *Is also called Rathmuighe-haonuigh, and Arthur-muighe, or Arther-muighe-haonuigh.* ^d *Act SS. p. 375, 377.* ^e *Id.* ^f *Id. Tr. Th. p. 183.*

likely rose from its being, when he wrote, part of this manor, anciently written *n' Aendruim*. The ruins of the Castle, about a perch south east of a very large rath, lie near the shore, and the celebrated lime quarries.

The "Martyrology of Donegal" gives, at 16th February, another bishop as seated here: "Aedh Glas, bishop of Rath-na-n-Epscop." In O'Cleary's Tabular Index this bishop is called "Aenghus."

⁴⁹ Now the parish of *Ramoan*. In the "Tripartite Life," the name is written *Rath-mudain*, a corruption, as Colgan tells us, of "Rath-Modhain," which was given to it from Muadain, whose son, Enan, was appointed by our apostle to preside over the neighbouring church of *Druim-indich*, as we have already seen, when speaking of this church. St. Erceleac was left by St. Patrick in charge of the church of Ramoan, and his feast is marked in the "Martyrology of Donegal," on the 3rd of March. Colgan gives a sketch of this saint's life, and adds, that his church was situated "in regione Dalriadæ, Cathrugia (*i.e.*, Cary) dicta, et in Decanatu de Tuasheart" (*Acta SS. p. 455*). The river Shesk, which joins the Cary river at Bonamargy, flows from south to north, and divides this parish from Culfeightrin.—See Reeves' "Ec. Antiq." p. 284.

⁵⁰ See the remarks already made at *Airthir-muige*, *i.e.*, *Armoy*. This place is quite distinct from Ratheanich, in county Donegal, which we will meet hereafter, and to which SS. Brugach, Adamnan, and Kieran belonged. The repeated destruction of Armoy was foretold by St. Patrick, as we have seen. In addition to the instances referred to by Archdall, we may mention that it was also plundered by Cucuaran, who died in the year 706.—"Vita Tripart." p. 147.

A.D. 612. This abbey was destroyed by fire.^g

725. St. Adamnan, the bishop and abbot, died this year.^h

779. The abbot, St. Kieran, died on the 8th of October.ⁱ

831. This abbey was plundered and destroyed.^k

960. It met with the same dreadful treatment.^l

Rathmurbuilg;⁵¹ St. Domangart, bishop of this church, which is in Dalaradia, died in the year 506; it is now called Machaire-ratha.^m Probably this is Magherehill, three miles south-west of Ballymenagh.

*Rathsithe*⁵² was built by St. Patrick; it is now, says Father Colgan, a parish church in the diocese of Connor.ⁿ
Now unknown.

^gAct. SS. p. 378. ^hId. p. 377. ⁱId. ^kId. p. 378. ^lId. ^mAct. SS. p. 744.
ⁿId. p. 183.

⁵¹ This town is the present *Maghera*, in the county Down, and lies about nine miles S.-W. of Downpatrick. We shall return to it hereafter.—Reeves' "Ec. Antiq." p. 27.

⁵² A charter of James the First annexes the parish of *Rathsith* to the prebend of Carncastle. Now that parish in other documents, as in the taxation of Down and Connor, is called the parish of *Rassci*. Thus we are enabled to identify it with the modern *Rashee*, the churchyard of which is still much used by the surrounding districts. It is situated in the county and barony of Antrim. In the "Annals of the F. M.," at 617, is marked the demise of "Eogan, Bishop of Rath-Sithe." Tighernach registers the same event in 618: "Eogan, Bishop of Rathsitha rested." So also in the "Annals of Ulster," at A.D. 617, and in the "Annals of Innisfail," at A.D. 611.

A local antiquarian gives, in the "Ulster Journal," the following interesting particulars connected with this place:—"A district in the county of Antrim, with which I have been familiar from my youth, appears to me to be worthy of examination in an archæological point of view. It lies about twelve miles from Belfast, and comprises an area of about twenty square miles. It is bounded by the Glenwherry river and the Six-Mile-Water on two of its sides; on a third by a line drawn from *Battery-bridge* over *Big-collin* mountain; and on the fourth by a line about four miles distant, passing over Ballyboley hill and meeting both rivers near their source. It includes a great part of the united parishes of Ballycorr and Rahee, now called the parish of Ballyeaston, with part of that of Donegore. This district is remarkable for the number of artificial earthen mounds which are scattered over it, usually called by the country people *forths* or *moats*. At an early period these must have been more numerous than at present, as it is known that many of them have been levelled from time to time; but there still exists one to every square mile. It is probable that some of them may be sepulchral. Another class of ancient constructions found in the district to a considerable extent is the subterraneous chambers or artificial caves; of these I have myself noted the localities of about a dozen, some of which in early youth I have entered. Several of them were spacious and lofty, but nearly all more or less filled up with earth. They are built of rude stone-work, and a number of them have been destroyed for sake of the building-stones they supplied to the occupiers of the surrounding land; others have been broken into in the search for 'crops of gold,' which a very general tradition declares may be found in them. I was early taught to believe that they were the work of an ancient people called *Peghs*, of whom, however, nothing further is known. Another class of antiquities met with in this district bears the popular name of *Giants' Graves*; of these I know three or four examples. The late Mr. M'Skimmin, author of the "History of Carrickfergus," was of opinion that these were Druids' Altars. I would also draw attention to the traces, now almost obliterated, of very ancient religious edifices and burying-grounds. Four of these are situated respectively at

*Tulach*⁵³ was also founded by the same saint, who appointed St. Nehemias to be bishop of it. Colgan says it is now called Tulach-ruisc, and that it is a parish church in the deanery of Dalmun and diocess of Connor.^o

COUNTY OF ARMAGH.¹

Armagh,^p the capital of the county, and a market-town and borough, sending burgesses to parliament.

^o*Trias Th. p. 183.* ^p*It was known in ancient times by the several names of Druim sailech, Ard sailech, Altitudo sailech, Eamhuin macha, and also Allimachia. Usher, Trias Th. p. 289.*

Ballycorr, Rashee, Kilbride, and Dough. In these places the vestiges of foundations were discernible in my early days; and I know that at present several old walls are being removed to obtain ground for burying the dead. Tradition tells of a fifth, at least a burying-place, but probably also the site of a religious structure, near the Battery Bridge which crosses the Glenwherry river. An old inhabitant of Killylane told me the Irish name of a place near this bridge, which in English signifies, *the old woman's graveyard*. Local tradition records that in old times there was here an abbey and a fair, and that the owner of the surrounding lands, as well as of some place in Carnmoney, was a Dane."—"Ulster Journal of Archæology," vol. 3rd, p. 79.

⁵³ There is a parish of Tullyrusk adjoining the parish of Belfast. This, however, cannot be the Church of Tulach founded by St. Patrick, and presided over by St. Nehemias. The "Tripartite Life" expressly places it in the same district as *Ramnan*, of which we have already spoken (*Tr. Th. p. 146*). Elsewhere, the same authority informs us that it was also called *Kill-chonadhain* (*Ibid. 147*), of which probably the modern name, *St. Cunning*, is a corruption. A townland in the parish of Carncastle still retains this name, and a charter of James the First attaches the chapelry of St. Cuning, "Capellam Sancti Conie" to the prebend of Rasharkan.—Reeves' "Ec. Antiq." p. 53.

¹(1) Two different derivations have been assigned to this name, one being founded on peculiarities of local formation, the other on historical statements. The former is supported by the authority of Usher (Works, vol. vi., p. 414), who derived Ardmacha from *Ard* "high," and *Mach* "a plain." Dr. O'Donovan, however, says of this etymology that, "no Irish scholar ever gave that interpretation." The historical derivation, which is very ancient, leaves room for choice, since, while furnishing three different sources whence the name might have originated, it abstains from declaring in favour of any one of the three. Rev. Dr. Reeves (to whose "Lecture on the Ancient Churches of Armagh" we gratefully acknowledge our obligations) supplies from the *Dinnsenchus* in the "Book of Lecan," a triple answer to the question, "*Ard Macha, whence named?*" 1st. From Macha, wife of Nemidh, son of Adhnomán, who received it as a gift from her husband, and who died and was buried there, and gave it her name. 2nd. From Macha, daughter of Aedh Ruadh, by whom Émain Macha (the *Navan fort*) was built, and who was buried here. 3rd. From Macha, the wife of Cronn, who lived about the Christian era, who also was buried here. The *height of Macha* recalls the history of one of those three heroines; but it cannot be determined which of the three has thus been honoured.

Armagh is translated by *Altitudo-Machæ*, as in the "Book of Armagh," sometimes by *Alto-Machæ*, and sometimes simply *Macha*, or *Machi*. Out of the high ground known by this name rose an eminence called *Druim Sailech*, the "Ridge of Sallow," rendered *Dorsum Salicis* in the "Book of Armagh." In the note (p) Archdall gives *Eamhuin-Macha* as one of the names of Armagh; but, in reality, this was the name of the entrenchment in the parish of Eglish, now known as the *Navan fort*. This was for six hundred years the regal abode of the Ulster sovereigns,

Priory of Regular Canons. A.D. 445. St. Patrick, the great apostle of this kingdom, founded an abbey here in this

whose line ended in Fergus Focha, who fell at Achalethderg, in A.D. 332. In that year Eamhain was burned and laid waste, and was never inhabited again. It afterwards became the property of the church of Armagh. In 577 Tigernach records *Primum periculum Uladh in Emania*, in 578 *Abreversio Uladh de Emania*. In 1145 a limekiln, which was sixty feet every way, was erected opposite Eamhain Macha, by Gillamacliag, successor of Patrick, and "by Patrick's clergy in general." Under 1387 the "Four Masters" have these two entries: "A house was built at Eamhain Macha by Niall O'Neill, King of Ulster, for the entertainment of the learned men of Ireland.

"A house was erected at Eamhain Macha, by Niall O'Neill, for there was not any house within it for a long time till then." Dr. Reeves gives (p. 38, 39) the text of two documents from "Primate Sweteman's Register" on matters connected with Navan.

2. The "Annals of Ulster" refer the foundation of Armagh to A.D. 444: "A.D. 444 Ardmacha fundata est. Ab urbe condita usque ad hunc urbem fundatum MCXCIV."

The "Annals of the F. M." refer it to the year 457, at which they say:—"Ard-Macha was founded by Saint Patrick, it having been granted to him by Daire, son of Finnochadh, son of Eoghan, son of Niallan. Twelve men were appointed by him for building the town. He ordered them, in the first place, to erect an archbishop's city there, and a church for monks, for nuns, and for the other orders in general, for he perceived that it would be the head and chief of the churches of Ireland in general."

3. The following most interesting extract from the "Book of Armagh" contains the history of the earliest religious foundations at Armagh. It will be seen from it that the so-called abbey was not the first foundation made by St. Patrick, that honour belonging clearly to the church of the *Ferta*:—

"There lived in the territory of the Easterns a man both rich and honourable, whose name was Daire, and Patrick asked of him to grant a place for the exercise of his religion, and the rich man said to the saint, what place dost thou desire? I pray of thee [said Patrick] to bestow upon me that eminence which is called the Sallow Ridge, and there I will build me a place. Notwithstanding, he would not grant to the saint that high ground, but he gave him another portion in a lower situation, where is now the Fertæ Martyrum, beside Arddmachá; and there Patrick abode with his disciples. Some time after there came a horseman of Daire, leading his fine horse to feed upon the grassy ground of the Christians, and Patrick was offended at the intrusion of the horse on his ground, and said, Daire had done foolishly in sending a senseless animal to trespass on the little spot which he granted to God. But the horseman, as one that is deaf, gave no ear; and, as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth, gave no reply; but letting loose the horse there, went his way for the night. But when, early on the following morning, he came to look after the horse, he found him already dead, and returning home in sorrow, he said to his master, behold that Christian hath killed thy horse, because he was displeased at the trespass upon his ground. And Daire said, then he likewise shall die; therefore go ye and kill him instantly. But scarcely was the word uttered, while they were yet going out when a death-stroke fell upon Daire. Then said his wife, it is because of the Christian that this hath come to pass. Let some one go quickly, and let the saint's blessing be brought to us, and thou shalt recover; they also who went forth to slay him are countermanded and recalled. Accordingly, two men went to the Christian, and without stating what had happened [merely] said Daire is sick; we pray thee let something of thine be carried to him, if, peradventure, he may be healed. But St. Patrick, knowing what had been done, said, yes, verily; and he blessed some water, and gave it to them, saying, go ye, sprinkle your horse with this water, and then take it with you. And they did so, and the horse came to life again, and they carried the water with them, and Daire was healed when he was sprinkled with the consecrated water.

(To be continued).

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1869.

NOTES DURING A JOURNEY IN FRANCE.

TO THE EDITORS OF "THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD."

GENTLEMEN,—Having published in your March number some of the admirable letters addressed by the Bishops of France to His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin with respect to our Catholic University, you may, perhaps, deem the following notes also likely to be interesting to your readers. These notes were made during a short visit to the Continent last autumn, and will serve to show the lively interest taken in our Education Question by some of the most distinguished prelates of that great Catholic Empire, as well as by one illustrious bishop in the adjoining republic of Switzerland, and by the Archbishop of Mechlin. The views of these men, who rank among the deepest thinkers of our age, possess a peculiar value at this moment, when our country is about to enter upon a new era ; an era, it is to be hoped, of greater material prosperity and of more universal development than for the past ; an era, consequently, in which education of the highest order will be more necessary than ever, but in which it will also be more than ever necessary that "*the aroma of the sciences*," Religion, should be present to hinder *knowledge* from corrupting the minds and hearts of the rising generations. The names of the eloquent Mgr. Mermillod of Geneva, of the great Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, of Cardinal Donnet, of Mgr. Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, and of others, which

will be found in the following memoranda, would at any time be sufficient to awaken the attention of Irish Ecclesiastics, and will, I am sure, do so in a special manner at the present moment.—I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

BARTH. WOODLOCK.

Catholic University, Dublin,
30th April, 1869.

Rouen, Friday, 14th August, 1868.

Saw Cardinal de Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen, at the Archbishopal Palace, which is a magnificent building near the Cathedral.

His Eminence entered most warmly into conversation with us respecting the University. He said: The bishops of France have long desired a University, where youth would be safe from anti-Christian teaching. Although several of the professors in the University of France are excellent men, still many are infidels and materialists, and there is no security for faith and morals. However, the question is, His Eminence added: When and how will be the best occasion for promoting the interests of the Catholic University of Ireland, and of Christian Education in France? We told His Eminence we had a letter for the Bishop of Orleans. The Cardinal promised to confer with him as to the best mode of promoting our cause—he expected to have an opportunity of doing so in the autumn.

He would also consider the best time and manner of having a collection in Rouen for our University.

Before taking our leave, His Eminence desired us to remind Cardinal Cullen that he (Cardinal de Bonnechose) had promised some relics of St. Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, whose sacred body reposes at Eu, in the diocese of Rouen, on condition that His Eminence of Dublin would himself come for them.

Orleans, Tuesday, 18th August.

Saw Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, at his country house, which adjoins the College, or Pétit Séminaire, at La Chapelle, a village about two miles from Orleans, on the banks of the Loire.

His lordship received us most kindly and even warmly, and kept us for dinner, which was served at 12 o'clock. At

the beginning of the repast the bishop's chaplain read a chapter of the New Testament, and at the end a paragraph of the Imitation of Christ. After dinner we withdrew into the ante-chamber, and the bishop left us. I went to walk about the grounds with M. Lagrange, one of the Vicars-General, and another priest, who live with the bishop. The former told me that he noted the materialistic passages quoted by the bishop in his recent pamphlet, "*Les Alarmes de l'Episcopat.*" The other is writing, under the bishop's supervision, a full account of all the churches, towns, and villages in the diocese of Orleans.

After the bishop had dismissed his other visitors, he and we walked together in the grounds for a considerable time.

He entered most warmly into our plans regarding the higher education of Catholics in Ireland, and said he would have, in the diocese of Orleans, a general collection for our University, and would publish a letter on the subject. For this latter purpose, I gave him notes which I had by me. Should he require anything more, he said he would write to me for it.

He explained to us at considerable length the difficulties of the position of Catholics in France. Higher education is in a most deplorable state, and the greatest efforts are made to fill the minds of youth with materialistic and atheistical principles, and to sap the foundations of religion and morality. The bishops cannot ask *directly* for a *Catholic* University, for to do so would be to say, equivalently, that France is not Catholic, since there is a University of France; such an insinuation would not be tolerated. Moreover, several of the Professors in the University are most religious and excellent men. What is wanted is Educational Freedom, by which the bishops would be free to establish courses of law, of medicine, &c., under truly Christian Professors, so that parents wishing to send their sons to the legal or medical professions, might not be forced, as at present, to expose them to the imminent risk of being made by their teachers materialists or atheists. The principle of liberty in teaching is recognised in primary and secondary education; for instance, the bishop has in his own College, or *Petit Séminaire*, of La Chapelle, where we then were, three hundred young men, some of them of the highest families in France, who are there prepared for the examinations of the Baccalaureate in Arts and in Science, which they can get by passing the required examination before the University examiners. Of late he has even established a course of law and other higher studies, which they can continue for two years, after the Baccalaureate. However, it does not appear that the pupils are

admitted to degrees in law, which, in France, are necessary in certain cases. Certainly there is no mode of getting the degree, or even licence, in Medicine, except through the University, and of this it is that the bishops so justly complain.

Although the bishops of France acquiesce in this system of getting degrees in Letters and in Science, by examination before a mixed "*jury d'examen*," still, it is only for want of better that they accept it. Mgr. Dupanloup said, that it would be an injustice for our Government to force such a system upon us; but that we might accept it, if we got no better. Here, in France, it is the Minister of Public Instruction who fixes the programmes for the examinations; but neither in those programmes, nor in the examinations themselves, do they dare to show any anti-Christian spirit. Moreover, it is not from the examinations, but from the teaching and bearing of the professors, that danger to youth is to be feared. However, from my inquiries, both from the bishop himself and from his Vicar-General, who had been Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, I found that the system is by no means satisfactory. For instance, the latter told me that his pupils in philosophy used to complain if he took them *one step* beyond what was fixed in the examination programme; in fact, they would not be drawn by him beyond that programme, and, of course, it was most *jejeune*. This seems to me to account in a great measure for the falling-off of philosophical studies in France, of which I have heard several complaints. But the present system, in which the choice of books, of teachers, and of methods of teaching, is left to the various institutions, is a great improvement on the old system, under which—while a degree was *necessary*, as at present, for almost all who wished to enter the public service—no one could obtain any degree, even in Letters or Science, without submitting to the teaching of the University. Moreover, the new system, by the emulation it has excited, has improved even the Government Colleges.

The bishops, then, acquiesce in the present system of secondary education, and endeavour to get the principle of educational liberty upon which it is founded, extended to higher professional education.

The Bishop of Orleans has another college, or *séminaire*, like La Chapelle, in another part of his diocese.

His lordship fully approved of the principles regarding education for which, I told him, we are contending in Ireland, and which we are determined to uphold, viz.: 1st. That the teaching of Catholics be left altogether in the hands of Catho-

lies ; 2ndly. That it be subject to the supreme control of the bishops in all things appertaining to faith and morals ; 3rdly. That Catholics be placed on a footing of perfect equality with Protestants as to *all* educational advantages.

After conversing together for a considerable time, he said he would go and write letters of introduction for me to some of the prelates of the greatest influence, with whom he is on terms of special intimacy. Accordingly he left us, and after some time returned, and handed us letters of introduction to six of the leading prelates of France.

Before concluding our conversation, I mentioned that the O'Curry "Glossaries," containing 30,000 Celtic words, are in the possession of our University, and I said, that as there is a great movement now in France in favour of Celtic studies, perhaps through his lordship's influence, exerted in the "French Academy," the Government of the Emperor might be induced to publish this valuable work. He at once saw the honour such a publication would confer upon the Catholic University, and through it upon religion ; and said, that if one of our Professors would come to France, when he (Mgr. Dupanloup) will be in Paris, he would introduce him to the members of the Academy learned in these matters, and thought the thing might be done, and would redound much to the honour of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

We also entered into the question of the Established Church in Ireland for a short time. His lordship particularly asked, how it was that our bishops had refused to accept any part of the ecclesiastical endowments for the Catholic Church ? He seemed perfectly satisfied with the reasons which I told him had, I believed, actuated our bishops, viz. : that no such division or surrender to the Catholic Church was ever seriously proposed, nor could it be carried in the House of Commons ; that such a disposition on the part of our bishops to accept the ecclesiastical property would have opposed the greatest obstacle possible to the settlement of the question and the destruction of the Establishment in Ireland ; for that the Liberals in England are Mr. Gladstone's main support, and they are even more opposed to the Catholic Church than to the Protestant, so that sooner than establish the Catholic religion in Ireland, they would say, let the Protestant Establishment remain ; that such an endowment could not be effected without the sacrifice of our liberty, at least to some extent ; finally, that an acceptance by our bishops of a part of the ecclesiastical property would be a *condonatio* of the robbery originally committed, and a *donatio* to heresy of a part of the property of the Church.

Brittany.

After leaving Orleans, we had the pleasure of seeing some of the illustrious bishops of Brittany. These prelates entertain a special affection for Ireland. One of them in particular seemed to take particular pleasure in identifying "*ses braves Brétons*" with our old Celtic race. He pressed us to remain for a few days in his episcopal city, that he might offer us hospitality and introduce us to some of the leading members of his clergy, and that we might propose a toast to Cardinal Cullen and to the success of our efforts in Ireland for the maintenance of religion and the advancement of Catholic education. He gave us many graphic sketches of the similarity of character between the two peoples.

One of these prelates entered considerably into detail as to the difficulties by which the bishops of France are surrounded respecting education, and, indeed, in all things regarding religion. "For my part," he said, "I do not fear a revolution. We have nothing to lose. Things cannot be worse than they are. Your liberty in Ireland is most precious. The Concordat will, I fear, be the destruction of religion in France."

One of the prelates whom we had the pleasure of seeing about this time spoke in no measured terms of the actual Minister of Public Instruction in France, who, he said, being afraid to avow himself an open enemy, makes use of the most insidious, and at the same time most dangerous, means to injure, or rather destroy, religion. At the same time, he is a man whose education is far from fitting him for the post he occupies, and whose appointment was a kind of insult to the University, and was felt as such by its learned men. However, "the Bishop of Orleans '*l'a jété à la boîte aux charbons*'—and unmasked all his schemes, through which he seeks to subvert religion by introducing and promoting corrupt systems of education."

One of the prelates whom we saw while in the west of France told us, that at the moment of our visit he was making the annual retreat, with several hundred of his clergy; that they were thoroughly sound on the education question, and that the Government knew it; but, as the elections are now approaching, and the moment was not opportune for going against the clerical element, they (the Government) had not dared to refuse him the required legal authorization for an association which, in conjunction with the leading laymen and ecclesiastics of his neighbourhood, he had just formed for the purpose of obtaining "Educational Freedom :—" "*la liberté d'enseignement.*"

On leaving Brittany we visited Tours, and thence proceeded on our journey southward, till we reached Poitiers.

Poitiers, 23rd August.

Mgr. Pie, the eloquent Bishop of Poitiers, received us with the same kindness we had experienced from the other prelates. Happening to meet one of the Canons of the Cathedral, who, as we subsequently discovered, is also the senior Vicar-General, he conducted us to the bishop's residence, which is at present an old convent of Benedictine nuns, from which the Religious were expelled at the time of the first Revolution, and which was called *Sainte Croix*. The Government is about to restore to the bishop the old episcopal palace, which had been converted into the *Préfecture*.

His lordship kept us for dinner, and during the evening entered fully into the questions of the Established Church and of Education in Ireland. He said he would do everything in his power to promote the interests of the Catholic University of Ireland, and that for this purpose he would put himself into communication with the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, whom, we told him, we were going to visit. He seems a prelate of great information and of considerable cleverness.

He pressed us to go with him on the following day to the convent—I think, of Benedictines—where are the remains of the monastery in which St. Martin of Tours spent three years under the teaching and guidance of the great St. Hilary of Poitiers; but we were not able to accept his invitation, having made our arrangements to continue on the following day our journey to Bordeaux.

Bordeaux, 25th August.

From Poitiers we proceeded to Bordeaux. Cardinal Donnet, the archbishop of that great city, received us most kindly, and having spoken to us for a few minutes, asked us to accompany him to a distribution of prizes to the boys of the municipal schools, taught by the "*Brothers of the Christian Schools*," and then to return and dine with him, when we could talk at leisure over the Education question and other matters interesting religion in Ireland.

The distribution of prizes was a very imposing ceremony. Besides the Cardinal, the *Maire* of the city—who is a Protestant, but a very liberal man, as I was told, and as might be judged from his discourse to the boys—the Government inspector of schools, the Vice-President of the *Lycée*, &c., were present. The room, which was a very large one, capable (I should think) of holding 4,000 or 5,000 persons, was quite full. The boys were very fine-looking lads, dressed alike in a quasi-military uniform, red and white. There were some hundreds

of them, although they were only the boys who had won premiums; but they were selected from all the municipal schools conducted by the Christian Brothers in Bordeaux. They formed an excellent band and choir of singers, and acquitted themselves admirably in their music, declamation, a geographical dialogue, and, most of all, in their general bearing. They also exhibited admirable specimens of writing and drawing. The Cardinal told us, that in many cities and towns of France the municipalities were taking the schools from the Christian Brothers; but that this had not been and could not be attempted in Bordeaux; and that their Protestant *Maire* had been mainly instrumental in securing this advantage for their city.

On our return from the distribution of prizes His Eminence wrote for us, with his own hand, a list of the objects of public or religious interest to be visited in Bordeaux.

In the evening, before dismissing us, His Eminence said:—"What then, finally, is it you want me to do for you?" We said we wished to have the Catholic public opinion of his people evoked in favour of the Catholic University of Ireland. "Well," said he, "we have many claims upon us just now; we are completing our Cathedral (His Eminence had given us copies of a pastoral letter he had lately published, ordering a collection for this object); our Seminaries must be maintained, for the Government allowance and the parents' contributions are quite insufficient. Still, before all things, I am a Catholic; I do not believe that one good work ever injures another. If you get in Bordeaux four, or five, or ten thousand francs for your Catholic work, those who contributed will receive a blessing, and I shall not get less for my works of charity.

"And now, as to the best way of carrying out your object, Father Roux, S.J., Rector of the Jesuits' College of Tivoli, near the city, has considerable reputation as a preacher. I shall be happy to allow him to preach in my Cathedral, for the Catholic University, in Advent next—that time would be the best for your purpose."

Besides the little memorandum above-mentioned, His Eminence gave me five handsome volumes of his pastoral letters, sermons, and discourses on various occasions.

Moulins, 29th August.

The Very Rev. Père Martin, of the Society of Mary, Superior of the "*Grand Séminaire*," conducted us, on our arrival at Moulins, to the bishop, Mgr. Dreux-Brézé.

The reception given to us by his lordship was most kind.

Having inquired very warmly for Cardinal Cullen, he entered into conversation with us respecting our religious and educational questions in Ireland. As to the education question in France, his lordship seems to have special views, which possess peculiar interest for us. As far as I could understand, he thinks that the system adopted in 1850 ought not to have been accepted, and that by refusing to accept it, terms more favorable to religion would have been obtained ; whereas, by accepting it, a system was introduced, similar, in his opinion, to the one condemned in Ireland by the Holy See and our Irish Bishops, viz., a mixed bureau of administration, with mixed colleges. I believe the real advantage of the law of 1850 was, that it was a step in the right direction, since it permits a certain kind of modified liberty, viz., that youths who have made their studies in "*Pétits Séminaires*," or other Catholic colleges, may present themselves for examinations for degrees, and gain those distinctions, which previously could be obtained only by the students of the "*Lycées*," and other Government institutions. The Bishop of Moulins, as far as I could understand him, seemed to be of opinion that the principle, condemned at that time by the Holy See and the Bishops of Ireland, was the same as the one then accepted by the Bishops of France ; but it appears to me that the circumstances were quite different. With us the mixed system, as embodied in the Queen's Colleges, was condemned ; in France, the Catholic system of education began to be tolerated ; students who had studied in purely Catholic colleges being admitted to degrees ; and the control of education was given to a mixed bureau or board, composed of persons of various religious denominations. The great question which, it would seem to me, might have been raised in France, was, as to the expediency of permitting Protestantism and Judaism, which represent only a very small fraction of the population, to be placed on an equality with Catholicity in the supreme bureau or board ; or rather in degrading the Catholic religion, as to its influence or authority over education, to a level with these denominations, subjecting it to the supreme control of the State. Again: the system of State Education which exists in the "*Lycées*" is very bad, both in theory and in practice ; it is, in truth, a mixed system of the worst kind, since many of the pupils, whose opinions are heterodox, or even infidel, live together in the "*Lycées*," the teachers are often professedly infidels, and although the bishops have the right of appointing one or more "*Aumôniers*," or Chaplains, to each "*Lycée*," the influence of these priests is often very trifling. The Bishop of Orleans had told us that he selects the best men he can find for

the post of "*Aumôniers*," but he admitted that theirs is a thankless, and, generally, an almost fruitless task, although some of the Professors of the University and "*Lycées*" are truly excellent men. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that until the change of the law in 1850, an infidel University entirely monopolized lay education in France. Catholic Colleges were closed, at least their pupils could not obtain University degrees, which, in France, are indispensably necessary for nearly every public career; and the "*Petit Séminaire*" could receive no students but those destined for the ecclesiastical state.

With respect to our University, the Bishop of Moulins said that we had his warmest sympathy, and that he would be most happy to forward the interests of our institution by every means in his power. Considering, therefore, with us in what way he could best advance the cause of the Catholic University of Ireland, he said that an appeal in Moulins, or even in the chief towns and parishes of his diocese would be productive of little or no advantage; but, "there is one thing," he added, "which I can offer you, and I will give it with the greatest pleasure, viz.—a sermon in Vichy *in the season*, that is, in July next. There the preacher would have an audience representing the whole of Europe, and the sermon would have '*un rétentissement Européen*.'" Having accepted his lordship's kind offer, he then asked me whether I knew any one who would preach on the occasion. I alleged the difficulty of the language, and I asked him whether there was any one whom he would suggest, if he could not himself advocate the cause of the University. He did not deem it advisable to undertake the task himself; but, on the name of Mgr. Mermillod, the eloquent Bishop of Hebron, and Administrator of Geneva, being mentioned, he was at once accepted by Mgr. Dreux-Brézé as the best advocate we could possibly have. His lordship at once suggested that, as we intended to go to Lyons, we should go on to Geneva, see Mgr. Mermillod, and invite him to preach in Vichy next summer for the Catholic University of Ireland; and "if he give you any hope that he will accede to your wishes, let me know." The Bishop of Moulins added—"I will myself formally invite him, and I will go with him to Vichy and give him hospitality there."

I understood from Father Martin, or from some other quarter, that Mgr. Mermillod is well known to the Bishop of Moulins and his clergy, as he has preached one or more retreats for the clergy of the diocese.

Geneva, 1st September.

Immediately on our arrival in Geneva we waited upon Mgr. Mermillod, and explained to him our special business with him. We told him, that being anxious to create in France a public opinion in favour of the Catholic University of Ireland, and having with this object called on the Bishop of Moulins, his lordship had offered us a sermon in Vichy next year, in the season, and had suggested his lordship, Mgr. Mermillod, as the best person we could get to advocate the cause of Catholic Education.

His lordship invited us to return to dine with him on the morrow at twelve o'clock.

We had at table five or six lay gentlemen, chiefly Belgians, and the President of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, in Geneva (a medical man), and also the bishop's Vicar-General and secretary. Besides local matters, the conversation turned on the state of public affairs in England and Ireland, the Church question, &c.

With respect to our University business, the bishop kindly acceded to our request, and authorised me to inform the Bishop of Moulins that he would preach next season in Vichy on the claims which the Catholic University of Ireland has to the sympathy of the Catholics of Europe. Or, if we preferred it, he would preach in Lyons.

Before leaving, his lordship asked me whether we could receive at the University some young ecclesiastical students, should he wish to send them there to prepare for the sacred ministry in the diocese of Geneva. I explained, as well as the shortness of the time permitted—he introduced the subject when I was taking my leave—that his subjects could scarcely have suitable ecclesiastical training in the University; and I suggested to him All Hallows' College, of which I promised to send him every information, and where, I said, I was sure they would be happy to receive his students.

The venerable Mgr. Marilly, who resides at Fribourg, still retains the title of Bishop of Geneva and Lausanne, on account of his great services and his sufferings in the cause of religion; but I understood that Mgr. Mermillod is Administrator of Geneva, and on Mgr. Marilly's death, will be transferred from the see of Hebron, "*in partibus*," to that of Geneva, another bishop being appointed for Fribourg and Lausanne, and the present diocese of Lausanne and Geneva being thus divided. Mgr. Mermillod seems to be a most active and energetic prelate; he has erected a very beautiful church in Geneva, and such is the progress of Catholicity in Geneva and its neighbourhood, that in the population of the town and

canton the Catholics have now the majority, viz., 42,000 to 40,000.

Besides the prelates I have mentioned, we had an opportunity, on our way homewards, of seeing the venerable Archbishop of Besançon, Cardinal Mathieu; the Archbishop of Paris; and in Belgium the Bishop of Bruges, and the Archbishop of Mechlin, Mgr. Dechamps, C.S.S.R. All these prelates expressed the greatest sympathy with us in our struggle in Ireland for the purity of higher education, and, when occasion offers, will aid us by every means in their power. I might mention many interesting particulars of interviews with these illustrious prelates; but already these notes have swelled beyond the just bounds.

AN IRISH MISSIONARY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY AND HIS WORK.¹

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, DUBLIN, JUNE, 1869.

IT is related in the life of our great apostle, St. Patrick, that towards the close of his earthly pilgrimage, having prayed to God that the fruit of his missionary toil might be made known to him, he was conducted in spirit to the summit of a high mountain, whence he could survey the whole island, and he saw its hills and its valleys, its glens, its streams, its lakes, all glowing with the sacred fire of divine faith.

Such, indeed, was Ireland in the sixth and seventh centuries—this golden era of piety and learning in our island. Providence, in its own mysterious ways, seemed thus to prepare a home for religion and civilization, as they were gradually driven from the other nations of the West. The Roman provinces had become a prey to Barbarian hordes, and the tempest of destruction had slowly, but surely, gathered around the seven-hilled city. Ireland, however, protected by her insular position, felt not the fierce shock of these invasions, and her sanctuaries, monasteries, and schools, illumined with that heavenly light which St. Patrick had borne

¹ The best works on this subject are Montalembert's "Monks of the West," vol. 2nd; Dr. Greith's "Geschichte der Altirischen Kirche," Friburg, 1867; and De la Torre "Vita di S. Colombano."

to our shores, presented a calm and befitting retreat for the proscribed civilization of Europe.

Whilst thus the sanctity of her sons earned for Ireland the proud title of "Island of Saints," she trained up missionary bands to win back the lost kingdoms of Europe to the church's fold—new soldiers of Christ, who were to subdue by the cross those very barbarians who now spread terror throughout Christendom. Well, indeed, does our native chronicler Marianus Scotus, write, under the year 589: "Ireland, the island of saints, now exceedingly rejoiced in the number of her saints and miracles."¹

Eminent among these great saints, and foremost in the ranks of Ireland's missionaries, was St. Columban. Closely allied with the family that gave birth to our great national patroness, St. Brigid, he was born about the year 430 in some district of West Leinster. Whilst in his mother's womb, the pious matron beheld in vision a bright star to arise from her bosom. Its brilliancy dimmed all earthly light, and its cheering rays filled the whole world. Thus was foreshadowed the future exalted sanctity of St. Columban, and the beneficent influence of his virtues and zeal, which should one day be a source of joy to many nations.

We shall not dwell on his early youth, and the many combats which he sustained to enter on the rugged path. In the monastery of Cluaninis he cultivated with care the various branches of literature till his thirtieth year. Beautiful is the scenery, and many are the choicest gifts of nature that are scattered with rich profusion through the fair islands of Lough Erne, but far more rich are they in the hallowed memories which they bear—once studded with the cells of those whose lives were devoted to virtue, and whose thoughts were fixed on heaven. Here, under the guidance of St. Sinell, every branch of science was carefully explored by Columban. His biographer makes mention of his study of grammar, rhetoric, geometry, poetry, and the Sacred Scriptures. His works, moreover, attest his acquaintance not only with the Latin but also with the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and his poems, commentaries, instructions, and letters, which have happily been preserved, still breathe the purest aroma of the classic age.

Having attained the age for priesthood, St. Columban proceeded to the monastery of Bangor. In this "Valley of Angels," *vallis Angelorum*, as it was popularly called in our

¹ "Hibernia, insula sanctorum sanctis et mirabilibus per plurimis sublimiter plena habetur." Ad. an. 696 of his chronicle, the year 589 of our era. Pertz, *Monum. Germ.* tom. vii. p. 544.

early Church, the sanctity of St. Comgall renewed the glories of Lerins, and thousands of fervent disciples, under his guidance, pursued the paths of perfection. "Holy is the rule of Bangor," (thus, in the seventh century, one of its own sons chaunted the praises of this monastery)—"it is noble, just, and admirable.—Blessed is its community—founded on unerring faith—graced with the hope of salvation—perfect in charity.—A ship that never is submerged—though beaten by the waves. . . A house full of delights—founded upon a rock. . . Truly an enduring city—strong and fortified. . . The ark shaded by the cherubim—on all sides overlaid with gold. . . A princess meet for Christ—clad in the sun's light. . . A truly regal hall—adorned with various gems. . . A virgin most fruitful—a mother also chaste. . . For whom a happy life is laid up with the perfect—prepared by God the Father."¹

I will not detain you with—

"The holy valiant deeds
Of its sacred Fathers...
The noble deeds of Abbots—
Their number, times, and names
Of never-ending lustre."²

A few facts will suffice to illustrate the spirit that pervaded the great monastery at the period of which we treat. St. Molua, when a youth tending his father's flocks, felt an eager desire to devote himself to science, and he sought to join the community of St. Comgall, the better to attain that end. His desire was revealed to the holy abbot, who, seeking out the little shepherd, asked him was he not afraid that the pursuit of learning would expose him to many dangers, and perhaps even turn him away from God. Molua replied, "If I attain true knowledge I shall never offend God: for they who offend him are they who know him not." St. Comgall at once conducted him to the monastery, saying to him, "Thou art firm in the faith, my son, true knowledge will guide thee in the road to heaven."

Of another monk of Bangor named Dagan, cotemporary with St. Columban, it is recorded that he passed his nights in transcribing manuscripts, and his days in reading and carving in iron and copper. So devoted was he to labour that he is said to have constructed three hundred bells and

¹ This beautiful sequence is preserved in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, published in his "Anecdota," by Muratori, from the MSS. of Bobbio, preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

² This is another sequence of the same "Antiphonarium."

croziers, and to have transcribed three hundred copies of the Gospels. One day, as he gave an exhortation to the religious, he said to them, "I thank my God that he has made me recognize among you the three orders of perfect religious life:—those who are angels for purity, those who are apostles for activity, and those who are martyrs in desire, being ready, were it needed, to shed their blood for Christ."

For several years St. Columban enjoyed a calm retreat within the hallowed walls of Bangor, and satiated his mind at the pure springs of true knowledge. Another thought, however, now engaged his soul, another desire was fixed in his inmost heart; he yearned to carry the light and life of heavenly truth to remote nations who were seated in the shadow of death—to check by the cross of Christ that barbarism which was quickly bearing away the vestiges of civilization throughout the Continent, and to re-produce in the distant desert lands the bloom and the fragrance of Bangor.

Having received his abbot's blessing, Columban, accompanied by twelve companions, set out on his holy enterprise. The chronicler of his life records that on his way he visited Britain, but no details of this visit have been preserved to us. It may have been that he wished to receive the blessing of his great namesake, St. Columbkille, whose cell on Iona was rapidly becoming the metropolis of faith for the Picts and Britons; or, perhaps, he desired to visit the tomb of St. David, that illustrious Cambro-Irish saint who, famed for miracles and sanctity, had, only a few years before, closed his earthly pilgrimage in his loved monastery of Menevia, which stood at the southern extremity of Wales facing Ireland, and whither Irish and Britons now flocked alike to pay the tribute of their homage, and to earn his patronage.

It was about the year 575¹ that St. Columban and his companions landed on the northern shores of Gaul. For some months they strayed along the banks of the river Somme; but everywhere received insults and injuries from the inhabitants. At length a rich nobleman named Riquier welcomed them into his house: and, in reward for his hospitality, he was soon inspired with an eager desire to practise the Christian virtues. In after years he himself joined the ranks of St. Columban, and devoted his life to the conversion of those who had rejected the preaching of his Irish guests.

¹ Mabillon and Pagi have warmly discussed the date of St. Columban's arrival in Gaul. The best treatise on the subject is that of De la Torre, a benedictine of Monte Cassino, in the introduction to his "*Vita di S. Colombano*." I reserve to another occasion the proofs for the chronology which I have adopted throughout this lecture.

Such was his courage that he did not fear even to reproach the king and his courtiers for their irregularities. The king, far from being offended, sent to him a large donation, requesting that a special light should be kept burning before the altar as a token of the spiritual light with which the intrepid missionary had enriched his soul.

But to return to St. Columban, the fame of the Celtic travellers soon reached the Court of Sigebert. Being summoned before the king, Columban declared, in the name of his companions, that they had not left their country in search of any earthly wealth, but only that they might follow Christ and bear His cross. Sigebert assured them of his favour, and told them they would easily find some solitary spot within his kingdom where they might devote themselves to their practices of piety; one only condition he required from them—that they should on no account leave Gaul, nor think of converting other nations till they had first preached the glad tidings of salvation to the Franks.

Columban journeyed on towards the frontier; but before we trace with him the foundations of his religious home, we may pause for a moment to consider the state of Gaul at the period of which we treat.

Some one may perhaps imagine that there was but little work in France for the missionary zeal of a new Apostle. It is, indeed, the boast of that Catholic land, that from the day when Clovis with his three thousand warriors was vanquished by the prayers of Clotilde, and received the waters of baptism at the hands of St. Remi, the cross of Christ has ever been emblazoned on its banners.

Others might be disposed to rush to the opposite extreme, and there are modern historians who assert that when St. Columban set out on his work of evangelization, the Sun of Faith had set on Gaul, and its people were once more plunged into the depths of Paganism.

Both these extreme views are alike exaggerated. There were many holy men in France when St. Columban entered on his mission there. St. Germain ruled the church of Paris, and by his devoted charity and his paternal guardianship of the poor, became one of the most popular saints in the traditions of Gaul. St. Gregory, of Tours, fearlessly fed the flock of Christ in that city; and many other honoured names are registered in the annals of the French church, of bishops and holy men who zealously laboured in the cause of religion, and braved every peril to trim the lamp of faith, and preserve for their country the traditions of holy church.

Still there was work for our Celtic Apostle. Even before

the hardy Franks had issued from the German forests, the constant irruptions of barbarians had well nigh severed every social bond in Gaul, and the writers of the age attest that the civilization, not only of the old Celtic inhabitants, but also of the Roman settlers, was well nigh wholly decayed. Thus, the Frank tribes, after gaining an easy victory on the battle-field, came in contact with a corrupt civilization, which, instead of reclaiming, served only to intensify their barbarism, and to raise new barriers against the cross of Christ. As the inhabitants had long ceased to cultivate their lands, whole fertile provinces had become desert wastes; a wild vegetation covered the open fields with copsewood, and transformed the richest valleys into vast impenetrable forests. In one corner, alone, of Burgundy, there were reckoned, in the middle of the sixth century, no fewer than six forests. Towards the northern frontiers of Gaul, the wooded country was yet more extensive, and even in the provinces least depopulated, long lines of brushwood extended from forest to forest, enveloping all Gaul in one vast network of shade and silence.¹

It was vain to hope that the ruling powers in Gaul would reflect some cheering ray on this dismal scene.

On the death of Clothaire, in 561, his vast kingdom was divided between his three sons. To Sigebert, the bravest, was allotted Austrasia, which extended from the banks of the Somme to the Vosges, and thence, stretching along the banks of the Rhine comprised within its rule the North-eastern provinces of Switzerland. This prince, by his valour, advanced his frontier even to the banks of the Danube, made the Saxons his tributaries, and drove the Lombard hordes into Italy. The Arian King of the Spanish Goths, filled with admiration for such valour, gave to Sigebert his daughter Brunehaut in marriage. Brunehaut became a Catholic to please her new subjects, and for some years she was extolled throughout all Gaul, not only for her surpassing beauty, but still more for her piety, prudence, and moderation.

¹"Montalembert," p. 320. He adds:—"We must imagine Gaul and all the neighbouring countries, the whole extent of France, Switzerland, Belgium, and both banks of the Rhine—that is to say, the richest and most populous countries of modern Europe—covered with forests such as are scarcely to be seen in America, and of which there does not remain the slightest trace in the ancient world. We must figure to ourselves these masses of sombre and impenetrable wood covering hills and valleys; the high table land, as well as the marshy bottom, descending to the banks of the great rivers, and even to the sea, broken here and there by water-courses, which laboriously forced a way for themselves across the roots and fallen trees; perpetually divided by bogs and marshes, which swallowed up the animals or men who were so ill-advised as to risk themselves there; and inhabited by innumerable wild beasts, whose ferocity had scarcely been accustomed to fly before man, and of which many different species have since almost completely disappeared from our country."

Gontran, to whom posterity has given the epithet of "the devout," received the kingdom of the Bourgignons, or Burgundy, for his portion. The Vosges, with its mountains and forests, formed its northern frontier, and thence it stretched towards the south, along the rich valleys of the Rhone.

Chilperic, the most wicked and most unfortunate of the sons of Clothaire, became king of Neustria, and fixed his capital at Soissons. He divorced his lawful wife in order to espouse the sister of Brunehaut; but soon the Spanish dame had reason to look back with regret towards the sunny plains of her native land. By order of her husband she was strangled in the royal palace, and a servant named Fredegonda was summoned to share the honors of the throne of Chilperic.

Brunehaut vowed to revenge the murder of her sister, and the fires of civil strife were at once lighted up throughout all Gaul. An army of barbarians gathered together beyond the Rhine by Sigebert, devastated without opposition the provinces of Neustria. Chilperic, on the other hand, entered the western defenceless provinces of Austrasia, and committed equal ravages. This fratricidal war, for its ferocity and barbarity, has scarcely a parallel in history. Chilperic and Fredegonda were at length shut up within the walls of Tournay, and Sigebert, borne on the shields of his victorious soldiers, was proclaimed monarch of the two kingdoms. His triumph, however, lasted only for a few months, for, when, after a tedious siege, Tournay was reduced to the last extremities, the hand of the assassin came to the aid of Fredegonda, and cut short the victorious career of Sigebert.

It would be tedious to pursue in detail the atrocities that subsequently marked the varying vicissitudes of the rival parties. Suffice it to say that Fredegonda soon squandered away the treasures of Chilperic; his subjects were overwhelmed with taxes and vexations of every kind, to enable her to carry out her wicked designs; at length, becoming wearied of Chilperic himself, she caused him to be assassinated, and had herself proclaimed regent of Neustria, in the name of her infant son Clothaire, who was only four months old.

It was whilst Columban journeyed on, seeking a secluded spot for his future monastery, that the news of the murder of Sigebert was brought to him; he therefore passed the frontiers of Austrasia, and, entering the desert of Vosges, resolved to make it his home. Annegray¹ was thus chosen for the first foundation under his monastic rule.

¹ Now a village of the Commune of Faucogney, in Haute Saone.

The fame of the virtues, miracles, and penitential life of the Celtic strangers could not be long confined within the desert of Vosges. Thousands flocked thither from every part of Gaul, to receive the words of life, and many of the noblest Franks, flying from the violence and corruption of their respective courts, chose, as a greater good, the rigid rule of St. Columban.

Annegray was soon too small for the crowds that sought to enrol themselves in its community. The ruins of another Roman castle or encampment named Luxeuil, situated at the foot of the hilly range of Vosges, on the confines of the kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy, and not far distant from Annegray, were chosen as the site of a second monastery, which soon became the spiritual metropolis of both kingdoms. A few years later, a third monastery was erected in the same district, at a spot, which, from its salubrious springs, was called Fontaines. Six hundred disciples of the great Irish missionary dwelt in these three monasteries, and in a short time that form of perpetual prayer known as *laus perennis*, was instituted, so that in unwearied succession, by night and day, throughout this vast solitude, the voices of the religious, like those of the angels, celebrated in unceasing psalmody the praises of God.

This awakening of fervent prayer and piety was the first fruit of St. Columban's zeal. It was not, however, confined within the precincts of his monasteries. The multitudes that flocked from the surrounding districts to receive instructions bore with them to their homes, hearts glowing with devotion, and a spirit of religion was gradually evoked, which rapidly extended throughout all Gaul. Seldom was a sweeter concert raised from earth to heaven than that of the myriad voices which thus ascended before the throne of God, from the glades of the rude forests, from the sides of the rocks, from the banks of the torrents, and intoned a hymn of joy, gratitude, and adoration to celebrate their spiritual happiness. "The church," says Montalembert, "has known days more resplendent and more solemn, days better calculated to raise the admiration of sages, the fervour of pious souls, and the unshaken confidence of her children, but I know not if she has ever breathed forth a charm more touching and pure than in this spring-time of monastic life. In that Gaul which had borne for five centuries the ignominious yoke of the Cæsars—which had groaned under barbarian invasions—and where everything still breathed blood, fire, and carnage, Christian virtue, watered by the spirit of penitence and sacrifice, began to bud everywhere,

Everywhere faith seemed to blossom, like flowers after the winter; everywhere moral life revived and budded, like the verdure of the woods; everywhere, under the ancient arches of the Druidical forests was celebrated the fresh betrothal of the church with the Frankish people."—(p. 384.)

In the desert of Vosges the true dignity of man was fearlessly proclaimed. Every rank and condition of life was represented in that army of God, and the serf and plebeian ranked equal with the prince and courtier, under the standard of St. Columban. Rich or poor, bond or free, learned or untutored, were taught to kneel before the same altar, and to pursue the same path of perfection. Thus the wealthy Romaric distributed his possessions to the poor, and, accompanied by a number of his own serfs, entered the monastery of Luxeuil. Here he gladly recognized his former slaves, not only as brethren, but as superiors, for he sought the lowest occupations in the monastery, and it was his delight, even whilst learning the psalter, to be engaged in some manual labour.

And now it will not surprise us to find that St. Columban's mission awakened a new spirit of industry and labour throughout all Gaul. The religious of the monastery took part by turns in the tillage of the surrounding fields. In the lives of the great founder and his brother saints we see them employed at intervals in mowing, reaping, and cutting wood. Even the sick were obliged to work, and as a lighter task the thrashing of the corn was allotted to them. So much was this insisted on that St. Columban's monastic rule expressly enjoins that the religious should retire to rest so exhausted that sleep should overcome him on the way, and that he should rise again to labour before sleep had given full repose to his wearied limbs. "It is at the cost of this excessive and perpetual labour," writes Montalembert, "that the half of France and of ungrateful Europe has been restored to cultivation and industry."—(p. 405).

The example of such works exercised a salutary influence upon the rustic population, and those who hitherto fled from toil now joyfully associated themselves in labour with the disciples of Columban. I may be allowed to give a few examples of the salutary influence thus exercised by the religious in the promotion of agriculture. A monk named Theodulf, descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, was remarkable for his fervour, and for twenty-two years laboured almost incessantly at the plough. When, at length he was chosen abbot, and was, therefore, obliged to devote his attention to other cares, the people of the neighbouring village took

his plough and hung it up as a relic in their church. It was, indeed, a relic, "a noble and holy relic of one of those lives of perpetual labour and superhuman virtue whose example has happily exercised a more fruitful and lasting influence than that of the proudest conquerors. It seems to me that we should all contemplate with emotion, if it still existed, that monk's plough, doubly sacred, by religion and by labour, by history and by virtue: for myself, I feel that I should kiss it as willingly as the sword of Charlemagne or the pen of Bossuet."¹

Of another monk, named Ermenfried, who from the highest post in the Royal court had passed to the monastery of Luxeuil, it is recorded that on Sundays he distributed the *eulogia*, or blessed bread, to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. Whenever he perceived the hard hands of the ploughman he stooped down and kissed with loving tenderness these noble marks of the week's toil: and whilst the descendants of the Frank conquerors thus, before the altar of Christ, kissed the rough hand of the Gaulish husbandman, it cannot surprise us that the deserts of Vosges should in a short time be peopled with devoted citizens, and be changed into that smiling garden which it has continued to be to our own days.

The history of St. Waleric, whose harsh name has been softened down to the more classic and sweeter sound of Valery, presents to us, perhaps better than any other, a faithful picture of the laborious and fruitful life of the religious of Luxeuil. He was a shepherd boy of Auvergne. Seeing that the sons of the nobility flocked to the monastery for instruction, he too was fired with holy desire to share their lessons of heavenly wisdom. He cut his own tablets in the forest, and, with the help of some of the monks, the first difficulties of the alphabet and rudiments were overcome. In a short time, such was his proficiency, that, though he yet tended his father's flock, he had committed to memory the whole Psalter. Being at length admitted to the monastery, the care of the novices' garden was assigned to him. He laboured incessantly at this post, and a special blessing seemed to reward his toil, for no flowers were so fragrant as those which came from the lands of Valery. One day, whilst St. Columban was engaged in imparting his lessons of heavenly wisdom, Valery entered. The room was at once filled with a sweet perfume, and St. Columban being told who it was that bore with him this heavenly fragrance, said to him: "It is thou, my beloved gardener, who art the true abbot and

¹ "Montalembert," p. 397.

lord of this monastery.”¹ Soon after Valery was sent by St. Columban to evangelize the country around Amiens, where many had relapsed into the vices of paganism. Miracles marked his ministry. At the same time, so austere was his life, that he drank no wine or beer. Barley-bread was his only food, and often times whole weeks were passed with only one repast. Before his death he founded the great monastery of Leuconäus, at the mouth of the Somme, where the high cliffs, bathed by the sea and pointing to the sky, served to admonish his religious of their true heavenly destiny. St. Valery suffered much persecution during his missionary career, but in after ages his memory was held in veneration, and the annalist records that the founders of two great dynasties, Hugh Capet and William the Conqueror, as well as the bravest of the English Kings, Richard *Cœur-de-Lion*, came to the shrine of this humble shepherd boy to pay the tribute of their homage.

St. Columban could not expect that the enemy would allow him to enjoy perpetual peace in his religious home. Some disciplinary peculiarities of the Irish religion, in the form of their tonsure, and in the time of their celebration of Easter, gave occasion to his first conflict. When the Bishops of Gaul assembled to deliberate on the matter, Columban addressed a letter to them, which has happily been preserved, and which, in each line, reveals to us the devoted piety and glowing spirit of its writer. He begins by congratulating them on the interest which they now gave proof of in the cause of Holy Church, and he prays, that henceforth their synods may be more frequent, in order that all abuses may be the more effectually checked. He adds:—“I am not the cause of the difference that exists in our observance. I have come into those parts a poor stranger for the cause of Christ, the Saviour, our common God and Lord. I ask of your Holinesses but a single favour: that you will permit me to live in silence in the depth of these forests, near the bones of seventeen brethren, who have already passed to their reward. I shall pray for you with those who remain to me, as I ought, and as I have always done for twelve years. Let us live with you in this Gaul where we now are, since we are destined to live with each other in heaven, if we are found worthy to enter there. Despite our lukewarmness we will follow, the best we can, the doctrines and precepts of our Lord and the Apostles. These are our weapons, our shield, and our glory. To remain faithful to them we have left our country and are come among you. It is yours, holy fathers, to decide what must be done with some poor veterans, some old pilgrims, and

¹ “Contigit ut beato Columbano fratres sacris lectionibus instituyente et divini verbi semina spargente, &c.”—*Vita S. Walericii*.

would it not be better to console than to disturb them. I dare not go to you for fear of entering into some contention with you, but I confess to you the secrets of my conscience, and how I firmly believe in the tradition of my own country, which is moreover the teaching of St. Jerome." And then, after a lengthened reasoning on the subjects under discussion, he concludes—"God forbid, that we should delight our enemies, namely, the Jews, heretics, and pagans, by strife among Christians. . . . If God guides you to expel me from the desert, which I have sought here beyond the seas, I should only say with Jonas, '*Take me up and cast me forth into the sea, so that the sea may be calm.*' . . . Yet pray for us as we, despite our lowliness, pray for you. Regard us not as strangers to you, for all of us, whether Gauls, Britons, Irish, or others, are members of the same body. I pray you all, my holy and patient fathers and brethren, to pardon my talkativeness, and the boldness of one who is engaged in labour beyond his strength."

This storm was scarcely hushed when a more eventful conflict awaited our great missionary, the first of the many conflicts, which, throughout the middle ages, were sustained by the cloister in defence of the purity of Christian morals.

In the year 596 Brunehaut assumed the reins of power in the kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy, as regent in the names of their respective sovereigns, her grandsons, Theodobert and Thierry. The nobles of Austrasia, disgusted at her rule, soon caused Theodobert to expel her from that kingdom. Then Burgundy alone remained to her, and fearing a rival near the throne of Thierry she opposed his marriage, and caused him to plunge into the worst of vices. Even when he at length espoused a Visigoth princess, she caused him to repudiate her at the end of a year.

One day when Columban was summoned to the royal mansion at Bourcheresse, Brunehaut presented to him the four sons of Thierry. "Why do you present these children to me?" asked Columban. "They are the sons of the king," replied Brunehaut, "strengthen them with thy blessing." "I cannot bless them," answered Columban; "and these children of unlawful birth shall never wear their father's crown." Brunehaut was filled with rage, and from that moment vowed the destruction of the Columbian monasteries. Thierry, at her instigation, presented himself at the gates of Luxeuil, and having, without permission, entered the monastery with his followers, proclaimed that thenceforward its enclosure should cease, or the monks must lose the royal gifts. Columban, with his usual courage, replied to the king: "If you seek to

violate our rules, we cannot accept your gifts; and as you come here to destroy our monastery, know that your kingdom shall be destroyed with all your race."

It was only in defence of the purity and dignity of Christian marriage that St. Columban waged this war against Brunehaut. In punishment for his intrepidity he was now expelled for the first time from Luxeuil, and conducted to Besançon, whilst a rigorous blockade was established around the monastery to prevent any communication of the religious with their spiritual Father.

This was in the year 610. For a short time the saint remained unmoved in Besançon, surrounded by the respect of its people, who had long felt the benign influence of his virtues. One morning, as he ascended the rock on which the citadel now stands, and surveyed the road which leads to Luxeuil, his heart was filled with emotion, and, despite the royal mandate, he bent his steps towards his loved monastery. The momentary joy of his afflicted children was quickly succeeded by a more bitter separation, and after an abode of twenty years at Luxeuil, St. Columban was now forced by the soldiers of Thierry to quit its hallowed walls, and all the surviving Irish monks were commanded to depart with him.

Led away a second time to Besançon, he was thence, with his companions, conducted by a military guard to Nevers: there they embarked upon the Loire, and passing by Orleans and Tours, were put on board an Irish ship in Nantes. The narrative of this journey across the very centre of Gaul was penned by an eye-witness, and presents many scenes full of the deepest interest. At Orleans he sent two of his followers to buy provisions, but the citizens were prohibited to hold any communication with him. A Syrian woman, however, presented herself. "I am a stranger like you," she said, "and I come from the distant East." She offered them hospitality, and in reward, her husband, who was blind, had his sight restored to him at the blessing of Columban. At Tours he begged to be permitted to pray at the tomb of the great St. Martin; but his savage guards only replied by ordering the boatmen to redouble their speed whilst passing through this city. However, an invisible force stayed the boat; Columban landed, and spent the night before the relics of St. Martin. Next day he met one of the chief officers of Thierry, and filled with the spirit of prophecy, told him:—"Say to thy friend, the king, that three years from this time he and his children shall be destroyed, and his whole race shall be rooted out by God."

Arrived at Nantes, the thoughts of Columban were again

turned to Luxeuil, and he penned a letter, which begins: "To his dearest sons, his dearest pupils, his abstemious brethren, to all the monks.—Columban the Sinner." This letter is replete with the most tender affection for his loved disciples, and conveys admirable instructions for their future guidance. One of the religious named Waldolene had not been present at his departure from Luxeuil, and now our saint tells Attalus, with loving solicitude:—"Always take care of Waldolene, if he is still with you; may God grant him everything that is good; give him, for me, the kiss of peace, which I could not give him myself." The letter concludes as follows:—"While I write they come to tell me that the ship is ready, the ship which is to carry me back against my will to my country. . . . The end of my parchment obliges me to finish my letter. Love is not orderly; it is this that has made my letter so confused. I wished to abridge everything that I might say everything; and yet I could not say all that I desired. Adieu, dear hearts; pray for me that I may live to God."

The vessel in which Columban embarked had scarcely set sail when it was driven back upon the coast of Gaul by a violent storm, and once more the saint, with his companions, was at liberty to pursue his missionary pilgrimage. They bent their steps to Soissons, where Columban repeated to the now reigning Clothaire the prophetic announcement that before three years the kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy would be added to his dominions. Continuing their journey, the holy pilgrims traversed the whole of the southern districts of Austrasia. As they passed through Paris, Meaux, and Champagne, many of the Frank nobility brought their children to receive the blessing of St. Columban, and we will see hereafter how copious were the fruits of holiness that were granted as their reward.

Theodobert pressed our saint to remain in his kingdom; but another thought had now taken deep root in the soul of the fervent missionary. In his monastery of Luxeuil he had often pondered with sorrow on the sad gloom of paganism that hung over so many fertile countries beyond the Rhine, and it was now his fixed resolve to bear to these benighted regions the sacred light of the Gospel. Embarking upon the Rhine below Mayence, he pursued the course of that majestic river to the lake of Zurich. At Tuggan, where the river Limmat enters the lake, he founded a monastery, and remained for some time announcing the truths of faith to the pagan inhabitants of the surrounding country. Thence he passed to Bregentz, on the shores of Lake Constance, where the Alleman tribes still offered sacrifice to Woden. In an

ancient church of St. Aurelia three golden statues were adored by these idolators. St. Columban fearlessly broke the idols to pieces, and cast the fragments into the lake. He then proceeded to purify the church; and it is interesting to learn from the contemporary historians of his life, the ceremonies with which our Celtic missionary restored this sanctuary of St. Aurelia to the piety of the faithful. Causing water to be brought, he blessed it and sprinkled it around the church. He next chaunted psalms around the edifice, and hallowed its precincts. Then he consecrated the altar, and replaced in it the relics of St. Aurelia, and indescribable was the joy of the old inhabitants when once more within these hallowed walls they saw offered up the holy sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb. In the monastery of Bregentz St. Columban renewed the fervent life of Luxeuil. He himself laboured in the fields, and fed the poor and the pilgrims with the produce of his labour. He also made nets for his dear companion St. Gall, and many were the miraculous draughts of fish which repaid his charitable desire to meet the wants of the poor. Still there were some of the idolators who ceased not to persecute him. They even murdered two of his companions. Then our saint shook the dust from his sandals, saying: "We found, indeed, a golden vase here, but serpents dwell within it. The God whom we serve wishes us to preach elsewhere."

Hitherto the tribes of Gaul and the Pagan Suevi and Allemans had engaged the zeal of St. Columban. The far more ferocious race of the Lombards, half Pagan, half Arian, now awaited his ministry. Bidding, therefore, farewell to the cold hills of Switzerland, he bent his steps through the path of St. Gothard towards the fair plains of Italy, and in the very heart of the Lombard nation founded a new citadel of Christian faith, and a new centre of religious observance, at Bobbio.

But whilst St. Columban thus enters on his new field of labour at the foot of the Apennines, and whilst mid-way between Genoa and Milan, on those banks of the Trebbia which were immortalized by the encampment of Hannibal, he traces the foundation of his future monastery, we must leave him for a while, and turn our thoughts to Gaul to consider the rich spiritual harvest which there repaid one hundred-fold his long years of missionary toil.

Events in Gaul had marched onward with rapid pace since the departure of Columban. Theodobert and his children were first cut off by Thierry. Then the hand of God fell upon Thierry and all his race; and before the close of the

year 613, Clothaire saw all the kingdoms of Gaul united in his hands. Mindful of the prophecy of Columban, his first care was to summon an assembly of the bishops, and to send a deputation to our saint to invite him back to the former field of his labours.

St. Columban did not comply with this request of Clothaire, but sent to him instructions for his future guidance, replete with the noblest maxims of heavenly wisdom. But though the holy abbot was thus absent, his mission in Gaul was now destined to attain a complete and glorious triumph. There was no diocese throughout France that did not eagerly seek a bishop from the Celtic monasteries of the Vosges; and what shall I say of the zealous labours of these sons of St. Columban in restoring the vigour of ecclesiastical discipline, and in re-constructing the scattered sanctuaries of God throughout all Gaul.¹ What shall I say, too, of the many religious communities that went forth from Luxeuil, like swarms from the parent hive, to bear to other regions the many blessings it had inherited from the Irish missionary.

The whole of the rich district of Burgundy, situated on the banks of the Saone was the first to yield to the influence of the monasteries of St. Columban. Donatus, who had been long trained by our saint in the paths of piety, established a noble monastery in Besançon, which he dedicated to St. Paul, even as that of Luxeuil bore the name of the Apostle St. Peter. Subsequently, the same religious founded the great monastery of Jussamoutier for nuns, whilst his brother, through reverence for St. Columban, *pro amore beati viri Columbani*,² re-constructed, on the southern side of the Jura, the religious institutions of Romain-moutier. Between the Saone and the Tille, to the east of the *Velvet Forest*, arose the abbey of Bèze, whilst another famous monastery was erected on the banks of the Cusancin, under the care of Ermenfried. The same southern cluster of the Vosges was

¹ "Illa'se Ecclesia," writes Yezep, "et Episcopatus reputabat illustrem qui poterat unum de Luxoviensis coenobii alumnis sibi prælaturam accipere." Yezep in "Chron." "From the banks of the Lake of Geneva to the coast of the north sea, every year saw the rise of some monastery, peopled and founded by the children of Luxeuil, whilst the episcopal cities sought as bishops, men trained to the government of souls by the regenerating influence of this great monastery. Besançon, Noyon, Laon, Verdun, and the diocesan capitals of the country of the Rauraci and Morini, were so fortunate as to obtain such bishops almost at the same time. Their good fortune was envied by all, and all vied in seeking superiors whom they concluded beforehand to be saints; and it was with reason, for, perhaps, so great a number of men, honoured by the church after their death with public worship, has never been collected on one point, and into so short a space as twenty years." (Montalembert, p. 466). For the lives of these holy men, see "Vie des Saints de Franche-Comte," tome 2, p. 492, seqq.

² Jonas' Vit. S. Col., chap. 22.

also hallowed by the sanctuary of Remiremont. This hill still retained the temples, idols, and tombs of Pagan Rome, but soon, on account of the two great monasteries, and the seven chapels which adorned it, it was known throughout all Gaul as *the Holy Mount*.

But this luxuriant vine was not yet exhausted ; having rapidly spread through Burgundy, it soon filled Austrasia with its clusters, whilst on the other side it extended over Neustria, beyond the Loire, and as far as Aquitaine. What shall I say of the monastery of Solignac, founded by a monk of Luxeuil, St. Eligius : it gave birth to many other monasteries,¹ and in after times was eulogized by the venerable Peter of Cluny, as the most fervent religious house of France. Four monasteries were founded in the district of Bourges, by another disciple of our saint named Theodulf. Then Moutier-la-Celle was founded at the gates of Troyes, where the marshy island on which it stood was soon changed to a smiling garden. What shall I say of Hautvilliers and Moutier-en-Der, and Centula, all of which afterwards attained high eminence in the Carlovingian era. But there is one religious of Luxeuil who merits special mention. *Audomar*, or *Omer*, possessed vast estates near the Lake of Constance, but surrendered all to embrace the rule of St. Columban. From Luxeuil he was chosen bishop of Therouanne, and to consolidate his work of piety, founded the great monastery of Sithiu. This holy house gave twenty-two saints to the calendar of the church, whilst the city which sprung up around the monastery, handed down to posterity the name of this great bishop of Therouanne.

And here I would wish to mention the many families that showed hospitality to St. Columban in his pilgrimage through Austrasia, and which, fortified by his blessing, became centres of piety throughout that kingdom. On the banks of the Marne, he was joyously received by a Frank nobleman named Autharis. The blessing of the holy missionary was bestowed on the three sons of Autharis to repay this hospitality. All three, remarkable for their zeal and piety, became in after times the founders of great monasteries, and one of them, St. Oüen, was destined to attain special eminence as bishop of Rouen.

Near Meaux, the family of Agnerric was specially enriched by heaven in reward for its devoted attachment to the exiled Columban. The little daughter of Agnerric, known to history under the name of Burgundofora, braved the terrors

¹ "Ex quo multi sumpserunt initium et exemplum."— Vita S. Elig., cap. 21.

of martyrdom, that she might devote herself wholly to God. She founded the famous sanctuary of Faramoutier, which was for centuries the cherished retreat of the daughters of the Frank nobility. When the wicked Agrestin traduced St. Columban and his disciples, and sought to detach Burgundofora from the observance of the Celtic rule, he received from her the well-merited reproach :—"I will have none of thy novelties; as for those whose detractor thou art, I know them, I know their virtues, I have received the doctrine of salvation from them, and I know that they have opened the gates of heaven to many."

The brothers of Burgundofora vied with her in sanctity. Cagnoald having shared the perils of St. Columban's exile, laboured with him among the Allemans, and subsequently became bishop of Laon. Another brother, named Faro, attained the highest post in the army of Clothaire the Second, but exchanging the sword for the cross, became bishop of Meaux, in the midst of his paternal estates. It was his anxious care to honour the memory of his spiritual Father by founding hospices and monasteries for the pilgrim countrymen of Columban; and one of the pilgrim Scots whom he thus welcomed was St. Fursey, who, at the bidding of Faro, closed the fatigues of a long missionary life by becoming Abbot of Lagny-sur-Marne. Another of the pilgrims welcomed to his hospice was St. Fiacre, who transformed the wooded glades, given to him by the holy bishop of Meaux, into gardens, and devoted their produce to the poor: to our own days this great Irish pilgrim is venerated as the patron of gardeners throughout all France.

Thus the mission of our saint, as apostle, as spiritual legislator, as avenger of public order, and restorer of social life, achieved complete success in Gaul; and it is a striking fact, which should never be forgotten in the history of the country thus specially fostered by the blessing of Columban, and thus quickened by his religious spirit into the full vigour of social life, that, before one hundred years from the death of the great Celtic pilgrim, it was precisely with this kingdom of Austrasia, under Charles Martel, were linked the hopes and destinies, not of France alone, but of all Europe and of Christendom.

But whilst commemorating the happy results of St. Columban's labours we must not omit to mention the special fruit of those who accompanied him from Ireland in his holy enterprise. Among his companions there was one named *Dichuill*, whose name gradually assumed, on the Continent, the forms of Deicolus and Desle. When the Irish monks took their

departure from Luxeuil, his strength failed him on the road to Besançon. Unable to continue his journey, he entered the adjoining forest; here he met a swineherd, who at first fled from him, terrified at his great stature and strange costume,¹ but subsequently pointed out to him a habitable spot, where he erected his cell. This forest was a favourite hunting-ground of King Clothaire; and one day a wild boar, pursued by the royal party, took refuge in the cell at the feet of St. Dichoill. Its life was spared through reverence for the holy solitary; and disciples, attracted by the fame of this event, soon flocked to him for counsel. This cell became one of the richest monasteries in Christendom; the town of Lure grew up around it, and its abbot, in later ages, was reckoned among the princes of the Roman Empire.

The picturesque town of St. Ursanne, in the Swiss Canton of Bâle, owes its name to *Ursicinus*,² another Irish companion of St. Columban. He chose for his cell the banks of a deep and narrow gorge hollowed by the river Doubs, in the very heart of the Jura range, not far from the coast of Lake Bienné. He made it his special care to erect an hospice for the sick poor and the wearied travellers who sought a path over these rugged mountains. It was the privilege of his monastery to give to heaven the two first martyrs of justice and charity who adorned the Order of St. Columban.

One of the Celtic missionaries named *Sigisbert* accompanied our great abbot through all his pilgrimages, even to the foot of Mount St. Gothard, but obtained permission there to choose for himself a silent retreat in the bosom of the highest Alps. Crossing the glaciers and peaks of Crispalt he penetrated to the sources of the Rhine, and erected his cell in a solitary spot which was watered by a clear streamlet. At his preaching the pagans of the surrounding forests soon felled their sacred oaks, and in the midst of that vast wilderness a noble monastery sprung up, which still subsists and gives name to the town of Dissentis. Thus by our Celtic missionaries was won and sanctified, from its very source, that Rhine whose waters in after times were to bathe so many illustrious monastic sanctuaries.³

But the glory of all these holy men was far surpassed by the fame of St. Caillech,⁴ better known by his latinized name

¹ "Videns tam procerae staturae virum et antea invisi habitus veste circumdatum."—(Vit. S. Deicol).

² This is the Latin form of the Celtic name *Mahoun*, and of the modern *Matthews*.

³ "Montalembert," p. 456.

⁴ The old Irish *caillech* means a "cock," and corresponds with the Latin *gallus*. See Stokes' "Irish Glossaries," ad voc. *Gall*, p. 23.

of Gallus. He was nephew of our national patron St. Brigid, and a near relative of St. Columban. He accompanied our great abbot as far as Bregentz, where he devoted himself to preach to the Allemanni tribes of Switzerland. When St. Columban resolved on journeying on to Italy, St. Gall fixed his retreat among his favourite barbarians, not far from the spot where the Rhine falls into Lake Constance. He was walking on," says his biographer, "praying that God might mark out for him some chosen spot for his abode, when he stumbled over some broken brushwood and fell to the ground." St. Gall at once entoned the verse of the Psalmist: "This is my chosen habitation; this is my resting-place for ever." Here he built his cell, and in front of it he arranged two hazel boughs into the form of a cross, to which he attached the case of relics which he carried round his neck. When St. Gall closed his days, on the 16th of October, 646, "the entire country of the Allemanns had become a Christian province, and around his cell were already collected the rudiments of the great monastery which, under the same name of St. Gall, was to become one of the most celebrated schools of Christendom, and one of the principal centres of intellectual life in the Germanic world."¹

And here allow me to call your attention to the close bonds of spiritual brotherhood which united together these Celtic foundations of the companions of St. Columban. Of St. Gall it is recorded that he sent one of his religious to Bobbio to make enquiries about his great master. The messenger brought back with him the *cambatta* or crozier of St. Columban, which the dying abbot had bequeathed to his loved disciple.

Ten years later a deputation from Luxeuil, composed of six Irish monks, waited on St. Gall in his mountain retreat. They came in the name of the whole community to pray him to undertake the government of that great monastery, which was now vacant by the death of St. Eustasius. St. Gall, indeed, refused this honourable post, saying that he chose to await his resurrection in the sanctuary which God had given him for his inheritance; but these events of his life sufficiently prove how close was the spiritual friendship that subsisted between the Celtic monasteries of Italy, Switzerland, and Gaul.

The lives of the monks of the Columban monasteries abound with similar examples. Thus we read of the rich Count Vandregisil, who, from praying at the tomb of St. Ursicinus, passed to the cloister of the adjoining monastery, and revived on the

¹ "Montalembert," p. 461.

frontiers of Switzerland all the rigours and austerities of the Celtic saints, that through devotion to St. Columban he made a pilgrimage across the Alps to Bobbio; and being filled with admiration for the virtues of the fervent religious of that monastery, he set out anew on a pilgrimage to Ireland itself, to learn at the parent source the highest maxims of perfection. This noble pilgrim having thus renewed the bonds of the monasteries of Switzerland and Italy with Ireland, returned to Gaul and founded the great abbey of Fontenelle, which was destined to fill an important place in the ecclesiastical history of Normandy. It is a curious fact that this Columban monk was the first to plant the vine in Normandy.

The ruined towers of Jumiéges still testify to the traveller on the Seine the magnificence of another monastery, whose founder, Philibert, emulated the virtues of St. Vandregisil. His first pilgrimage was to Luxeuil; thence he journeyed on to Bobbio, to pray before the shrine of his spiritual father; and from Bobbio he pursued his course, seeking new sources of edification at each of the branch monasteries that had sprung from the same parent stock. His own great abbey of Jumiéges became a favourite resort for vessels from the Irish coast, and it is further recorded that the holy founder erected in his church three altars—one under the invocation of the holy Mother of God, another of St. John, the third of St. Columban.¹

And now, following in the footsteps of these venerable pilgrims, we too may pass in spirit to the rich plains of North Italy to see the golden fruit that crowned the closing years of our great missionary.

In the same year in which St. Gregory the Great ascended the throne of St. Peter, the Catholic Theodolinda, of Bavarian origin, espoused the Lombard King Agilulf. Yet, did not the Lombards cease to pursue their reckless course of devastation. "This nation," says St. Gregory, "issued from its native deserts, as the sword is drawn forth from its scabbard, to mow down the human race." The ravages of Agilulf extended even to the gates of Rome, and the city itself was indebted for its safety to the vigilance of Pope Gregory. "On every side," writes this great Pontiff, "there is nought but desolation. Agilulf destroys the cities, changes the towns into a heap of ruins, depopulates the plains, and makes whole provinces one vast solitude. Many arrive in

¹ The monastery of Jumiéges was one of the most numerous in Gaul. At one time it reckoned nine hundred religious within its walls. Its monks fitted out vessels of their own in which they sailed to distant countries to redeem slaves and captives.

Rome with their hands amputated ; others are led away into captivity, and on every side there is nought but the torture of unhappy victims and the image of death."¹ And subsequently he wrote to the Emperor Mauritius : "I was obliged to see with my own eyes the Romans led away into Gaul with ropes around their necks, like dogs, to be sold in the market-place."²

There are indeed many features of this Lombard ferocity, which we have seen renewed in the north of Italy in our own times. The monasteries of the holy virgins of Christ were everywhere a special object of their rage, and a countless number of nuns was forced to seek a refuge and a home in Rome. When a little later, Agilulf was baffled in his attack upon the city, Pope Gregory again wrote :—"To the prayers, and tears, and fasts of these exiled nuns, Rome owes its deliverance from the swords of the Lombards."³

The result of St. Columban's mission among these barbarians may be told in a few words : Theodolinda had, from her infancy, known his fame of sanctity, and thus the way was opened to him to approach the court of Agilulf. By the zeal of our saint, combined with the efforts of St. Secundus, bishop of Trent, the Lombard king at last yielded to grace, and when the heir of his throne received the regenerating waters of baptism, these two holy men acted as sponsors, and, in his name, promised fealty to the Catholic Church. On that day a new nation was gathered to the fold of Christ, and a new era of social life dawned upon afflicted Italy.

At the urgent request of Agilulf, St. Columban, though now weighed down by years, wrote a learned treatise against the Arian heresy, with which a portion of the Lombard nation had been infected. It required the sword of the Saracens to root out Arianism from Spain ; but the zeal of the monks of Bobbio⁴ and the pen of St. Columban banished it for ever from the plains of Italy.

Another task which our saint assumed, by order of the Lombard king, was to write a long letter to the then reigning Pontiff, St. Boniface the Fourth, on the question of the "Three Chapters." The controversy on this subject had raged with special violence on the eastern coast of the Adriatic,

¹ Homil. vi., lib. 2, in Ezecheil. ² Ep. 40, lib. 5. ³ Epist. 26, lib. vii.

⁴ As an instance of the zeal of St. Columban's monks against Arianism, I may mention, that one of them was beaten, and left for dead, by the followers of Ariowald, for refusing to salute that prince, who was infected with Arianism.—Vita S. Bertulfi, cap. 15. Another of his monks was beaten to death whilst preaching against Paganism.

whither the sway of Agilulf now extended. It had hitherto, however, but little engaged the thoughts of Columban, and he knew but little of its details, as he repeatedly avows. Yet, on the whole, his letter may be justly styled one of the noblest apologetic treatises which have come down to us from the seventh century. The enemies of our holy Church at the present day refer to it indeed as a proof of the hostility of St Columban to the See of Rome. But surely that writer does not deny the authority of the Roman Pontiff, who calls upon the Pope to cut off heresy from the fold of Christ; he does not deny the privileges of the successors of St. Peter, who declares that they were divinely constituted to guide the helm of the mystic ark of God; he is not the enemy of the Vicar of Christ, who lovingly addresses him as "his loved Master, his spiritual Pilot, the Pastor of Pastors, the most honoured Head of all the Churches," and yet such are the epithets repeatedly made use of in this letter of St. Columban. You will permit me to add one passage from this beautiful letter, which should be engraven on the heart of every Irishman, and which, till the end of time, will remain a monument of the piety and faith of our Celtic Church:—"We, Irish, who inhabit the extremities of the world," he thus writes, "are the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other Apostles, inspired by the Holy Ghost. We receive no doctrine save that which is apostolical and divine. There has never been a heretic, a Jew, or a schismatic among us. But those whom I see around me, and who bear the burden of many heretics, are disturbed like a frightened flock. Pardon me then, if sailing here amidst many rocks, I have used any words displeasing to you. The native liberty of my race has given me that boldness. . . . We are bound to the chair of St. Peter; for, however great and glorious Rome may be, it is this chair which makes her great and glorious among us. Although the name of your ancient city, the glory of Ausonia, has been spread throughout the world as something supremely august by the admiration of nations, yet to us you are only august and great since the Incarnation of the Redeemer; since the Spirit of God has breathed upon us, and since the Son of God, in his chariot, drawn by these two ardent coursers of God, Peter and Paul, has crossed the oceans of nations to come to us. Nay more, because of these two Apostles of Christ, you are almost celestial, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the whole world, excepting only the special privilege of the spot of the divine Resurrection."

Never was the supremacy of Rome, and the unswerving

attachment of our nation to the See of the Vicar of Christ, expressed in words of more fervent and devoted eulogy.

I have said nothing of the special benefits conferred on literature and science by the mission of St. Columban, and now, at the close of my lecture, only a few words can be added on that subject. The name of Bobbio shall never be forgotten in the annals of literature. During ages of darkness and storm it was the treasury of learning, as it was the central abode of piety in North Italy; and if the most precious fruits of the classic genius of Rome and Greece have been preserved to our times, to say nothing of the golden works of the Fathers, we are indebted for them, in great part, to the toil and skill of the monks of Bobbio.

Luxueil produced the same fruits of literature in Gaul. "Luxueil," writes Montalembert, "was the most celebrated school of Christendom during the seventh century, and the most frequented. The monks and clerics of other monasteries, and more numerous still, the children of the noblest Frank and Burgundian races, crowded to it. Lyons, Autun, Langres, and Strasbourg, the most famous cities of Gaul, sent their youth thither. The fathers came to study with their children; some aspiring to the honour of counting themselves one day among the sons of Columban; others to re-enter into secular life, with the credit of having drawn their knowledge of divine and human science from so famous a seat of learning. As it always happens, when a great centre of Christian virtues is found in the world, light and life shines forth from it, and brighten all around with irresistible energy."¹

Amongst those who flocked to its halls was Conon, abbot of the famous monastery of Lerins. That great school in which our own apostle, St. Patrick, had drunk in the teachings of heavenly truth, had long since begun to be subject to a gradual decay, and now its representative comes forth from its cloister to seek at the hands of the Irish pilgrim strength and light to renew its former glory.

What shall I say of the monastery of St. Gall, which attained an equally high fame for its learning and its sanctity among the Germanic nations? When Charlemagne visited that monastery the deacon chaunted the versicle; "Istud sanctorum concludit millia templum." 'Countless are the saints enshrined within these walls.' People in search of learning and piety flocked to it from all parts of Europe, rich and poor, nobles as well as plebeians, and so populous did

it become that the honours of an imperial city were awarded to it. One of its own pupils was able to write of it in the tenth century: "Inde fons infertur sapientiæ per cunctas totius Europæ provincias derivatus, omnibusque hucusque, Dei nutu, suavissimo se potabilem dulcorabat gustu."¹

This school of St. Gall was, in a special manner, famed for the cultivation of poetry and music: and even in subsequent ages we meet with some pilgrims from Ireland, who, having gone thither through reverence for its Celtic founder, were detained there to teach these branches to the German youths. And yet, if we may credit contemporary writers, it was no easy task to awaken the genius of harmony among the Allemans of those days. It is a writer of the ninth century that thus describes the special difficulties which beset the Allemans in the study of music: "Alpina siquidem corpora vocum suarum tonitruis altisone perrepentia, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem, proprie non resultant: quia bibuli gutturis barbara levitas, dum in flexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonatia rigidas voces jactat."²

Such were the rough Allemans in whom the sense of melody had to be awakened by the Celtic masters of St. Gall. If long ago that nation has overcome the harshness of its original jargon, and has attained high eminence in the science of music, it should never be unmindful of those who first taught its sons to entune the harp and excited in them an ardor for the enchanting strains of harmony.

I have thus endeavoured to briefly sketch for you a few of the blissful results which were attained by the missionary enterprise of St. Columban and his associates. The memory of these great Celtic pilgrims has never ceased to be held in benediction by those countries which derived such blessings from their toil, and their names, though too often forgotten in the land of their birth, are encircled with glory in the pages of the continental historians. Thus Baronius writes: "St. Columban came like another Elias to re-kindle the flame of piety and learning in Gaul and Italy." And Ordericus Vitalis says: "This father of admirable sanctity, Columban, was most remarkable for his zeal. He was effulgent with glory among nations, by his miracles and prodigies, and, inspired by God, composed a religious rule which, for the first, he gave to Gaul. Most renowned monks came forth from his school,

¹ "Ex omnibus non solum Germaniæ sed totius Europæ partibus, &c."—Yezpe-Balthar, in Vit. S. Fridolin.

² Joan. Diac. *Vita S. Greg.* ii. 7.

who, like the stars in the firmament, adorned the world by the brilliancy of their virtues."

Ireland has at various epochs of her history received many blessings from the continent of Europe, and her Celtic heart never forgets such favours. Gaul gave to us one of its most illustrious sons, St. Patrick, for our Apostle. Ireland repaid the gift in St. Columban.

THE FESTIVITIES FOR THE POPE'S JUBILEE.—

11TH APRIL, 1869.¹

WE have just returned from the Mass of Pope Pius the Ninth, celebrated between eight and nine o'clock, a.m., on Sunday the 11th of April, 1869. This hour, this date—or rather let us say this epoch—should be marked in Rubric in the annals of the church, for never since our Divine Redeemer instituted the sacrifice of the new law was it solemnized with such a wonderful celebration. The Vicar of Jesus Christ offered it, on the very tomb of his first predecessor, he, himself, achieving half a century in the priestly office; round about him was a congregation of temporal princes, and princes of the church, mitred pastors, the inferior clergy, and a devout assemblage of innumerable people. Never was such a crowd seen at St. Peter's. Even the centre of the great nave, which on similar occasions is kept clear by the soldiers that line it on either side, was densely thronged, and the entire of that greatest temple of the world formed one solid, united, compact mass. He would not be far astray who would estimate at one hundred thousand the number of the faithful who thronged the Basilica, and the porticos and adjacent corridors, to assist at the mass of Pius the Ninth. Those who remembered the greatest throngs there, even since railways increased the facilities for visiting Rome, confess that they never saw anything like it before; and we are among the witnesses.

And yet, anyone that could have swept with a glance the horizon of the Catholic church, would have been forced to acknowledge that the gathering at St. Peter's was but a handful of the faithful, in comparison with the multitude, which at that same hour, in hundreds and thousands of temples, was assembled to prayer, sacraments, and sacrifice, and surrounded

¹ The substance of this article is from an able pen in the very estimable Roman periodical, "*La Civiltà Cattolica*," of 17th April, 1869.

in spirit the altar of Pius the Ninth. Wherever a cross lifts its head (and where does it not?), in that solemn hour prayer was ascending, following the words of the universal chief of prayer, sacrificing in the Vatican Basilica. Any one that has a mind or heart knows full well that amid all the greatnesses of this world, the moral ones reign supreme; and the first of these and greatest is the universal congregation of the baptized, on bended knees all over the earth; their hands clasped, and their foreheads bent low before the Host and the chalice that are being elevated for their adoration by the hands of a universal priest.

If any person would take the trouble to study this event, and view it in its true light and its full comprehensiveness, he would find that, in this festive celebration of the New Mass, Christianity gave expression to a secret impulse of gratitude, yielded to an irresistible desire of manifesting the purest love towards an aged priest, who for fifty years has been offering sacrifice for the salvation of the world, towards the restorer of so many moral ruins, and the architect of so many hierarchies; towards the teacher of so many truths proclaimed aloud, or saved from error; towards him who crowned Mary Immaculate; the loving father inexhaustible in clemency and beneficence; the martyr whose long suffering has saddened every honest heart; the king "placed by God on Mount Sion," who never came down amongst the mob to seek his crown, who never recognized in other kings the right to question his title, never renounced one single gem of his diadem, howsoever the assembly of the wicked strove mightily with treachery and with violence to wrest it from him, and was ever content to hold his sceptre from a Divine constitution, repeating with a constancy modelled after his Divine Master, *Rex sum ego!* This view may, perchance, seem strange, considering the peculiar circumstances of our days; and yet this constancy of a royal soul, buffeted in vain by so many tempests, assailed by so many storms, and yet, never shaken, has not merely awakened indescribable affection in the hearts of the faithful, but forced even the profane to respect him. We know of a famous heterodox diplomatist, who, having just come out from a long audience of this King of Rome, said with profound emotion, "I thought there were no more kings in the world, but I have found one." The regal majesty which is conscious of itself, and is displayed without ambition or false modesty, compels even the disaffected to droop their eyes and bow their heads; especially when almost all the other social eminences, unsteady and uncertain of themselves, are seen to go begging support from

the passions of the populace, and propping up their thrones with the ebb and flow, of the *yes* or *no* of the ever restless multitude. But, above all this, these festivities were intended as a kind of reparation to the Vicar of Christ for the sacrilegious outrages, with which the holiness of his divine representation was insulted. It was a protest on the part of Catholic nations against the enmities, whether public or private, cherished against the Papacy, and a thanksgiving to God for having preserved in the midst of Rome the successor of St. Peter. We do not intend to detail in these pages this grand manifestation of Catholic love of which we were eye-witnesses during these days. We will only attempt to sketch rapidly, as we might say, the master lines, so that and posterity may form some idea of it, if not adequate, at least truthful. This Catholic love was manifested by gifts, attestations of esteem and homage, and declarations of personal devotion and regard. These are unmistakable evidences of a man's internal sentiments; and they were these that gave to this Christian festivity an aspect truly marvellous and *unique* in history.

To begin with the gifts, already the undertaking seems superior to our strength. If we ran our eye across the map of the World, we should not know what nation to put a black mark upon, as forgetful of assisting the Holy Father, who wears the aureola of a king despoiled, like to the King whose Vicar he is. The gifts come from the five Continents, and all accompanied by affectionate addresses. In Europe, neither Spain a prey to revolution, nor Poland persecuted, nor Catholic Russia in the midst of schismatics, nor Scandinavia, nor Denmark crippled by intolerant laws, nor the Polar regions, were found wanting to their ancient faith. Ireland, impoverished for three centuries by an oppression that is incredible (whilst we write God is perhaps drying up some of her tears), united with wealthy England, to offer her tribute of common devotion, nor suffered by the contrast. The first six offerings amounted to near 11,000 francs. The Belgians and the Dutch, inexhaustibly generous, appeared in the front rank, as always. We remember to have written two years ago the following words:—"There was a country governed by a Prince sincerely devoted to the Roman Father, a land renowned for its faith, rich in noble intellects and strong thoughts, peopled by millions of Catholics with generous hearts and robust arms; and yet it did not send as many sons to fight under the holy standard, as did enslaved Italy. It was not its fault; it was the fault of the worst of tyrants—we mean liberty managed by so-called Liberals. But now that nation is being aroused, and

strives to shake off those ignominious chains, and perhaps some day to our astonishment we shall find it at the head of the crusaders of St. Peter." And behold, at this moment, Germany, whether Austro-Hungarian, or Prussian, or any other independent State, fulfils to the letter our not difficult prophecy. Paderborn, Munster, Breslau, each sent 100,000 francs, the other dioceses in proportion ; and with these other names, gathered by perhaps 60 committees of the universities, seminaries, and lyceums, and others beyond counting, obtained by the young mercantile folk in several cities, and the working men's societies. Amongst the donors in Germany we find one hundred princes and barons, three names of the reigning House of Saxony—King John, the heir-apparent Prince Albert, and his brother Prince George. Royal gifts and congratulations were brought to Rome by special ambassadors from the King of Prussia ; from Austria and Hungary large sums of money and valuable presents ; and France, who is foremost in every generous undertaking, could not hold a second place. The list of journals that acknowledged subscriptions would fill a page. The *Univers* alone, in about 60 days, received over 200,000 francs. But the duty of becomingly celebrating this 11th April more specially devolved on Italy. Here Pius the Ninth was born, here he celebrated his first mass, here he was consecrated bishop, here he assumed the Pontifical tiara and the Papal robes, here he ascended a throne the oldest in the world ; from good Italians he had the heartiest applause and good wishes, from bad Italians the most cruel persecutions. It was but just that Italy should be conscious of her only real and incontestible primacy, to which the Divine Redeemer elected her, choosing her to be the see and court of His Vicar ; and Italy was conscious of it. He would not be far astray, who, counting the various presents, public and private, the sterling coin and valuable objects of art, would estimate the offerings from Italy to be over a million francs. Considering the miserable condition of Italy at the present moment, starving, wearied, and exhausted ; taxes gone up to an incredible figure, whilst the sources of wealth are dried up or impoverished :—this is the cry of pain that is heard from the Alps to the Adriatic ; the collecting the taxes fills the prisons with recusants, and recently disturbed the country with riots, reprisals, and left hundreds of dead and wounded ; so that we may well say that the Minister of Finance is compelled to purchase money with blood. Considering all this, was it not wonderful that this nation, thus impoverished, in a few weeks offers spontaneously such an enormous sum as we have quoted above. This demonstration

on the part of Italy will be a marvel to posterity, and will serve to the present generation as a reparation for the scandals of a few; yes, a very few, and the worst of her children, and prove that Italy still knows where her true glory is to be found; where the greatest of her princes dwells; where to turn her heart and find her Father.

In the immense variety of the presents and art treasures offered from every country to Pius the Ninth, there was manifested a desire to make the festival appear a family fête, given by loving children to a loved father. Hence the thought struck many of the donors to provide the Holy Father with the necessary appointments for the celebration of this his New Mass. The alb that he wore was sent from the country of lace, and, according to experienced judges, was of royal richness; of chasubles, he had three presented by the ladies of Lyons, Modena, and Aix-la-Chapelle, one more beautiful than the other; an immense number of stoles, pixes, chalices, studded with precious stones, and chiselled in the best taste; amongst them was one deserving special mention, of solid gold, covered with emeralds, rubies, sapphires, and diamonds, offered in the name of the Senate and People of Rome, designed by Duke D. Michelangelo Gaetani, and executed by the celebrated jeweller, Castellani; several pectoral crosses, reading desks, prie-dieus, missals; and not even the cruets, mass-bell, candles, and torches were forgotten; the love of the faithful thought of everything. Objects of profane art were forwarded in great quantities; statues and statuettes in silver, marble, and bronze, candelabra, vases, bronzes, paintings, and engravings, without end. We feel it our duty to speak especially of the great chest from Turin, which contained 60,000 francs in gold, most elaborately wrought, and bearing two scriptural mottos:—"Tu es Pastor Bonus," and "Revertetur homo ad possessionem suam. . . . quia jubilaus est et quinquagesimus annus." The gold medallion sent by the English and Scotch clergy was something stupendous. It was exquisitely chiselled, and was valued at £500. It was the work of the much-lamented French artist, Anthony Vechte, who was considered to be almost equal to Cellini. Dear to the Romans was the sight of twelve pieces of artillery, from the Mazzocchi foundry, the contribution of the citizens. We also admired an immense canvass which records the studies of German artists, reproducing the Cathedral and City of Cologne, with the admired pencil of Conrad; and another, not less noticeable, representing the Battle of Mentana, by the French artist, Lafont, which was brought to the feet of the Holy Father by a select deputation

of three hundred ladies of every nation ; and lastly, the most acceptable gift of all, a simple "*Madonna del Buon Consiglio*," beneath whose glance Pius the Ninth, then only the deacon, John Mastai, received the unction of the priesthood, this was the delicate thought of the Commendatore Sterbini. Every branch of art in a word, concurred in doing honour to art's best patrôn. Music, Painting, Poetry, all rivalled each other, and Catholic journalism all over Europe, by the courageous and manly share which it took in this great demonstration, went far to redeem some of the abuses that flow to us from the licentiousness of the press. And yet more numerous than the hymns, inscriptions, etc., were the congratulations and professions of filial love, that in our days are known by the name of addresses. No one can form an adequate idea of their number on this occasion. In Rome itself there was not, perhaps, a single corporation, public or private, sacred or profane, civil or military, that did not present its address. In the Vatican there were mountains of them. The head Chamberlain of His Holiness was solely occupied during these days, as also all the other attachés of the Pontifical Court, in receiving and presenting addresses.* The Dioceses, Canonical Chapters, Religious Orders, and their branches, congregations, confraternities, institutes, benevolent societies, universities, seminaries, schools, clubs of the aristocracy, and commercial men, municipalities, mercantile bodies, and working-men's associations, all, and innumerable others, sent addresses. In short, the world was seen marshalling itself in companies, all raising the one standard, that they might then lower it in salutation before the Father of All.

This mere saluting from afar did not satisfy the devotion of the faithful to the present occupant of St. Peter's chair ; the vast majority was anxious to testify in person the feelings which actuated them. Hence the immense number of pilgrims, and the crowd of deputations and embassies, representing the multitudes that arrived every day in Rome. The Roman Colleges opened the ball, as might be expected, and first of all the Sacred College of Cardinals, then the Prelacy, the Pontifical Household, the Ministers of State, the Roman Senate and Civil magistracy, the Secular and Regular Clergy. The army presented a unique appearance ; the so-called *mercenaries* of the Pope prepared, with joy, conspicuous sums of money to offer to the Holy Father ; and even those *mercenaries* who serve for no payment but the honour of the service, e.g., the Roman citizens who form the battalion called the Palatine Guard, presented a magnificent purse, well lined with some thousands in gold ; the noble guard

contributed; the fire brigade, and the regular army offered over 22,000 francs, not to count the enormous sums they expended in decorating and illuminating their several barracks. O, Roman *Mercenaries!* *Mercenaries* of the whole world, you are the flower of Christian chivalry. But Rome was not content with this representation, and the people, forming themselves into various groups, wished to be presented in an extraordinary manner to their great Father. From morning until night the halls of the Vatican were thronged by deputations that came and went. Now it was the nobility, now the ladies, now the young girls, now the children, now the students of the university, now those of the Roman college, now the other universities, lyceums, institutes, associations, either constituted or temporary, of every rank and condition, who had formed their committees, their presidents, their collectors, and addresses; and all solicited the favour of a special audience.

Then succeeded the deputations from the Pontifical provinces and from all Christendom; and with the deputations from the several peoples, came the deputies of their monarchs, even those who were not Catholics. For France there was the Marquis de Bannville, Ambassador, and immediate dispatches by telegraph between court and court; for Austria the Ambassador Count de Trauttmansdorff, with an autograph letter of his sovereign. A similar document from the King of the Belgians was presented by his representative, Count Pyche de Peteghem. The King of Bavaria sent letters by an Ambassador Extraordinary, the Count D'Arco Palley. The King of Prussia with letters sent a regal gift of porcelain from the royal factory of Berlin, both being brought to Rome by a special ambassador, the Duke de Hohenloe Ratibor. We would wish to enumerate the august names who tendered their courtesies on this occasion to the Priest-King, and yet it is impossible for us to name them all. We cannot, however, pass over in silence some chivalrous sovereigns of Italy who personally tendered their congratulations to Pius the Ninth. Francis the Second and Maria Sophia of the Two Sicilies, the Princes of their Royal house, the Duke and Duchess of Parma—but a few days before blessed as spouses by the Pope. Don Alfonso di Borbone, infant of Spain and an officer in the Papal Zouaves, brought the letters and presents of his uncle, the Duke of Modena. His royal brother, Don Carlos, wrote a special letter to the Holy Father. To these were united, by representatives and mostly by autograph letters, the other sovereigns. The Queen of Spain and the Prince of the Asturias, the Empress of Mexico, the King and Queen of Portugal, the Emperor of Brazil, the

Republics of South America, and the present government of Spain, with all the Ministers of the Executive, the Emperor of Russia, whose son the Grand Duke Vladimir happened to be in Rome; the Kings of Saxony, Holland, Wurtemberg, Hanover, and the Queen of England, the Prince of Monaco, and the Grand Dukes of Tuscany and Mecklenburgh Strelitz.

What appeared singular and almost strange in this "*fête de famille*," was, that instead of being located in Rome, Rome was but the centre. Whilst those present in Rome ascended the steps of St. Peter's, the absent accompanied them in spirit. To mention Italy alone, in Sicily priests and people united in greater numbers than ever to celebrate publicly this event. In Naples, the Cardinal Archbishop pontificated at the Gesù Nuovo, in the midst of an immense crowd. From Florence, the capital, if not of Italy, at least of a government, the *only government* in the world that sent no message to Rome, an illustrious publisher writes to us on this date, "*Day of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the first Mass of his Holiness*," that he visited almost all the churches in the early hours of the day, and found them filled with devout congregations, and officiated worthily. It was estimated that in Florence alone, over 12,000 people approached the sacraments. Around Florence, at San Miniato, Prato, Pistoia, Pisa, Arezzo, and Siena, there were grand festivities, and the Tuscan hills at night time were illuminated with immense bonfires, reflecting the words "Feast of the Pope." At Turin, Genoa, Venice, Palermo, Naples, Milan, Parma, Modena, Lucca, and all the cities and towns of Italy, the same fervour was conspicuous. Genoa distinguished itself; from her came the invitation for special prayers, and all Rome went to see and admire the rare fresh flowers, with the name of Genoa side by side with that of the Holy Father, the colossal gift of Marquis Pallavicino, and forwarded in royal state by a special train, to adorn the statue of St. Peter in the Basilica. These signs of the times in Italy have ten times the value they have in other places where there is liberty, especially when accompanied by innumerable communions. This Roman festival found an echo in every part of the globe no less than in Italy. From both Americas, from Africa and Asia, the same intelligence has arrived. In Europe no country remained indifferent; from distant Finland a telegram to the Holy Father announced, "*We have celebrated a great solemnity, and offered a general communion*." Russia, Norway, Portugal, Greece, and Turkey were up and stirring; and even poor Spain, amidst all her tribulation, she did not forget this day of rejoicing for the Holy Father. All the bells along the

Swiss mountains rang out a merry peal; Geneva remembered that she was the city of St. Peter, and not the Babel of Calvin. In England, the archbishop of Westminster assembled an immense crowd in London to join in the sacred functionary. In the Island of St. Patrick, besides the universal celebration in every diocese, the Catholic University of Dublin sent an address, in which we read—“*Verbis sancti Columbani nostri, te salutamus* ut omnium ecclesiarum in toto urbe existentium praesulem, ut pastorum pastorem, ut navis spiritualis, quae est Ecclesia Dei, magistrum et gubernatorem.” Belgium, Holland, France, Germany, all were in jubilee, so that we may describe it as an immense concert, unforeseen, of prayer to God and devotion to the Pontiff, occupying the whole earth, and going up from earth to heaven, bringing as it were in one cloud, thanksgivings, vows, supplications, hopes, and good omens for the future. May God hear the prayers of his people! It is evident that, compared with this world-wide festivity, the celebration within the walls of Rome must appear small; but we must remember Rome was the centre, and the globe, the circumference; and the centre is the master point which governs the circle of any length of radius. We don't mean to note down every little incident of these memorable days in Rome. The first demonstration was the triduum of thanksgiving, celebrated in the Lateran Basilica the “*mater et caput ecclesiarum urbis et orbis.*” It closed on the 10th of April; the Pope was present, and the Ambrosian Hymn intoned by the singers was caught up by the people, and sung with an enthusiasm that was unbounded. It was an overpowering impulse to bless God that seized upon the multitude; but it was on the following day when the Holy Father himself, with that clear, sonorous, impressive voice of his, intoned it in St. Peter's after his Mass, that it thundered through the immense Basilica from a hundred thousand throats with an effect that is almost indescribable. Finally came the great day itself—the anniversary day—the 10th of April. It engrossed the attention of every one. It was celebrated in the Palace of Prince Philip Andrew Doria, where Pius the Ninth was ordained priest; it was celebrated at Tata Giovanni, where he offered his first Mass; it was celebrated in every church in Rome by the love of the clergy, and the devotion of the laity, the former offering their Mass for the Pope, the latter crowding round the altar rails with the same intention. But above all, it was celebrated in the great Basilica of the Vatican, where Pius the Ninth himself ascended the altar over the confession of St. Peter, paused for a considerable time at the *Memento* for

the living, and with his own hand dispensed the Divine Eucharistic bread to about two hundred of the faithful from amidst the thousands and thousands that desired such a grace. One may be an eye-witness of such a sight, and see the greatest temple of the world, from the apse to the vestibule, densely thronged with such a multitude as was never before seen, all recollected and rivetted on Pius the Ninth, raised on high the principal figure of the group, and offering up the Immaculate Lamb of God ; but to describe the heavenly influence that seizes on a man at such an instant, and hurries him out of himself, is impossible.

In the afternoon the Holy Father received in a general audience the deputies from all nations. They assembled in the large hall over the portico of St. Peter's, to the number of four thousand. The Pope seeing such an immense and varied assemblage, accepted the addresses, and spoke to them with that sweet inspired majesty with which he is wont to electrify such assemblies, and to which there is no replying except by uncontrollable outbursts of applause, and often times with tears. On the Piazza in front, three times in succession, the hymn of the day, specially set to music by the celebrated Gounod, was performed by seven military bands, and a thousand picked voices. At the instance of several influential personages, the Pope came out on the balcony, and was saluted by deafening rounds of cheers, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, again and again repeated. He stayed a while to hear the music, and then having given his blessing retired, amidst new acclamations. Another hymn, put to music by the Maestro Rosati, was sung by 150 voices of young gentlemen in the presence of the Pontiff ; and the halls of the capitol afforded a magnificent musical treat, given by the Academy of St. Cecilia. The fireworks (known as the *Girandola*) from St. Pietro, in Montorio, proved a great success, and thus ended this wonderful day.

The Holy Father received several other deputations, and had a kind word for all. He playfully remarked to one of his Chamberlains, "They have made me preach a Lent during these days, and I feel all the better of it."

There was one special feature in this demonstration which gave it the peculiar characteristic of a family festival, I mean the presents from the provinces and towns of the present Papal States. Romans and strangers flocked in crowds to the Cortile of San Damaso, where their patriarchal gifts were arranged for public inspection by the architect Martinucci. Every town sent specimens of that particular kind of produce for which it had become famous. Ronciglione its wax, Nepi its linen, Bassanello its pottery, Soriano its house

linen and lace, Guercino its paper, Cori its tobacco, Velletri its famous wines, Corneto its Etruscan vases; in fine, oil, wine, corn, and every kind of manufactured goods came pouring in to the Vatican, the spontaneous offerings of the Pope's loyal and loving subjects. The immense butt of wine from Monte Rotondo that escaped the Garibaldian marauders was an object of universal admiration.

This butt of wine was a solitary one that escaped the lawlessness of the Garibaldian banditti in their inroad of 1867, and now, as if triumphant in its unshaken fealty, it bore the loyal inscription: "Monte Rotondo offers this to its Pontiff and King;" and underneath was added the acclaim, "*ad multos annos.*" This gift was accompanied with a request that the wine should be used by his Holiness at the altar, and the prayer was added that he might live beyond the years of Peter till the whole butt should be consumed.

Our limits will not allow us to mention in detail all the towns that thus offered special tributes of their homage. We will only add that Tusculum, mindful of its ancient glories, sent a rich gift of oil and wine, whilst Bracciano selected for its motto the Scripture text, "*Butyrum et mel comede.*" Mentana was not forgetful of the memorable 5th of November, which saw the enemies of Rome flying in confusion from its walls, and the standard of Pio Nono unfurled on its battlements—hence its unpretending, but substantial, gift of corn was decked with the laurel crowns of victory.

As St. Peter's claimed the presence of the Pontiff in unrivalled pomp and splendour, on the morning of the 11th of April, Pio Nono wished on the following morning to follow the dictates of his own private devotion, and resolved to offer up the Holy Sacrifice on the same humble altar which fifty years before had witnessed his first ministry. Then surrounded by his cherished flock, the poor orphans, who were his earliest sacerdotal charge, he discharged all the duties of the Good Shepherd, and experienced the sweet consolations which heaven alone imparts.

We will say nothing of the brilliant review, by which General Kanzler and his brave troops shared in the common joy; or of the illuminations, which seemed to change night to day, or rather to make the darkness of night contribute to the feast, and set forth in bolder relief the sweet expressions of universal delight. The present age has often appealed to universal suffrage, and is proud of the trophies which it has won; but never was a suffrage so marked, so decisive, so universal, as that which, on the 11th of April, was laid at the feet of our immortal Pontiff. Solemn was the verdict of Mentana,

asserting the inviolability of the seven hills, but far more decisive in the united voices of the three hundred thousand citizens of Rome, and of the hundred millions of Catholics throughout the world, was the verdict of the JUBILEE OF PIUS THE NINTH.

DECREES OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES.

The following three Decrees, which illustrate some of the most important questions of ritual, have been just published :—

I.

Magister Coeremoniarum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Malacitanae a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime insequentium Dubiorum solutionem exquisivit, nimirum :

I. Utrum Concionator petere debeat Benedictionem a Celebrante intra Missam in Feriis Quadragesimae, aut non ; siquidem non constat ex Coeremoniali Episcoporum cum sit usu et consuetudine receptum, ut non petatur Benedictio intra Missam in Feria IV. Cinerum, nisi a presente proprio Episcopo ?

II. Utrum Ministri Sacri uti possint Dalmaticis in Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimae in Ecclesiis ubi exponitur Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum ad fidelium venerationem, ut lucrentur Iubilaeum, qui dicitur Quadraginta Horarum ?

S. C. rescripsit, *Negative*. Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit. Die 31 Augusti 1867.

II.

Exorta controversia inter nonnullos Canonicos Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Sancti Iacobi de Chile : an usus in eadem Civitate adhibendi ampullas auro vel argento elaboratas tolerandus esset : ad rem dirimendam Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequentia duo Dubia proposita fuerunt, nimirum :

I. An uti liceat in Missae sacrificio ampullis aureis vel argenteis ? Et quatenus *negative*.

II. An consuetudo quae invaluit, prorsus improbanda sit in casu ?

S. Cong. respondendum censuit : *Tollerandam esse consuetudinem*. Die 28 Aprilis 1866.

III.

Rmus Dominus Raphael Valentino Valdivieso Archiepiscopus sancti Iacobi de Chile exponens in Ecclesiis suae Archidioeceseos usum ab antiquo tempore vigere non coope-
riendi Conopeo Tabernaculum, in quo asservatur SSimum
Eucharistiae Sacramentum, sed intus tantum velo pulchriori
serico, saepe etiam argento et auro intexto, ornari, a S. R. C.
humillime declarari petiit: num talis usus tolerandus sit vel
potius exigendum, ut Conopeum ultra praedictum velum, vel
sine eo, apponatur iuxta praescriptum in Rituali Romano? S.
Congregatio, respondendum censuit: *Usum veli praedicti
tolerari posse sed Tabernaculum tegendum esse Conopeo iuxta
praescriptum Ritualis Romani.*

Atque ita respondit, et servari mandavit. Die 28 Aprilis
1866.

RUBRICAL QUESTIONS.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.'

"DEAR SIR—With reference to the text of the 'Encyclical,
published in your last number, I find a diversity of opinion
exists as to the exact meaning of the words (p. 389), *praecipimus
quotidie addi in Missa orationem de Spiritu Sancto.*

"The questions, then, which your correspondent respectfully
desires a solution of, are,

"1st—Does this precept, for the time, set aside the decrees of
the Sacred Congregation of 1819 and 1835, which forbid the
the prayer of the Superior to be added on doubles of the *first*
class?

"2nd—Does it also set aside the direction of the Missal where
it says, *haec unica oratio dicatur*, on certain days?

"3rd—Does it interfere with the usual prohibition to add
any prayer for the living in *Missis Defunctorum*?

"Hoping that your next number will contain the answers to
these doubts, as they are of immediate practical importance
to all your clerical readers who do not happen to have the ne-
cessary authorities at hand for arriving at the correct decision,

"I am, dear Mr. Editor,

"Your very obedient,

"May 15th, 1869."

"J. C.

We are happy to be able to inform our respected corres-
pondent that the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation, and
the usual ritual order of prayers are not interfered with in

any way by the recent Encyclical of his Holiness. The Holy Father, by the same authority which gives force and efficacy to these decrees and ritual regulations, can, when he pleases, make such changes as the necessities of the times may require; but when he does not express his intention of doing so, the ordinary decrees and the usual prescribed ritual must be observed.

DOCUMENTS.

I.—LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER TO THE SUPERIORS AND STUDENTS OF THE DIOCESAN COLLEGE OF HOLY CROSS, IN ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO HIS HOLINESS, TOGETHER WITH THE MUNIFICENT OFFERING OF £100, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS LATE JUBILEE.

PIUS PAPA IX., DILECTI FILII, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Eximium filialis animi testimonium Nobis præbuerunt vestræ litteræ, quibus Nobiscum lætantes de quinquagesimo anniversario die a primo sacerdotali sacro quod obtulimus, vestras Nobis gratulationes et observantiam expromitis. Hujusmodi autem officio eæ insuper accedunt pietatis significationes quæ illi majus pretium splendoremque conciliant. Id enim ostendunt præclari Religionis sensus, quibus Vos animatos esse conspiciamus, devotio illa ac obsequium quod erga Nos et hanc Petri Cathedram luculenter exhibetis, necnon illud caritatis filialis studium, quo divinæ Nobis clementiæ opem vestris votis implorare non omittitis. Nos certe non levem animo consolationem ex hac vestra pietate percepimus, non modo quod hac ratione veros Ecclesiæ filios Vos esse ostenditis, sed etiam quod Ecclesiæ filiorum virtus ad sanctissimæ nostræ Religionis utilitatem et fructum hoc maxime tempore inanis esse non potest. Dum itaque Vobis, dilecti Filii, paterni animi Nostri caritatem profiteamur, ipsum bonorum omnium largitorem Deum enixe obsecramus ut in vobis suæ bonitatis munera propitius tueatur atque in omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ Vobis fausta quæque et salutaria et uberem in omni justitia ac virtute profectum sua miseratione concedat. Cum autem pias Nobis oblationes, Dilecti Filii, hac occasione deferri curaveritis, pro hujusmodi vestræ pietatis pignore gratissimam Nostram voluntatem Vobis ultro testamur. Omnium autem cœlestium munerum auspiciem et præcipuam Nostræ erga Vos benevolentiae testem Apostolicam

Benedictionem Vobis, Dilecti Filii, toto cordis affectu peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum,

Die 29 Aprilis, anno 1869.

Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimotertio.

PIUS PAPA IX.

Dilectis Filiis Moderatoribus et Alumnis Seminarii Dublinensis S. Crucis, Dublinum.

II.—LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS TO THE SUPERIORS AND STUDENTS OF THE FRENCH COLLEGE, BLACKROCK.

PIUS PAPA IX.

Dilecti Filii, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Observantissimas vestras accepimus Litteras, quas gratulationis officii pietatis causa ad Nos mittendas curastis, cum quinquagesimi anniversarii diei a primo sacerdotali sacro oblato, divina benignitate annuente, sollemnia essemus acturi. Si nihil gratius et acceptius Paternae Nostrae Caritati esse potest quam filiorum observantia, laetitia et studia, quae ex intimo animo profecta esse dignoscuntur, intelligitis profecto, Dilecti Filii, quantopere animorum vestrorum significationes hac occasione editae Nobis gratae et acceptae esse debuerint. Laetati enim sumus, eam in vobis venerationem et obsequium erga Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem perspicientes, quod Catholicae Ecclesiae filios omnino decet, et gratissima habuimus votorum ac precationum vestrarum officia pro Nobis et Ecclesiae Sanctae causa libenter impensa, quibus nihil opportunius apud Divinam Clementiam, hisce praesertim asperimis temporibus, nihil ad spem coelestia praesidia assequendi firmiter, et validius esse existimamus. Vobis itaque, Dilecti Filii, gratissimos animi Nostri sensus paterno cum affectu profitemur, ac Deum Optimum Maximum suppliciter et enixe adprecamur, ut in divitiis misericordiae suae vestram pietatem uberibus divinae suae gratiae et bonitatis fructibus remuneretur. Debitas vero agimus grates pro munere, quod Nobis misistis. Dum autem confidimus nunquam Nobis, et Ecclesiae Sanctae curis Nostris commissae, vestras preces defuturas, Coelestium omnium munerum auspiciem et paternae Nostrae erga vos benevolentiae testem, Apostolicam Benedictionem, vobis, Dilecti Filii, toto cordis affectu peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum die 15 Aprilis, Anno 1869.
Pontificatus Nostri Vicesimotertio.

PIUS P.P. IX.

*Dilectis filiis, Rectori, Magistris Scholasticis
et Alumnis Gymnasii Gallici, Dublinum
in Hibernia,*

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

year, or in 457, for Regular Canons of the order of St. Augustin, and dedicated it to the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul;¹

¹*Usher, Trias Th. p. 293.*

Continuation of Note 3, from page 396.)

“After this Daire came that he might do honour to the saint, and brought with him a valuable imported cauldron which held three firkins. And Daire said to the saint, thou mayest have this cauldron. And Patrick said, *Grazacham* (i.e., *gratias, ago or again*). Then Daire returned home and said, the man is a fool, who had not a civil word to say but *Grazacham*, in return for the beautiful three-firkin cauldron. Moreover, Daire said to his servants, go and bring me back my cauldron. So they came and said to Patrick, we must take away the cauldron. Notwithstanding, on this occasion also, Patrick said, *Grazacham*; you may take it away. So they took it away. And Daire enquired of his servants what the Christian said when they took back the cauldron, and they replied: he said *Grazacham*. Then Daire answered and said: *Grazacham* when we give, and *Grazacham* when we take away; surely this *Grazacham* of his must be a good word; therefore, the brazen cauldron shall be restored to him. And this time Daire came in person, carrying the cauldron to Patrick, and said to him, thy cauldron shall remain with thee, for thou art an upright and unswerving man. Moreover, I now grant to thee my whole right in that portion of ground which thou formerly didst desire, and dwell thou there. And that is the city which now is called *Arddmacha*. And they went forth together, both St. Patrick and Daire, to view the admirable and pleasing gift; and they ascended the height, and found a roe and a little fawn with her, lying on the spot where the altar of the northern church in *Arddmacha* now stands. And St. Patrick’s companions wanted to catch the fawn and kill it; but the saint objected, and would not permit them; nay, he even took up the fawn himself, and carried it on his shoulders, and the roe followed him like a pet sheep, until he laid the fawn on another eminence, at the north side of Armagh, where, according to the statement of those who are familiar with the ground, miraculous attestations are to be witnessed at this day.”—“Book of Armagh” (fol. 6 b, b).

Having thus, at length, obtained from Daire the *Druim-sailech*, which had been before refused to him, St. Patrick proceeded to build upon it. According to the “Tripartite Life,” our apostle, with his religious community and Daire, went up the hill to measure it for the building and to consecrate it. “The apex of the hill being probably enclosed with an earthen rampart, and the slope having likewise two entrenched defences, we can conceive a little monastic group of buildings occupying the level space, consisting of a larger and smaller church, the latter, which was called the *Sabhal*, or northern church, situate on the north side, and such conventual buildings as were usual, consisting of a *Technor* (‘great house’), or residence; a *Cuicin*, or ‘kitchen;’ an *Airegal*, or ‘sacristy,’ while the space on the south side of the great church was devoted to a *Reilig*, or ‘cemetery.’ Such was the amount of the primitive establishment. . . . The town of Ardmagh consisted, at an early date, of two main departments, the Rath, which was the nucleus, and the Trians or wards, which were three in number, and formed the outer belt of

it continued, for many ages, one of the most celebrated ecclesiastical foundations in the world.

habitation. It would be almost impossible, at the present day, to define the Rath or central enclosure with exactness; but we may take the outline communicated to Stuart, and printed by him in his appendix, p. 588. According to it the upper enclosure or entrenchment, commencing on the west, observed pretty much the course of Callan-street, the circle being continued across Abbey-street, a little below the Infirmary, and through the Gardens, round to Market-street. The lower enclosure leaves still a trace where it crossed Abbey-street, at the Wesleyan Chapel."—Reeves (op. cit. p. 13, 14).

The edifices within the upper ring were:—

1. The Damhliac (pronounced *Duleek*) Mor, or Great Stone Church, probably occupying part of the present cathedral. It is known by this name in the "Annals," A.D. 839. "Ardmacha, with its oratories and great church, burned by the Danes of Lough Neagh." Under the years 890 and 907, it is called the church (Ecclais). In 995 it was burned, and remained a ruins for one hundred and thirty years, until 1125, when Cellach, or Celsus, new-roofed it. In 1268, Primate Maelpatrick O'Scannail commenced the Tempull Mor, or Great Church of Armagh, which after repeated changes is now represented by the cathedral, and which since the so-called Reformation has been occupied by the Protestants. The new Catholic cathedral, crowning the opposite hill, stands in its superior size and beauty as a type of the second glory of the Catholic church in Ireland. "*Great shall be the glory of this last house, more than of the first, and in this place I will give peace, said the Lord of Hosts.*"—Ag. 2, 10.

2. *The Round Tower, or Cloitech.* This was situated probably about forty feet from the north-west angle. There may have been more than one of these edifices at Armagh. Under the date A.D. 995, it is related that the "bell towers," were struck by lightning. In 1020 the *Cloitech*, with its bells, were consumed in the great fire. . . The "Four Masters" state that at 1121, "A great wind knocked off the cover of the Cloitech." After this we have no account of the Round Tower.

3. *The Sabhall or Barn.* This church, from its position, is styled in the "Book of Armagh" *Sinistralis*, or the northern church, and probably owes its name, as does *Sabhall Patraic*, or Saul, to its unusual bearing, north and south. Here, as early as 750, the "Book of Armagh" declares that "the virgins, and penitents, and married attendants of the church were wont to hear the word of preaching on the Lord's Day." It is referred to in the "Annals" of 1011. The site cannot now be determined; but Dr. Reeves supposes it to have stood near the extremity of the north transept of the present cathedral.

4. *Duleek Toga, or Stone Church of the Elections*, stood on the south side of the cathedral. The site is doubtful.

5. *Teach Screaptra, or House of Writings*, was the only building within the rath which escaped the great fire of 1020.

6. *The Abbot's House* was within the rath, and anciently stood within a rampart of its own. It is mentioned in the "Annals of Ulster" at 822, at 915, and at 1116, in which year the *Teach n Abhath Mor, or Great House of the Abbot*, and twenty houses about it, were burnt at the beginning of Lent. After it was rebuilt Cardinal Paparo passed a week here in 1151, in company with Gelasius, the successor of St. Patrick.

7. *The Cuicin, or Kitchen*, was consumed by the fire of 915.

8. *The Prison.* Dr. Petrie (Round Towers, p. 104) quotes from the "Leabhar-na-n-Uidre," the Yellow Book, which disappeared from the Carcar at Armagh.

9. The Conventual buildings were surrounded by a *Fidh-nemhedh, or Sacred Grove*, which is mentioned in the Irish of the "Tripartite Life," and is stated in "Annals" to have been consumed in the fire of 995.

10. *The Reilig, or "Cemetery,"* at first was at the south of the church; in after time it extended all round. A portion was set apart for royal interments, like that in the Relig Oran of Iona. It was called *Cemeterium Regum*, and kings of Ailech were interred here in 934, 1064, and 1149. Here, it is probable, the remains of Brian Boru were deposited in 1014.

513. Died the abbot St. Duach,⁴ or Dubthach; he was succeeded by Alell, called also Alild, or Helias; he is particularly stiled bishop, and was son of Triches, and grandson of Fiege, of the most noble family of the Dalfiatacii;⁵ he laudably presided over his flock for the space of thirteen years, and was succeeded by one of the same name and family.⁷

535. Died the last abbot Alild; he was succeeded by a second St. Duach.⁸

548. Died the abbot St. Duach.⁴

578. The abbot St. Fethlin,⁶ who was surnamed Fionn, or the White, died this year.¹¹

598. Died St. Eochod,⁷ the son of Dermit; he was stiled both abbot and bishop.¹²

610. The abbot St. Senach⁸ died, and was succeeded by St. M'Lasre.⁹

623. Died St. M'Lasre.⁹

657. Died the abbot and bishop Comyn.²

661. January the 10th, died St. Thomian,¹⁰ he was abbot and bishop.³

⁴ O'Flaherty's Cat. Mss. in Tr. Th. ⁵ Act. SS. p. 61. ⁶ Id. ⁷ Id. p. 744. ⁸ O'Flah. supra. and Act. SS. p. 193. ⁹ Act. SS. p. 193. ¹⁰ Id. p. 53. ¹¹ M'Geog. ¹² O'Flah. sup. Act. SS. p. 53.

11. The *Culdees' House* was originally inside the rath. We will speak of it under its proper heading.

12. The *Lis Aeidhedh* or "*Fort of Guests*," is mentioned in the "*Annals*" at 1003, 1015, 1115, 1155. It is doubtful whether it was inside the rath.

13. The *Gate*, or entrance to the rath, is mentioned in the "*Annals*" at 1121, 1166. A cross stood outside it. Dr. Reeves assigns the situation of this to the top of Market-street, where is the eastern entrance of the cathedral premises.

In 1561, according to the "*Four Masters*," the Lord Deputy, Sussex, erected strong raths and impregnable ramparts round the great church of Armagh.

⁴ St. Dubtach succeeded Cormac in the See of Armagh, in 497. The "*Four Masters*" place his death in 512. He was from Druim-Dearbh, probably the present Derver, or Darver, in the county of Louth.

⁵ Dal-Fiatach, i.e., the tribe of Fiatach. This warlike tribe was seated in the present county of Down. The "*Mart. of Donegal*," at 13th Jan., has "Ailell, bishop of Ardmacha, A.D. 525."

⁶ This St. Feidhlimidh Finn is set down as Primate in the list from the "*Psalter of Cashel*."—See "*Tr. Th.*" p. 292.

⁷ There are many saints of this name venerated Jan. 1, 25, 28; April 17. Colgan (*Tr. Th.*) refers this saint to Jan. 1.

⁸ St. Senach is omitted by Colgan, in his dissertation, "*De Hiberniæ Primatibus*;" but he is given in the "*Psalter of Cashel*." Usher makes him the last of the third order of holy bishops dignified by the name of saints.

⁹ Mac-Laisre, that is, the son of Laisir. Ware and Colgan think that he is the person called "*Terenannus Archipontifex Hiberniæ*," in the "*Life of St. Laurence, Archbishop of Canterbury*," by John of Tynmouth. St. Laurence was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 611. His feast is celebrated, according to the "*Martyrology of Donegal*," on the 17th September: "Mac Laisre, bishop and abbot of Ard-Macha, A.D. 662. I think it is he that is of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall, or, it may be, he is of the race of Corbmach Cas, son of Oilíoll Olum."

¹⁰ St. Thomian (Tomyn, Tomene, or Toimen) Mac-Ronan succeeded in 623. He was the most learned of his countrymen, in an age most fruitful of learned men. The "*Martyrology of Donegal*," refers his feast to 10th January.

670. This year the town was consumed by an accidental fire.^b

687. Another conflagration happened.^c

695. A synod, consisting of forty-one prelates, was held at Armagh this year.^d

703. Died the abbot Congussa.^e

705. Died the abbot St. Flann, or Florence Febhla,¹¹ he was the son of Scanlan.^f

720. In this year, or in 724, died St. Colman Huamacensis,¹² the learned scribe of Armagh, and one of the biographers of St. Patrick.^g

725. Died St. Eochad, the son of Colgan, an holy anachorite.^h

727. Died St. Ferdornach, or Dominic, scribe of Armagh

^bAct. SS. p. 294. ^cId. ^dId. p. 473. ^eAnn. Inisfal. ^fO'Flah. Act. SS. p. 294. ^gAnnal. Ulton. ^hTr. Th. p. 294.

The "Annals of Ulster" have, A.D. 660, "Tommene, Episcopus Ardmachæ, defunctus est." The "Four Masters," at the same year, have, "St. Tomene, son of Ronan, Bishop of Ardmacha, died." One of the most important ecclesiastical questions that occupied the attention of the early Irish bishops occurred during the pontificate of St. Thomian. The Paschal controversy then agitated the entire island. The Synod of Magh-lene (A.D. 630) in which the Bishops of Leinster and Munster were assembled, under the influence of St. Cumman, decided that the Roman usage should be their guide; and Ven. Bede mentions that, in 635, the Southern Irish, "at the admonition of the bishop of the Apostolic See," had already conformed to the Roman rite. Not so, however, the Northerns. St. Thomian, in order to secure uniformity, addressed, in conjunction with the Northern bishops and abbots, a letter to Pope Severinus, in 640. When their letter reached Rome, the Apostolic See was vacant, and the reply which came was written, as usual in such cases, by the Roman clergy. This fact is an admirable example of the fidelity with which the early Irish Church adhered to the statute of St. Patrick in the "Book of Armagh," that difficult cases should be sent "to the Apostolic See, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, which holds the authority of the city of Rome."

¹¹ Flann, or Florence Febhla, succeeded, in the See of Armagh, Segene, who was successor to St. Thomian. Segene died in 687 or 688. St. Flann-Febhla held the Synod mentioned in the text under the year 695, but it cannot be stated with any certainty where it was held. Colgan (Tr. Th. p. 503 *a*) conjectures that it was held at Derry or Raphoe; others place it at Tara; others at Leitir, near Birr, on the confines of ancient Meath and Munster. A copy of the acts of this Synod, with the subscriptions of the assembled fathers, was in Colgan's possession, and is still preserved at Brussels Burgundian Library, No. 2324. Colgan states that these acts were called *Cain Adhamnain*, or the Canons of Adamnan, from the illustrious St. Adamnan, who was present at the council. They are supposed by some to be the same eight canons called after St. Adamnan, published by Martene (Thesaur. Nov. Anecd. tom. iv., col. 18), and which are also in a MS. in Marsh's Library, Dublin, called "Precedents of the See of Armagh," p. 395. Among those present at this Synod, Colgan mentions the following:—1. Aidus, Episcopus Sleptiensis. 2. Colga, filius Moenaigh, abbas Luscanensis. 3. Mosacer, abbas. 4. Killenus, filius Subnei, abbas Sagirensis. 5. Mochonna, Antistes Dorensis. 6. Ecbertus Anglus. This latter was probably the priest who, according to Ven. Bede, *in Hibernia diutius exulaverat pro Christo*, and through whose means the monks at Hy conformed to Roman Easter and Tonsure in 716. Among the other names in the acts of Adamnan's Synod is that of Murchu Mac-U-Macteni, the writer of a portion of St. Patrick's Memoirs in the "Book of Armagh."

¹² Mentioned in the "Vita Tripart.," part I, *sub fine*.

The same year St. Dochuma Bolgan, an holy anachorite, died.¹

729. Flathbert, son of Loingseach, in the 7th year of his reign, abdicated the throne of Ireland, and became a monk in this abbey, where he died in the year 760.^k

749. Died Congus,¹³ alias Oengus, a learned scribe.¹

758. St. Feardachrich, the son of Subney, was elected abbot;^m he died in the year 768.ⁿ

778. On Saturday, the 2nd day of August, the town was totally consumed by lightning.^o

791. Died the abbot Cudiniscus, the son of Conasac;^p as also Eochod, the œconomist; he was son of Kiernach.^q

793. Died the abbot Dubdaleath, the son of Sinach.^r

794. Aphiat,¹⁴ the bishop, and Arectach Hua Foelain, the abbot of Armagh, died in the same night.^s

795. Died the abbot Foendelach, the son of Moenach; he had had a contention first with Dubdaleath, and afterwards with Gormgal¹⁵ for the dignity.^t

799. St. Fothad,¹⁶ a doctor of this abbey, and celebrated for his piety and his writings, flourished about this time.^u

¹ *Id.* p. 632. ^k *Id.* ¹ *Id.* p. 632. ^m *Tr. Th.* p. 294. ⁿ *O'Flah. supr.* ^o *Id. Tr. Th.* p. 294. ^p *Id.* ^q *Id.* ^r *O'Flah. supr. id.* ^s *Id.* ^t *Id.* ^u *Id.*

¹³ Under the year 733, the "Four Masters" have this:—"Congus, successor of Patrick, composed this quatrain, to incite Aedh Allan to revenge the profanation of the church, for he was the spiritual adviser (*annmchara*) of Aedh, so that he said:

Say unto the cold Aedh Allan, that I have been oppressed by a feeble army;
Aedh Roin insulted me last night at Cill-Cunna, of the sweet music.

Aedh Allan collected his forces to Faughart, and, on his march to battle, composed these verses:—

For Cill-Cunna, the church of my confessor, I take this day a
Journey on the road," &c.

¹⁴ The list of the Archbishops of Armagh, in the "Psalter of Cashel," omits Affiath, and gives Aircachtach as archbishop for one year.

¹⁵ The succession of the Archbishops of Armagh about this period is involved in great confusion. Gormghal is not mentioned in list in the "Psalter of Cashel," of which the fragment is preserved in the Bodleian Library.

¹⁶ The "Four Masters" preserve (799) one of the compositions of St. Fothad, which was composed under the following circumstances:—"King Aedh Oirdnidhe assembled a very great army to proceed into Leinster, and devastated Leinster twice in one month. A full muster of the men of Ireland (except the Leinstermen), both laity and clergy, was again made by him, [and he marched] until he reached Dun-Cuair, on the confines of Meath and Leinster. Thither came Connmach, successor of Patrick, having the clergy of Leath-Chuinn along with him. It was not pleasing to the clergy to go upon any expedition; they

[*NEW SERIES.*]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1869.

CATHOLICITY AND PROGRESS.

“I admire the wisdom of the Church, in not repudiating the heritage of the old civilization, but in improving it through labour, purifying it through holiness, fertilizing it through genius, and making it pass into our hands, that it might increase the more.”—A. F. OZANAN.

AT no time was the discussion of the connexion between Catholicity and “progress” more appropriate than it is just now. Catholic doctrines, having withstood all other objections, are accused now of exercising an influence prejudicial to material and intellectual progress.

The enemies of the Catholic faith, unable by violence to impede its victorious advance, have taken refuge in misrepresentation. Counting on the superior attractions which they suppose wealth and knowledge to have for man, they declare the acquisition of these to have been, and to be, incompatible with Catholicity. Unquestionably, man does value these natural gifts, but they are not all, he cannot dispense with the supernatural. “Man is still man. The genius of mechanism will not always sit like a choking incubus on our soul.” Whether Catholicity can flourish and not obstruct material progress and intellectual culture?—is the question of the day.

Influenced by the calumnies to which we have referred, we find many asking it in many places. In the new world, countries beginning the great career of nations, ask how this faith will affect their progress. European society, amid its

convulsive throes, asks, whether Catholicity or irreligion will give to it that security, that rest, for which it pines. In these islands the importance of the question is obvious. Here the controversy is at its height, the issue imminent, and the result will be all important.

It is wise, then, to propose this question to Catholics who stand inside that threshold from which the ignorant turn, and upon which the hesitating pause.

The Students of the Catholic University are now manning one of the ramparts which faith has raised in this country. These defenders of the faith must put on the armour of light, and thus repel the last device of the flying enemy—slander's poisoned arrow.

Into such a service we enter as volunteers, not without some hope of success, but yet prepared to rejoice in the triumph of those who shall prove themselves to be more able and more eloquent advocates. On the threshold let us be clear on one point. We do not enter on this discussion to convince ourselves, but to refute our adversaries.

As Catholics, we cannot believe the Church to be hostile to progress; to believe her so, would be to ascribe error to that which we confess cannot err. The premises, however, which force Catholics to this inevitable conclusion, are not granted by our opponents. For them we must adopt such an argument as this: "that system under which progress has been made is not hostile to it, progress has been made under Catholicity, therefore, Catholicity is not hostile to progress." Before we proceed to develop the historical analysis which is involved in this argument, we may observe that progress is in the very essence of the Church, and has been advocated by her doctors.

The spirit of the Catholic Church is embodied in the precept—"Estote perfecti." This commits her members to a life-long labour; their actions of every kind must be performed with an intention of progressing, which nothing short of perfection must limit. Speaking of this "progress," says Saint Vincent of Lerins, "Will there then be no progress in the Church of Christ? surely there will, and plenty; for who could be so jealous of the good of mankind as to stay that progress." In the same strain writes Bossuet, "although constant and perpetual, the Catholic is not without progress." And for ourselves, do we not learn from her numerous councils, general and local, how sensitive the Catholic Church is of the march of time? Does she not suit her actions to repress the peculiar vices, or to promote the virtues of every age and place. "Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety."

Yet councils, nor doctors, no, nor the tongues of angels, will convince those whose sole criterion for everything, human and divine, is *material success*, whose sole divinity is mammon. Well, we can show them, for it is in *their* interest we write, this loved material wealth, and intellectual culture too, existing and progressing under Catholic influence. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not count these advantages as essential notes of the Catholic Church, we don't look on them as proofs of her existence—no such thing. We merely state that they are not incompatible with her or she with them. We could state more. We could state that *all progress*, whether social, moral, or intellectual, has been greater under her influence than under any other form of faith; and that the *last wave* of civilization which is breaking on the shores of modern times, owes its impetus to her power, which first made the waters of regeneration flow!

Those who point to the material and intellectual progress of non-Catholic countries, and ascribe such effects to their different religion, should remember that *pagan nations* had these characteristics in a high degree. Will the proposers of this argument accept the consequence when pushed to its legitimate limits? The recommendation of a Faith is to be the material and intellectual success which accompanies it? Well, Alexander, Hanibal, and Cæsar were great generals, and they were pagans; hence paganism was favourable to the practice of arms. Homer, Pindar, Aristotle, Plato, Virgil, and Horace, arrived at great intellectual perfection, and they were pagans; therefore, paganism conduced to intellectual advancement. The Phœnicians and Tyrians swept the then known seas with an extensive commerce, and they were pagans; therefore paganism fostered trade. Art and science flourished in pagan times; therefore, paganism cherished art and science. In fine, knowledge, and riches, and power were all attained under the old paganism, and there is nothing to prevent them from being attained under a new one. Such are natural effects from natural causes. But before people rush back to paganism, merely for these advantages, is it not only justice to Catholicity to inquire, whether art, and riches, and knowledge have not flourished, and are not now flourishing under her influence? Indeed we shall find the scales here equally poised.

To appreciate the progress of human society under the influence of the Catholic Church, we should apprehend its condition before her action upon it. The centre of her operations was fixed in Rome. The Jews and Barbarians lay outside. In the Roman Empire all was in a state of transition—the old civiliza-

tion had had its day. A summer heat of success had dried up the sap of the tree, and yet, its autumnal tints were so glorious as to make those who beheld them forget the winter of which they were but the forerunners.

The great material and intellectual strength which the old order yet possessed were the *last fruits*; no more seed was sown. The capital was hourly drawn on, and bankruptcy in faith, and power, and learning was at hand. All the surrounding glitter could not conceal the decay from the piercing eye or lacerating pen of the satirist. That grand race, says Juvenal—

“Qui dabat olim
Imperium, faces, ligiones, omnia nunc se
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat
Panem et circenses.”

Yes; food and games replaced all the high aspirations of former days. In every layer of the social structure there was corruption; among the higher orders even such faith as they once had was replaced by scepticism, and scepticism produced its unfailing result, the grossest sensuality. “Incredulity,” says Gibbon, “was communicated from the philosopher to the man of pleasure or business, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table.”

As the Roman man and youth had fallen from the field of valour, so fell the Roman maid and matron from the path of virtue. Some might still indeed,

“In Corinthian mirrors their own bright smiles behold,
And breathe of Capuan odours, and shine in Spanish gold.”

But what were these? the wages of sin!

From the nobles let us turn to the people. Did the materialism of that age subscribe to the great principle “*Salus populi suprema lex?*” Oh, you the labourers of the earth—and you are the multitude in every land—hear what the striving after luxury and wealth, unrestrained by religion, did for the people in those days, and learn what it will do for them in these. The pen of the imperial commentator thus graphically describes their position: “The people,” says Cæsar, “are almost on a level with the slave. Of themselves they venture nothing, their voice is of no avail, they are so loaded with debt and taxes, oppressed by the powerful, and given over to the servitude of those who exercise over them the same rights as over the slaves.” These words were no exaggeration then; applied to the state of the people in some

civilized countries, they would be no exaggeration now. For whether lust of wealth and power reigned two thousand years ago or reigneth now, the result is the same; a few leviathans frolicking in an ocean of pleasure, and the millions steeped in the lowest depths of misery. The superlative wretchedness in those days was that of the slave; he had the misfortunes of all other states, and more besides. His comfort, nay, his very life, depended on a master's whim. For him there was no rest in the present, there was no hope of it in the future. Often too numerous, the ranks of the slaves were thinned now and then by sacrifices of several hundreds of them to the manes of some murdered tyrant. Such was the Roman difficulty in the path of progress. The Jew was a less powerful but not less dangerous opponent. Like the Roman, the Jewish danger was the danger of decay, before both societies lay the "*facilis decensus*." The chosen people had passed through the ordeals of power and subjection. They had handed down to them from the olden days of faith, a promise of an everlasting kingdom. In the course of time, and in the laxity of faith, their material minds had construed these promises into a guarantee of a temporal kingdom. We all know how false were such hopes. Much expecting, they were much disappointed; and thus—in the light of a history before which all others fade—this great people became a listless and desponding race, the second great impediment in the march of civilization. From the contemplation of the effete condition of Roman and Jew, we turn with a sense of relief to the hardy tribes of the north.

They were the great actors in the drama we are about to view. Their antagonism to Catholicity was the very opposite of that which we have been considering. In the former there was luxury even to abuse; among the barbarians there was an absence of all refinement. Individuality, which was well nigh extinguished among the Romans, was asserted to the verge of anarchy among the northern hordes. Both conditions were alike hostile to that great mean upon which alone a permanent settlement of society can be made. We have said something of the pernicious effects of a general slavery. M. Guizot thus writes of the opposite extreme—"Whenever individuality almost absolutely prevails, or man only considers himself, or his ideas do not extend beyond himself, society, I mean anything of extent or permanency, becomes impossible."

Such were some of the difficulties with which Catholicity had to contend. The career of decay and destruction must alike be stopped, and society put in the path of "progress." The task was difficult. It would have been far easier, far more "going with the times," as we say now, to indulge the abominations

of the empire, to flatter the Jew with vain hopes, and to license the keen appetite of the impetuous invaders, than to reform the Roman, convert the Jew, and restrain the barbarian hordes.

Degeneration and progress lay before Catholicity! Which did she encourage? If this is answered, all is answered. Let history reply.

The first great injunction of Catholicity, *penance*, went at once to the root of the greatest evil. Luxury was met and conquered. The couch and the bath were deserted for the new training school, where all should be athletes; there was another Campus Martius, and Horace need lament no more.

“Cur apricum

Oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis
Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat.”

Once more the limbs are oiled, once more the loins are braced, but it is for the moral fight instituted by the Catholic Church. As luxury recedes, intellectual life returns. A new philosophy more attractive than the old sustains this life; in it the long cherished doctrine—the soul's immortality—is rescued from the doubts which hitherto surrounded it. While securing eternal interests, the Church was not unmindful of the material progress of human society. By her influence was called into existence, an institution which has been the corner-stone of the social edifice—the first great step in the progress of civilization, and the existence of which, after eighteen centuries, is still the safeguard of society—the Christian family? In the old civilization the sacredness and importance of family ties were not lost sight of, but, what cruel enactments could not enforce the mild influence of Catholicity soon established. In the train of Catholicity reforms still progress—the improvement of the upper classes is followed by the elevation of the people and the enfranchisement of the slave. Impassible barriers no longer stand between noble and plebeian. For the first time in the world's history a system is established which embraces all alike. There was no longer cold selfishness, each one was conscious of a relative existence;—there was no longer indifference, each one had a part to play. The wisdom of its after matchless organization is thus foreshadowed in the infancy of the Catholic Church.

The problem of the slave had ever been a vexed one, and the problem of slavery under any form, will ever be a vexed

one. It had puzzled the wisdom of Plato, and of Aristotle. "If," says the latter, "you treat slaves mildly they become insolent; if harshly, they conceive hatred and conspire." The Catholic Church solved the difficulty. She cut the gordian knots which bound the slaves. "There is neither bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus." What an announcement to the outcasts of society—what a severing of the bonds of centuries—what a lesson to posterity?

Quietly was this miracle performed. Enfranchisement was advocated by the Church in her councils, and was practised by herself; the slave once clasped to her bosom was finally elevated to her ministry. It would be superfluous to dwell on the effect of this reform on human progress. Meanwhile, vanquished paganism marks the advance of the Church. Persecution having failed to arrest the progress of Catholicity, a new species of opposition must be had recourse to. That never failing one, ever ancient and ever new, "the giving of a bad name," is adopted. "Catholicity," cry out the old pagans, "is hostile to the acquisition of wealth and knowledge—it is opposed to progress." This is published far and wide; but as Gibbon says "the picture betrays by its dark colouring the pencil of an enemy." Then, as now, the order of the Catholic Church is the kingdom of heaven first, and every thing else after. She shrinks not from consequences which would frighten a material man.

The ancient slander did not, nor will modern ones, frighten her into a compromise. Out of the first we shall see her rise triumphant, and decked with all the ornaments of knowledge, and thus will she rise out of others. It was necessary that paganism should rot, that Catholicity might flourish. It is by sowing her own seeds, and not adopting the weeds of corruption, that faith must conquer. "*Roma sedendo vincet.*"

Insensible to the charms of the ancient literature the Church was not; but they must come in their proper place. At this time, no doubt, she was extremely cautious about the promotion of secular knowledge. Was it an unnecessary caution? Instruction of this kind was generally conveyed by pagans; the *national schools* were in their hands, and of these Tertullien says, "they must necessarily teach the names of the gods, their genealogies and attributes, and observe the pagan festivals on which their emoluments depend." From such causes there were many relapses into paganism—and hence caution was most necessary.

But when the kingdom of God *was* secured, then every thing else was added, and in abundance. "Stripped of its dangers the school entered the Church," learning and religion

became synonymes. The compass once in his hand, the mariner was launched on the great ocean of inquiry. When scepticism as to his own being was at an end, when his sensual appetites were in check, man had reached that vantage ground, where, standing outside the world, he could calmly examine "the marvellous works of God." But let us borrow the words of St. Basil to explain the connection which the Catholic Church advocates between intellectual culture and faith—"The real property of trees is," he says, "to bear fruit in their season, and yet, they clothe themselves with flowers and green branches. So the holy truth is the fruit of the soul, and yet there is some grace in clothing it with a different wisdom, like the foliage which covers the fruit and lends it the charm of its verdure." If this order were clearly kept in view a world of people would be spared a world of trouble. But when the precious fruit of faith hung on the branches of peace, what verdure clustered round it? The air was heavy with the perfume of knowledge—*aroma scientiarum*—which emanated from the Jeromes, Basils, Gregories, Tertulliens, and Augustines. Even now looking back through the darkened glass of time, we are dazzled by the light of these stars, whose rays were kindled in the very heart of Catholicity.

Scarcely had this lull allowed the tree of the faith to put forth its fruit, and embosom itself in the foliage of knowledge, when the long lowering tempest swept over the land, making religion and civilization quail before it. The incursion of the Barbarians was not opposed by the material strength of the Empire. Rome, the centre of civilization, had been deserted by its imperial rulers. An abandoned people had thrown themselves into the hands of its venerable bishops. Thus early, and long before Pepin or Charlemagne confirmed it, did the temporal sway of that illustrious line of Sovereign Pontiffs commence—that line which culminates all the sufferings, all the glory, all the sanctity of eighteen centuries in the person of our holy Pope Pius IX.

Thus commenced a power which, says Gibbon, "was founded in the purest origin of any power on earth—the will of the people!"

It was not merely used to protect the people from annihilation, but also to save from the deluge some remnants of learning. It was the Catholic Church which provided arks to save the seeds of knowledge, it was the Catholic Church which guided them till the waters sank, it was her sons who planted those seeds again, and it is under their care that they have increased and multiplied! This is saying a great deal, but it is no more than what is true. A Protestant historian

of literature, Mr. Hallam, says—"For five centuries every sort of knowledge was confined to the Church; it kept flowing in the worst of seasons, a slender but living stream." And anon the slender stream gets broad, bearing upon its expansive bosom the literary treasures of the past. "Fortunately," again says Hallam, "Benedict, whose order became most widely spread, enjoined upon his brethren to copy and collect books. This, in course of time, became the means of multiplying classical manuscripts."

When recommending universal history to the consideration of the Dauphin, Bossuet drew his special attention to that of France; and will not an Irish Catholic student be excused, when reviewing the progress of society, if he dwells upon the grateful fact, that nowhere in the civilized world did the re-kindled lamps of learning burn more brightly than in his own country? "As early," continues the author before quoted, "as the sixth century, a glimmer of light was perceptible in the Irish Monasteries, and in the next, when France and Italy had sunk in deeper ignorance, *they* stood in a very respectable position."

In the schools of Ireland studied the students of every nation; and in the schools of every nation taught the scholars of Ireland. They stood in the halls of Albion, and beside the chair of Carolus Magnus—

"But the flight is far too long,
Weak the wings of worldly song,
David's muse alone could rise
To a theme of such emprise,
As to give in long array
Those who, in that happiest day,
Bore on Faith's bright flag unfurl'd
Erin's name throughout the world."

It is not social reform or intellectual progress only which mark the course of the Catholic Church. The spirit of enterprise and discovery is first displayed by her ministers. In the seventh century, Byzantine monks buried themselves in the steppes of Central Asia, and crossed the great wall of China; in 795, Irish monks, impelled by fervour, ventured on the western ocean, touched the frozen shores of Iceland, and were cast on the coast of America.

But, henceforward, nothing less than a general history of civilization could adequately describe the influence of Catholicity on human progress.

Such an inquiry is beyond the limits of this essay; we can

only select its most important features. From the middle ages the last remnants of barbarity and paganism were not quite gone. "It was the Church," says M. Guizot, "which harmonized the lawless and barbarian races of Europe." As in the early days the Solitaries of the East had peopled the Church with saints and scholars, so now do the Monks of the West found seats of learning all over Europe. Monte Casino and Subiaco were springs of knowledge. The matchless organization of the Catholic Church could alone institute those centres of learning, the "Universities." At her call, Paris, Bologna, Ferrara, Oxford, Cambridge, Louvain, Vienna, Leipsic, Salamanca, Alcalá, and others, spring into existence. Their origin, their privileges, their honours were from her.

In the intellectual revel of these days some men abandoned faith, and sought to restore Paganism. In this crisis the Church did not discountenance learning, for now its greatest proficients were her ablest defenders, Aquinas, Bernard, Anselm, were a match for Roscelin and Abelard. By their profound knowledge and close reasoning, were shallow conceits upset, and sound learning again restored. We have seen how much Catholicity contributed to the social and intellectual progress of Ireland in the early times; let us see what it did for England in these middle ages. By order of the Council of Latern, schools were established through the length and breadth of the land. Wherever there was a convent, there was learning, there was progress. "A convent without a library, was like a castle without an armoury; and the scarceness of parchment only, prevented the transcription of many books." The fathers of English literature were monks, who wrote and sung by English rivers. The first English Epic is from the pen of a Catholic priest, John Barbour. It was not merely in its infancy that English literature was fostered by Catholic influence—its brightest ornaments were modelled, if not created, by the example of Catholic Italy. "In Italy," says Hallam, "was supplied the fire at which other nations lighted their torches."

There, fostered by Catholic influence, were Dante and Petrarch—the morning stars of literature—streaks of whose immortal light illumine the page of Chaucer, Spencer, and Milton.

By the exertion of the Church we find writing becoming more general amongst the people, and the laborious Benedictines declare with joy that "the art of writing has become more general among the laity." How like hostility to progress this? Whether paper was discovered first by Greeks or Saracens, we need not pause to inquire; but this we know, it was

eagerly availed of by the Catholic Church as a means of spreading knowledge. Pursuing our history to the fifteenth century, we find a Cardinal and Secretary to two illustrious Popes, filling Europe with the fame of his learning, and giving to his age his name. "To Cardinal Poggio Bracciolini," says Hallam, "we owe the orations of Cicero, Quinctillian, Lucretius, Tertullien, and twelve comedies of Plautus," which he discovered *on the shelves of monasteries*.

Pope Nicholas V., a renowned patron of letters, added the following Greek authors to the Cardinal's collection—Herodotus, Thucydides, and Strabo. Does the non-Catholic student, when he studies these authors, ever think that he owes them to the patient hand of the monk, and the literary taste of an illustrious Pontiff, and the bright band whom Gibbon declares "to have clustered round his Pontifical Chair?" or does such a student close them, to join in the senseless, the ignorant cry which brands these gifted men, and the system which produced them, as hostile to progress?

But against such empty denunciations we can oppose such testimony as the biographer of Leo X. bears to the influence of the Popes in aiding human progress. "Hence the Roman Pontiffs," says Roscoe, "have frequently displayed examples highly worthy of imitation, and have signalized themselves in an eminent degree as *patrons* of science, of letters, and of art; and among the predecessors of Leo X., the philosopher may contemplate with approbation the eloquence and courage of Leo I., who preserved the City of Rome from the ravages of the barbarian Attila; the beneficence, candour, and pastoral attention of Gregory I., unjustly charged with being the adversary of liberal studies; the various acquirements of Silvester II.; the industry, acuteness, and learning of Innocent III., of Gregory IX., of Innocent IV., and of Pius II.; and of the munificence and love of literature so strikingly displayed in the character of Nicholas V."

But nowhere did the influence of the Catholic Church so much contribute to intellectual progress as in Germany. It was here the Deventer Brotherhood, led by Thomas á Kempis, founded those schools which Eichhorn calls "the first genuine nurseries of literature in Germany."

To the progress of science, as well as literature, the Church accords her effective aid. The labours of Spanish monks spread the knowledge of Arabian symbols and figures over Europe. In Poland, Vitello; in England, Roger Bacon; cultivated science in the solitude of their convent cells. Indeed in every branch the historian of literature must acknowledge the

beneficial influence of the Church ; the most interesting feature of the light or romantic writings of the middle ages is traceable to this source. Women were the ennobling theme of almost all the gay productions of these days, and Hallam ascribes this chivalrous admiration, "to the respect the clergy paid them." All we have hitherto said of the action of the Catholic Church in the cause of progress is slight, in comparison to that at which we will soon arrive. "About the end of the fourteenth century there was a practice in the Church of taking impressions from blocks of wood, for *rude cuts of saints*, frequently accompanied by a few lines of letters cut in the blocks. Gradually entire pages were impressed, and thus began what are called block-books, printed in fixed characters."¹

And thus we may add, from a good, pious Catholic custom, sprung the greatest invention of ancient or modern times, the greatest aid to the progress of society—the printing press!

When the principle thus born had been applied for practical purposes by Costar or Guttenberg, it was the Church that first used it for the diffusion of sacred and profane knowledge.

True to her mission, she first devoted it to the printing of the inspired writings. That "venerable and splendid volume may be seen in imagination leading up the crowded myriads of its followers, and imploring, as it were, a blessing on the new art by dedicating its first fruits to the glory of heaven."² In the convents first worked the "printing-presses." From Subiaco went forth the first works, Augustin de Civitate Dei and Cicero de Oratore. In thirty years over twenty-three editions of classic authors were published by the Church ; and the "press" became in her hands the prolific source of sacred and secular learning. The follower of progress soon finds himself in its most brilliant epoch—it is the age of Leo X. How different his position from that of the other Leo, his predecessor ; since then how vast the "progress." The one a suppliant at the feet of barbarism—the other a ruler at the head of civilization. Ariosto sung in Italy, More wrote in England, Erasmus and Budæus dazzled Europe with their scholarship.

Before we dwell upon this age, we must remark that the material progress of society was no less striking than the religious and intellectual—it is the privilege of the Catholic Church, and of her alone, to combine the three. The religious orders scattered through the rural districts, by their untiring labour, established agriculture in Europe—rocks became gardens under the patient toil of the monk. In their hands property first assumed a sacred character in the eyes of still half civilized races ; and in fact for the first time right becomes might.

¹ Hallam. ² Hallam.

Constantly it was the task of the Church to come between the tyrannous nobles and rebellious people.

To make peaceful the relations between these two inevitable conditions of society, the governing and the governed, was and is the aim of the Church. We cannot leave the middle ages without referring to the crusades, and to the part which the Church played in them. Their influence upon European progress cannot be questioned. They gave an impetus to learning, to commerce, and more than all, to popular liberty. It was their influence which abolished feudalism—the mediæval form of slavery—in a cleared atmosphere a new and vigorous vegetation sprung up on every side, and society starts on another career of “progress.”

The idea of the holy wars emanated from the Church. They were commenced, carried on, and finished with her blessing. As to the morality of all their details, and as to their being unqualified benefits, there is, we know, much controversy; but this at least can be said with certainty, that “whatever grand ideas, vast plans, noble inspirations, social and political views of the highest importance were displayed in these wars, sprung from the Catholic element; and if they are disgraced, as they sometimes are, by disorder, improvidence, and violence, these were surely results of the barbarism which still swayed the human heart.” This social progress was felt everywhere; but most notably in the very centres of Catholic influence. “Then,” says Lord Macaulay, “Italian ships covered every sea; Italian factories rose on every shore; the tables of Italian money-changers were set in every city. We doubt,” he continues, “whether any country in Europe, our own excepted, has ever reached so high a point of *wealth and civilization* as Italy had attained some four hundred years ago. Every place to which her merchant princes extended their gigantic traffic, from the bazaars of the Tigris to the monasteries of the Clyde, was ransacked for medals and manuscripts. Knowledge and public prosperity continued to advance together.” I have not the eloquent words of Lord Macaulay to describe the “progress” of the other parts of Catholic Europe at this time. But do we not know that Spain was in the zenith of her glory; the Moors were delivering up their usurped dominions at home, while Columbus was exploring new worlds abroad, and under the guidance of the great Cardinal Ximenes, the greatest advance in human progress was made by this Catholic country.

From neighbouring and not less Catholic Portugal, a sailor prince explores the African coast, reaches the Equator, and discovers Madeira. Vasco de Gama reveals the Indies, and

Catholic monks pointed out to the merchants of Genoa and Venice the road to Pekin ! But let us rest our eyes on the crowning spectacle of this age of progress. . . Let us look to the cynosure of all the brilliant galaxy of the sixteenth century—let us venerate Leo X. He presided over a civilization in which art flourished—as only Catholic art can—in which printing had been discovered, the heavens studied, and the world explored ; so that before all that was done then, the acquisitions of the last three centuries appear but small indeed. That Rome should become the centre of art and letters, as well as of religion, was the great desire of Leo.

In a bull, by which he renovated the Roman college, Leo expresses his desire for the promotion of literature and science. "Having lately," says he, "been called by Divine Providence to the office of Supreme Pontiff, and having restored to our beloved subjects their rights, we have re-granted to the Roman University those revenues which were perverted to other purposes. And to the end that the city of Rome may assume that superiority over the rest of the world in literary studies which she already enjoys in other respects, we have, from different parts, obtained the assistance of men acquainted with every branch of learning, whom we have appointed professors." To recount all the assistance which the Church then afforded to Sculptor and Poet, such as Michael Angelo and Ariosto—to Painter and Historian, such as Raffelle and Vardi—would require an essay in itself. I will close my remarks about this age with what I consider yet the highest tribute which his English biographer pays to Leo X., "the Roman citizens who partook in the affluence of the Church, in a general abundance of all the necessities of life, re-echoed the praises of the Pontiff, who, by a liberal policy, allowed all kinds of merchandise to be imported and exported throughout all his dominions. Hence the City of Rome became a granary, always supplied with provisions, and was chosen as a residence by mercantile men, who contributed by their wealth and industry to the general prosperity."

The happiness enjoyed by the Roman people during the remaining part of the life of Leo X., forms, indeed, the truest glory of his pontificate ; and in his concluding words, Mr. Roscoe declares, "and happy it is for the world, when the pursuits of powerful individuals, instead of being devoted to the subjugation or destruction of the human race, are directed towards those beneficent and generous ends, which, amidst all his avocations, Leo X. appears to have kept continually in view."

It was at this period that Martin Luther arose to deny the authority of the Catholic Church. We are all aware of his success, and on inquiry the cause of it will not be found far off. The Reformer appealed to the barbaric chord which is set, no matter how low down, in each human breast. The Church had preached restraint and individual responsibility. Luther advocated an all-sufficient faith. The church required honesty, purity, and virtue in this life. Luther postponed all such restrictions to a future life. By laying more stress on God's anxiety to forgive sin than on his horror of its commission, a premium was laid on vice by the Reformer and his followers.

Predestination, preached by other Reformers, dried up the springs of human action.

It will not require a very deep philosophy to discover how such doctrines are calculated, in the long run, however successful they may be for a time, to sap the foundations of society, and imperil the "march of progress." Between such a system and the Catholic Church there was set an enmity. "This Protestant era," says Chateaubriand, "from the first hour of its existence, refused all relationship with that Leo who protected the civilized world against Attila, and also with the era of that second Leo, at whose coming barbarism vanished, and society, now no longer in need of defence, puts on the ornament of civilization."

But the new doctrines were calculated to retard intellectual progress as well as moral. In the contentions of sects, learning and art, which flourish only in a peaceful atmosphere, greatly declined.

"Then," says Lord Bacon, "grew the learning of the schoolmen to be utterly despised as barbarous. In fine, the whole inclination and bent of those times was rather towards *copia* than *weight*." "And the consequences of the Reformation on the arts," says Roscoe, "were yet more direct." Before this event, the Roman religion had not only relinquished its hostility to the productions of the chisel or the pencil, but had become the foster-mother of these pursuits, and supplied the noblest and most interesting subjects for the exercise of their powers.

The artist whose labours were associated with the religion of his country, enjoyed a kind of sacred character;—the tendency of the Reformation was to deprive him of these benefits."

However, though learning suffered, and progress was retarded by the violence of Luther and the fanaticism of Calvin, Zwingle, Knox, etc., yet the solicitude of the Church in their behalf was not abated.

And in these efforts she commanded powerful assistance.

With a matchless wisdom she recognizes, embraces, and blesses individual action. Faith alone, which she may not risk, binds the liberty of her members. From this course the Catholic Church reaps many benefits. "With the utmost pomp," says Lord Macaulay, "of a hierarchy *above*, she has all the energy of a voluntary system below."

From her bosom, which formerly supplied the Benedictines and Carthusians, those diligent copyists; the Dominicans, that order so full of historians, painters, and sculptors; now springs the order of Jesuits—at once missionaries of faith, and ornaments of literature. What clime do they not visit? What works do they not achieve? Before their mighty organization hostile spectators pause to admire. "No one will deny," says Hallam, "that in classical knowledge, particularly of the Latin language, and of the elegance with which they wrote it, the order of the Jesuits might stand in competition with any scholars of Europe."

These great orders, springing up like fountains in the Catholic Church, betray her ever-living source.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries no doubt the non-Catholic systems fostered intellectual and material progress; this we could not deny, this it is not our business to question. We have only to ask was Catholicity less fruitful in like instances? The verdict of history is here again decisive—Richelieu and Mazarin direct the fortunes of the greatest empire in the world. Bossuet raises history to its grandest platform, and gives to oratory its greatest elegance. Fenelon rivals the classic times in France, and Pope revives their beauties in England. Racine and Moliere adorn the stage, and philosophy is indebted to Pascal and Malebranche. While the rivalry of Protestantism lasted, it seemed but to have more clearly developed that aptitude which the Catholic faith possesses for promoting the material and intellectual progress of society.

The last page which we shall examine will show the ceaseless action of the Catholic Church in the cause of progress, and will bring this essay to a close. The success of Protestantism was short-lived; with its novelty its reputation decreases—beyond its first victories it made little way. "Why is it," asks Macaulay, "that Protestantism, after carrying every thing before it in a time of comparatively little knowledge, and little freedom, should make no perceptible progress in a reasoning and tolerant age—that the Luthers, the Zwingles, the Knoxes should have left no successors? At the close of Elizabeth's reign it had left its first love and ceased to do its work."

Is the verdict of this Protestant historian equally unfavourable to Catholicity; far from it. "The Catholic Church," he says, "is still sending forth to the end of the world her missionaries. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the New World more than compensate her for what she has lost in the Old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of Missouri and Cape Horn." Referring to this enduring vitality of the Church, another Protestant authority says, "long before the first Consul set on foot negotiations with the Papacy, in order to enrol it among the salaried offices of the State, *priests, in direct communication* with Rome, had begun with ardour the work of missionaries of the Catholic faith. The old religion was taking root again in the soil of the revolutionized country, and under conditions more similar to those of primeval Christianity than those imposed by the State connection."

But this ever-budding life is nothing new! Are the ornaments of civilization wanted? Does the luxuriant foliage mentioned by St. Basil no more lend to the fruit the charm of its verdure? Has intellectual and material "progress" ceased to accompany Catholicity on its ceaseless journey? Let the names of linguists like Cardinals Mezzofanti and Mai; let philosophers like Frederick Schlegel—let historians like Lingard, Balmez, and Dollinger—let theologians like Mohler, Peronne, and De Maister—let orators like O'Connell, Ventura, Lacordaire, and Faber—let physists like Galvani, Vico, and Gorres—let writers like Chateaubriand, Montalembert, Conscience, Wiseman, and Newman—let statesmen like Gonsalvi, Pacca, and Antonelli—in fine, let every branch of science, let every phase of art, let every strain of literature, let all society acknowledge its vast indebtedness to the influence of the Catholic Church.

So far for the present intellectual position of Catholicity. But can it still be judged by the great standard which proves all systems, "*Salus populi suprema lex?*" Let us see. When philanthropists like Young and Mill look for popular comfort and advancement, where do they go? To Catholic France, Switzerland, Saxony, and parts of Germany; they cannot point, they dare not point, to Protestant institutions nearer home. After paying a tribute to the social comfort of the people in Catholic countries, Mr. Kay, a Protestant English barrister, sent out by Cambridge University, says—"In Catholic Germany, in France, and even in Italy, the education of the common people is *at least* as faithfully promoted as by the clerical body in Scotland. It is by their own advance, and not by keeping back the advance

of the people, that the Popish priesthood of the present day seek to keep ahead of the intellectual progress of the people in Catholic lands. Education," continues this Protestant barrister, "is really not only not suppressed but it is *encouraged* by the Popish Church. In every street of Rome there are, at short distances, primary schools—with a population of 158,000 it has 372 primary schools, and 14,000 daily attending. Has Edinburgh so many? I doubt it! Berlin, with a population double that of Rome, has only 264 schools. Rome has her university, with 600 students, and the Papal States seven universities, with a population of 2,500,000. Prussia, with a population of 14,000,000, has only seven likewise." These are Mr. Kay's figures, and they need no comment. As comparisons are sometimes useful, we will let Mr. Kay, who dedicates his book to Lord John Russell, describe the condition of the people in rich, Protestant England. "If," he says to the noble lord, "the object of Government is to create an enormous wealthy class, and to raise to the highest point of civilization about *one-fifth of the nation*, while it leaves the rest sunk to the lowest depths of ignorance, helplessness, and degradation—then the system in Great Britain is perfect. If we have enormous wealth, we ought to remember we have enormous pauperism also; if we have middle classes, richer and more intelligent than those of any other country, we have poorer classes, the *majority of the people* more ignorant, more pauperized, and more morally degraded, than the poorer classes of most of the countries of Europe."

In bringing this essay to a close, must we not agree with our last authority that the social "progress" of society is most evident under Catholic influence? And in the intellectual order, have we not, though feebly it may be, worked out our text? Must we not, in the language of the gifted, the youthful, the lamented A. F. Ozanan—type of a race of noble Catholic writers, who will no longer leave history to infidels like Gibbon—must we not, in his words, declare "that we admire the wisdom of the Church in not repudiating the heritage of civilization, but in improving it through labour, purifying it through holiness, fertilizing it through genius, and making it descend into our hands that it might increase the more." In the light of all the evidence we have gone through, how many yet remain unconvinced? They yet refuse to enter the Church. They are in an arid waste, "where," as Thomas Carlyle says, "they live as in a Golgotha—where life enters not—where peace is not appointed them. They have to realize a worship for themselves, or die unworshipping—the Godlike has vanished from their view, and they, by the strong cry of their souls' agony, must again evoke its presence." "This

miracle has been accomplished," he continues, "but not in *our* land—our land yet knows not of it. A noble Frederick Schlegel, shipwrecked in that fearful loneliness, as of a silenced battle-field, flies back to Catholicity as a child to its slain mother's bosom, and clings there." Many have evoked King Mammon in this their souls' agony, but his worship will not suffice. Man pines for the old health of society, when mind and matter had their respective places in the great system of the Church, when, as Carlyle again observes, "Society was what we can call whole—the individual was in himself a whole, and could combine with his fellow man to form a greater whole. Religion was everywhere, philosophy lay hid under it, and peacefully included in it, *herein*, as in the life centre of society, lay the true health and oneness." And ere laying down our pen, may we not ask will that "true health and oneness" ever return? Surely it will. All things point to it; we see the fig tree putting forth its leaves. On all sides there are signs, even in that land of which but a few years since, that living author, whom we last quoted said, "it yet knows not of it," even England feels the Catholic influence, which brings to the Church bright bands, led by such men as Wilberforce, Faber, Manning, and one whose name is hallowed in these walls, John Henry Newman! We see a disordered society, uninfluenced by contending sects, yearning for the Unity, the Peace, which the Catholic Church alone possesses; we see all anxious to be guided by a power, and to be saved by a faith which is incompatible with no advance, material or intellectual; with no government, Monarchial or Republican; with no liberty, private or political; with no class, rich or poor; with no "progress," save that of vice!

But there is yet a more definite sign, there is still a more potent call, "there is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, make straight the way of the Lord!" The voice of the aged Pontiff is heard above the distractions of the age. Standing on the steps of the Vatican he invites all to *unity* with God in that comprehensive fold which knows not king nor subject, rich nor poor, bond nor free, saying to each one, whosoever you be, whatever you seek, be it victory in the material or the spiritual contests, receive this banner of the Catholic Church, and

"In hoc Signo Vincas."

C. D.

QUALITIES OF A SUCCESSFUL CATECHIST.

THE successful catechist must be an educated man. It may not be necessary that he be a profound theologian, or a man of burning eloquence ; but he must possess clear, solid, and exact ideas, and be thoroughly made up in what we may call the essential portions of theology, viz., the Symbol, the Sacraments, the Commandments of God and the Church, the virtues and vices, etc., etc. And the reason of this is sufficiently obvious. He is bound by the obligations of his ministry to explain all these matters with clearness and precision ; to adapt his explanations to the capacity of the young, the simple, and the ignorant ; to vary his expressions and to modify his turn of thought, as occasion may require, without obscuring the clearness of his doctrinal teaching ; and how can he do all this if his own mind be a chaos of uncertainty and confusion ? To be a successful catechist requires more than a mere superficial knowledge of the subject. He alone will succeed who knows how to combine a course of serious reading and theological study with the habit of close and exact reasoning. More than this, too, he must be able by mature reflection, and by the study of standard authors on this particular matter, to express himself not only intelligibly, but in such a manner as to please and interest his hearers, be they young or old, well-instructed or ignorant. Now, the catechist who does not possess sufficient knowledge to enable him to discharge these duties as he ought, will be certain to go lamentably astray in the matter of his teaching. At one time he will put upon his people obligations which God and His Church never imposed upon them. At another he will teach them that they are not bound by the gravest laws. Thus his inexact teaching ; his false decisions, at one time too lax, and at another too severe, will, in all probability, be the cause of innumerable sins in his flock, since it is thus that false consciences are formed. Without the judgment to perceive the points on which he ought to insist, he will lose his own time and that of his people, in the consideration of useless and frivolous subjects. He will not know how to bring his subject before his flock in such a manner as to inspire them with an elevated idea of the truths of their faith, and to fill them with a great love and esteem of it. He will not possess those exact ideas of his matter which will enable his hearers to seize it with ease, and to retain it with pleasure, simply because it is so clear ; nor those appropriate words which will most plainly and exactly express the ideas which he wishes to convey ;

nor that order which best suits the natural progression of those ideas, and which puts everything in its right place. The inevitable result of all this will be that his own ignorance, and his own confusion of mind, and his own false ideas, will be reproduced in his hearers. The ignorant or careless pastor will as surely be surrounded by an ignorant or careless flock. The blind undertakes to lead the blind ; what wonder if he and they fall into the ditch ?

Learning is a great thing in its way, and is, as we have just seen, absolutely necessary in the catechist ; but piety and zeal are something greater still, and more essential to success. When considering the subject of persuasion, we have seen that the great secret of moving others, is to be moved ourselves. Men are not moved to holy resolutions and inspired with generous impulses, by him who is destitute of the one, and insensible to the other. Hence, we may readily judge how essential a tender spirit of piety is to him who has to deal with the young or the ignorant. Piety may, in some sense, and to some degree at least, supply the want of learning ; but no amount of learning can ever take the place of that spirit of piety which is such an essential qualification in him who undertakes to do the work of God. And hence it is that the humble, painstaking pastor, who is thoroughly pious and devoted to his work, often produces much more of that fruit which is to remain, than the man of deep learning, of brilliant parts, and of showy attainments, whose heart grows cold to God and the things of God, in proportion as it becomes keen in the pursuit of learning for its own sake, and loses sight of the great truth that these things are comparatively worthless, except in so far as they help us to discharge the duties of our ministry more faithfully and efficaciously.

The man whose heart is filled with the spirit of God will be a man of zeal. He will be possessed by an ardent desire of causing his people to know and to love their God, and thus secure the salvation of their souls. Unless his labours be inspired and animated by this spirit of zeal, they will soon become insufferably tedious and distasteful to him. The levity and indocility of the children, the grossness and stupidity of the ignorant, will soon fill him with such a disgust for instructing them, that he will undertake this duty with the utmost repugnance, and as a necessary consequence, discharge it without interest and without fruit. But, on the contrary, if he be inspired by a lively zeal and a great love of God, the catechist will, in this very spirit of zeal, find that courage which will enable him to triumph over all difficulties. It will supply him with an invincible spirit of patience to conquer the natural

ennui and disgust which he may find in the discharge of this duty. It will encourage him to persevere, and stimulate him to employ all the diligence in the preparation of his instructions, which is absolutely necessary for their success.

And, after all, what wonder is it, or rather ought it to be, to find the minister of God animated with some small portion of that spirit of zeal, that desire to save souls, which the enemies of God display in their efforts to ruin these same souls. As the Abbé Mullois¹ says so well in his eloquent work: "The wicked, indeed, afford us Christians some most humiliating and painful lessons, enough to make us hide our faces from very shame, so much so, that we can wish nothing better than that the best amongst us might possess that zeal for what is good which the wicked evince for what is evil." And again, "we censure the wicked, and are right in doing so; but let us at any rate do them this justice, that they are adepts in their profession . . . they profess their opinions boldly . . . they are zealous and active . . . they are energetic, and ready to sacrifice everything, repose, money, liberty, even life itself. Then, how adroit they are! how expert in making themselves great with the great, and little with the little! And we! . . . we Christians, who know the worth of men's souls, whose duty it is to save them, rest satisfied with a few slender efforts directed often by mere routine!"

Yes, the true minister of God—the true catechist—will be a man of zeal. His zeal will embrace, with an equal love and solicitude, all those who have been intrusted to his pastoral care. He will realize to the full the truth, that every soul is of equal value before God; that before God there is no distinction of rich and poor, of the ignorant and of the highly educated; and he will make this truth the great principle of his action in dealing with his flock. If his zeal admit of any exception of persons, it will be in favour of those dear children who may not as yet have lost the priceless charm and grace of their baptismal innocence, and who, on this account, are so infinitely dear to the heart of God: in favour of the blessed poor, who are scarcely less dear to God, or less intimately wound up with the deepest designs of His love, and the most profuse bestowal of His choicest graces and benedictions: in favour of those poor children, so hapless and so mysteriously visited, who have had the misfortune to be born of parents without faith and without morality—those poor children who have been reared amidst ignorance and sin—who have sucked in the poison of vice with their mother's milk—who have had sin in all its deformity, and vice in all its shameless wantonness, for ever before

¹ "Cours d'Eloquence Sacrée," par M. L'Abbé Mullois.

their eyes—who have scarcely heard of the name of God except in blasphemy, or of the mysteries of religion, except when they have been profaned and turned into ridicule. To such as these in truth, the heart of the true priest of God goes out with a great yearning, a tender compassion, an ineffable love. He travails for these dear children all the more bitterly, because he is but too conscious that if he cannot win them to God, whilst there is at least some poor shred of the grace, and the innocence, and the pliability of the childhood which has been so miserably defaced and contaminated remaining to them, they will be lost to him for time, and to their God for all eternity.

True zeal has two great characteristics : it is sweet and it is prudent ; and to no one who exercises the ministry of the Word, in any of its varied departments, are these characteristics of zeal more essential than to him who discharges the duty of the catechist.

Men, as we have already said more than once, are only gained to the service of God, and retained in the same, by charity and sweetness ; and if this be true of men in general, how much more so is it when there is question of children, and of the poor, and the ignorant ? St. Augustine tells us that he was first attracted to think favourably of the Christian religion, and that he owed the beginning of his conversion to the sweetness and charity of St. Ambrose : *Cæpi amare hominem, non ut doctorem veritatis, sed ut benevolum in me.*¹ Many men, and good men too, know not how to make children and the ignorant love them. They do not possess, or if they possess it, they either do not, or they cannot, manifest that true charity which is the key to every heart. Sometimes they show that false condescension which is almost as mischievous as the contrary failing. They flatter when they ought to correct ; they know not how to refuse ; they allow the children to become too free and familiar with them : or, what is more likely, the catechist assumes an air of severity and rigour ; he is harsh in his rebukes, cold and distant in his manner, stern in his bearing ; he speaks in angry, bitter, or ironical language ; he demands from the children more than they can reasonably be expected to know ; and he covers them with shame and confusion before their fellows, perhaps before the whole congregation of the church, on account of their ignorance or incapacity ; he makes neither allowance for the levity and inconstancy of the childish heart, nor the grossness and stupidity of the poor adult, who has grown up in ignorance, neglect, and sin. The inevitable result is, that he never gains the

¹“ Confess,” lib. v.

confidence of those whom he is bound, on so many titles, to win to God. He never succeeds in securing their love and esteem, and thus never succeeds in laying the foundation of all true influence over them. He forgets the example of his Divine Master, who drew these same little children to His breast with such a wealth of infinite condescension and love, who laid His hands upon them and blessed them.¹ He forgets the teaching of St. Paul, who tells him that he is to instruct, in a spirit of meekness and charity : *Instruite in spiritu lenitatis*,² and who himself acted with his flock as a nurse with the children committed to her care : *Tanquam si nutrix foveat filios suos*.³ He makes out for himself a different line of conduct from that suggested by St. Bernard, who tells us that we are to act as mothers, and not as lords and rulers : *Matres esse, non dominos* ; and then he cannot understand how it is that the children fly from him, that they never attend his instructions but with repugnance ; that they listen to him with undisguised weariness or affright when they chance to come ; that they seize every opportunity, lawful or unlawful, for remaining away.

Thus, he takes a great deal of pains perhaps, and yet there is no result. He sows, it may be diligently and laboriously, and yet he never reaps. Ah ! if he would only try to realize the infinite love of Jesus Christ for the young and the ignorant, and the infinite tenderness of His dealings with them ; if he would learn how to speak to these persons with sweetness and affability ; if he would only get rid of the knitted brow, the unsympathizing look, and the cold, harsh word ; if he would only learn to be a little forbearing with the levity and the natural inconstancy of the child, and a little patient with the stupidity of the poor, ignorant adult ; if he would only put on the spirit of St. Bernard, the spirit of St. Paul—in one word, the spirit of Jesus Christ, meek and humble of heart—of Jesus Christ, who came to cast the fire of His love upon the earth—of Jesus Christ, whose last words were a prayer for the ignorant and the erring ; then would things go very differently with him. Then would his labour be no longer thrown away, nor his toil without profit or fruit. Then would it be his happy and his blessed lot to reap the good fruit a hundredfold in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting.

If sweetness be one of the characteristics of true zeal, prudence is no less essential. As we all know, there is a zeal which is not according to knowledge—a zeal which is ill-regulated and undisciplined, and which, on this very account, is injurious in its very earnestness, and fruitless in its most laboured efforts.

¹Mark x. 16. ²Gal. vi. 1. ³1 Thess. ii. 7.

M. Hamon, in his excellent work, treats this matter very fully and very practically, in showing the different objects upon which the true spirit of zeal will naturally be employed.

And, in the first place, he shows how absolutely necessary the spirit of prudence is for self-government ; that a man may know how to restrain himself, and regulate the sallies of that impetuous zeal which is frequently so ill-judged and so unfortunate in its results. If a man deliver himself over to the dominion of that false zeal, which receives every suggestion of the imagination as a manifestation of the will of heaven, he will frequently be led grievously astray ; and one sally of this false spirit will often be sufficient to alienate the hearts of the young and the ignorant hopelessly from him. The zeal which is regulated by prudence never acts upon a first impulse, or listens to the first promptings of the heart ; but it waits until the fervour of that first impulse has passed away, until that first prompting of the heart has been subjected to the test of reason and of reflection. It calmly calculates the consequences of every measure before adopting it—the result of every word before uttering it. In one word, the man whose zeal is regulated by prudence, is never governed, in his intercourse with others, by merely natural instincts, nor are his acts the manifestations of his merely natural character.

Prudence is equally necessary to enable a man to adapt himself to the various classes of persons to whom his ministry may be addressed. There are some who require to be restrained, others who need to be stimulated and urged on. There are some circumstances in which a man must be sweet and gentle, and know how to console and encourage ; others, in which he must be prompt to reprove and correct. In his dealings with boys, he must be firm when he speaks to them in general, mild and gentle when he addresses anyone in particular. His intercourse with young people of the other sex must be regulated by the very contrary principles : that is to say, when he addresses them in general it must be with the utmost affability and gentleness ; when he has occasion to speak with anyone in particular, he will employ the utmost caution and reserve. And from these brief remarks it is easy to see how essential it is that our dealings with others, especially the young, be regulated by that prudence which knows how to adapt itself to circumstances, that prudence which is the offspring much more of sound sense, than of any mere technical rules or suggestions.

The man whose conduct is regulated by prudence will never be guilty of such an indiscretion as that which is committed by him who, in his dealings with his flock, shows any exception

of persons. It is very natural for one to be more attracted to a child who is handsome and well-dressed, than to one who is ill clad, and who exhibits in his person, his language, and his whole deportment the marks of that poverty and indigence in which he has been reared. Now, if the catechist so far forget himself as to be influenced by these merely human instincts ; if he show more affection for the rich than for the poor, for the well-dressed and genteel than for the shabby or the ragged ; if he speak more gently to the one than to the other ; if he reward the respectable child without being equally liberal to the poor one, who may be just as meritorious, he will inflict an irreparable injury upon the work of his ministry, since he will, by this ill-judged and human preference, infallibly alienate from himself the heart of the child who is thus unjustly slighted and passed by. When the heart is thus alienated, that mutual confidence, which is the foundation of all the good that one man may hope to do another, is inevitably swept away. The children who are thus slighted, because they are poor, and poor without any fault of theirs ; or because they are rough, dirty, or uncouth—and, God help them, how could they be otherwise ?—will be quick to perceive the affront, and as quick to resent it. That sensibility which fills so large a place in the heart of a child, which is so keen in its perception, and so bitterly resentful of contempt or neglect, will be hopelessly wounded, and turned away from the pastor who acts in this unworthy manner. Nor is the sensibility of a child less keen, or his perception of neglect less acute, because he happens to be poor. On the contrary, it is all the more so on this very account. The child—the Catholic child at all events—who is kicked about and buffeted by the world at large ; who scarcely ever sees a kindly look, or listens to a gentle word, turns to its priest with an unwavering confidence, so full, so generous, and so complete, as to seem like a very instinct of its nature. That instinct seems to prompt it to look to him alone in all the world, for sympathy and for equal-handed justice. The little face, so pinched and care-worn, brightens up when he approaches ; and the kind word of encouragement, or of consolation which drops from his lips, is treasured up and remembered with an effusion of grateful recollection which is as precious in itself as it is, in all probability, unthought of and unheeded by him who utters it. The man who does not realize these things—who speaks to the poor child harshly because it is poor—who turns away from it, with ill-disguised disgust, because it is uncouth or badly clad—who fails to see the face that brightens up, and the eye that fills with light, on his approach—who cannot perceive the timid, yet trusting, confi-

dence with which his presence is hailed, and his words received, throws away and rejects a treasure of confidence and love, which is all the more priceless because it is not really his but his Master's—all the more priceless, because if it once be lost it will be lost for ever.

Nor are the evil results which follow from this imprudent exception of persons confined to the children alone. The parents will be equally quick to take offence—to resent the affronts or the slights passed upon their children ; and, on this account, to withdraw their confidence and their obedience from their pastor.

The prudent pastor will avoid these inconveniences, so grave in themselves, and so disastrous in their consequences, by the strict impartiality and the even-handed justice of his dealings with the members of his flock. He will treat all alike. When he rewards the child of wealthy parents, he will reward the poor who may be equally deserving. If he speak to the one, he will address the other in terms no less warm and kind. In one word, as we have already said, if he ever be led to make an exception, it will be in favour of virtue, piety, docility, and obedience alone.

In fine, the prudence of the pastor who possesses this virtue, will manifest itself in the manner in which he will adapt himself and his discourses to the age, the character, the capacity, and the special necessities of his hearers. The froward will be rebuked, and the timid will be encouraged. Those who are doing their best, in spite of ignorance or natural incapacity, will be stimulated and urged to persevere ; whilst those who are abusing or neglecting to cultivate the talents which God has given them, will be reprov'd, and, if reproof be found insufficient, punished. And most especially will this spirit of prudence be shown in the treatment of those delicate subjects which cannot be passed over in silence, but which require the utmost tact, knowledge, and discretion in him who undertakes to speak of them to the young, the ignorant, and the innocent. The prudent man will guide himself in this matter by those rules and principles of action which avoid the two extremes, equally dangerous and pernicious, of saying too much or too little.

JOHN KNOX AND THE FIRST-FRUITS OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

JOHN KNOX, the great father of Presbyterianism, was born in the year 1505, in East Lothian, in Scotland; some say in the little village of Gifford, but according to others near the town of Haddington. His panegyrists describe his parents as *landed gentry*, whilst others contend that they were members of the Guild of St. Crispin. A like uncertainty prevails as to his place of burial. It is generally supposed that he was interred close to St. Giles', Edinburgh, and in the Canongate there have been erected, *sacred to his memory*, a free kirk and a museum. The so-called "John Knox's House" was occupied, until lately, as a barber's shop, and over its door, for a sign, there was a statue of the "Reformer," enclosed in a pulpit, and adorned with a rich-flowing *green beard*.¹

The circumstances of Knox's death, as described by his interested admirers, would recall the dying scene of the Apostle of the Indies, or of St. Francis de Sales; but, as recorded by cotemporary writers, his last moments were far more like the death-bed struggles of Calvin and Queen Elizabeth. His friends assembled around him to receive his dying instructions, but for a long time he could utter no articulate words, his voice sounding like the barking of a dog. When consciousness returned, he dwelt upon the mysteries of some infernal art, and spoke about the war which then menaced with ruin his long-loved kirk. One of the company who had taken the pen to note down his dying words, desisted from writing, thinking that he was in delirium; Knox, however, perceiving it, angrily upbraided him, saying, "thou good-for-nothing man—dost thou distrust thy master?" He then ordered them all to retire for a few minutes, promising to perform a new and unheard-of miracle in confirmation of his preaching. They obeyed, but when after a short interval they returned to his room, they saw, to their utter horror, his deformed corpse lying lifeless on the floor.²

But we must leave for awhile these private scenes of the apostle of the new creed, to consider the public acts of the Presbyterian "Congregation." One of the first great deeds in which the Fathers of Presbyterianism were engaged was a

¹ Gordon's "Scotchchronicon," page 304.

² The authority for the above account of Knox's death is the amanuensis referred to in the text. See Archibald Hamilton, "De Confusione Calvinianae Sectae," page 64, seqq.

conspiracy against the independence of their native land. George Wishart and John Knox were leaders in this plot; the former, however, soon fell a victim to his political intrigues, whilst the latter shared all the struggles of the revolutionary cause, and became the hero of its triumphs.

Henry the Eighth had long looked with a wistful eye towards Scotland. This nation had refused to follow his example by setting aside the faith of its fathers, and had afforded a safe retreat to many who refused to bow down before the novel supremacy of the English monarch. It was eagerly whispered through the Palace that the Protestant interests of England were at stake, so long as an independent Catholic sovereign ruled beyond the border; and at length all the intrigues of Henry and his courtiers were directed to annex Scotland to the English crown, or at least to cripple, by intestine war, the dreaded power of that Catholic state.

David Beaton, Cardinal Legate and Archbishop of St. Andrew's, was the man who at this time guided, with steady hand, the helm of the state in Scotland, and happily baffled all the schemes of its enemies. In 1540, Henry sent from England a "very able minister" to the Scottish court to procure the disgrace of this faithful cardinal, and to represent him as plotting with traitors for the overthrow of the royal throne.¹ The English agent, however, could get no credence for his tale in Edinburgh, and the failure of this attempt increased the power and influence of Beaton. As intrigue had failed to accomplish his ruin, Henry resolved to attain this end by the hand of the assassin. The execution of the foul design was allotted to Crichton, Lord of Brunston, "a man," says Tytler, "in whose character we recognise the ferocity and familiarity with blood which mark the feudal times in which he lived; the cunning and duplicity which are the growth of a more civilized era, and this united to the most revolting feature of all, a deep religious hypocrisy." Sir Alexander Cockburn, one of the chief members of the congregation, was also in the pay of Henry, and eagerly joined in the design of the murder of Beaton. George Wishart, too, was engaged in this plot, and "formed one of the band paid by Henry the Eighth to murder the Cardinal. This has been fully proved, through the correspondence found in the State Paper Office."² Wishart was sent by Crichton to the Earl of Hertford to arrange the details of the plot, and from Hertford went on to London, to communicate in person to Henry the means they had resolved on to ensure success. In the middle of

¹ "Saddler's Letters," page 31—36.

² Gordon's "Scotchchronicon," page 264.

April, 1544, Wishart brought the first offer to Hertford, to "either apprehend or slay" the Cardinal ("State Papers," vol. v. p. 377). The letter of the Privy Council of London to Hertford, sent with Wishart on his return from Henry the Eighth towards the Scottish border, has also been preserved: "These shall be to signify to you that *this bearer Wishart* hath been with the King's Majesty, and, for his credence, declared even the same matters in substance, whereof your lordship hath written hither; and hath received for answer, *touching the feat against the Cardinal*, that in case the lords and gentlemen which he named, shall enterprize the same earnestly, and do the best they can, to the uttermost of their power, to bring the same to pass indeed, and thereupon not being able to continue longer in Scotland, shall be enforced to fly unto this realm for refuge, His Highness will be contented to accept them, and relieve them as shall appertain. For their desire to have the entertainment of a certain number of men at His Highness's charges, promising thereupon to covenant with His Majesty in writing, under their seals, to burn and destroy the abbots', bishops', and other kirkmen's lands, His Majesty hath answered that, forasmuch as his army shall be, by the grace of God, entered into Scotland and ready to return again before His Highness can send down to them and they send again, His Highness thinks the time too short to commune any further in it after this sort. But if they mind effectually to burn and destroy as they have offered, and therein will give hostages, His Highness will take order that you shall deliver unto them one thousand pounds sterling" (Letter of Privy Council to Hertford: Haines' *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 22.) The following year the proposal was again made by the same lords to Henry the Eighth, to murder Beaton without the alternative of apprehending him. To this Sir Ralph Sadler replied in the name of the King, that this feat would be "*not only acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland.*"—*State Papers*, vol. v. pp. 449-471. The king received Wishart warmly, expressed "much satisfaction, and approved of the plot." Wishart returned in joy to Scotland; but as he tarried for a few days at Ormiston, the seat of Sir Alexander Cockburn, he was arrested by order of Beaton, and being found guilty of heresy and many other crimes, was led to the stake on the 2nd of March, 1546. Such was the man whose name is revered in the "Scottish Annals," and to whom triumphant Presbyterianism in later times has decreed all the honours of a martyr.

Although the leading agent in the foul plot of assassination was thus removed, the conspirators were encouraged from

England not to relax their efforts till they had attained the great object at which they aimed. At length, on the 29th of May, 1546, Cardinal Beaton fell a victim by the daggers of the assassins; and his mangled body, treated with every indignity, was suspended from the windows of the castle of St. Andrew's. Eighty years afterwards the stains of his blood remained still fresh and indelible on the castle wall. Thus, the mainstay of religion in Scotland, and the master mind of national independence, received the martyr's crown.¹ All writers agree that Cardinal Beaton was one of the greatest men of whom Scotland can justly boast. Gordon, in his "*Scotichronicon*," though admitting, without any proof, all the calumnies uttered by Knox against the martyred prelate, yet adds: "Cardinal Beaton was one of the greatest men Scotland ever produced, and he was certainly the most distinguished person of his time in the kingdom. He possessed the highest abilities, great eloquence, and was of a remarkably dignified, elegant, and winning appearance."² And even Froude, the panegyrist of Knox, and the avowed enemy of all who sustained the Catholic cause in Scotland, writes, "Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, approached nearly to the ideal of the Romanist statesmen of the age. Devoted to the Pope and to the Papacy, he served his master with the unvarying consistency, with the mingled passion and calmness, which, beyond all other known institutions, the Roman Church has the power of imparting to its votaries. . . . His courage was as matchless as his subtlety; his accomplishments as exquisite as his intellect."³

Knox had long been an intimate friend of Wishart. He even armed himself with a sword for the protection of this arch-conspirator, and at the time of the arrest at Ormiston was in his company, and expressed a readiness to share his fortunes. Wishart, however, knew too well the fate that was in store for him, and his words to Knox have been preserved: "Gang home to your bairns; ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."⁴

We next meet with the Father of Presbyterianism in the castle of St. Andrew's, cheering on the assassins of the Cardinal. Having seized upon the castle, and made prisoner

¹ Several letters of Cardinal Beaton, written a short time before his death, will be found in Theiner's "*Monumenta Vaticana Scotorum*," &c., page 613, seqq.; also a letter of the Governor of Scotland to the Pope, announcing the Cardinal's death.—*Ibid.*, page 618.

² Page 279.

³ "*History of England*," vol. iv., page 213.

⁴ Froude "*History of England*," vol. iv., page 472.

there the son of the governor of the kingdom, they unfurled the standard of revolt, set at defiance the royal power, and openly avowed that they owed allegiance only to the English monarch. It was whilst joined with these assassins in St. Andrew's that Knox was elected chief preacher of the "congregation." He was proposed for this novel Apostolate by a degraded priest named John Rough, who solemnly assured the other members of the "congregation" that *this call was from God*. The proposal was carried by acclamation, although Knox wept and affected to shrink from the great mission that was tendered to him. In a few months, however, the Regent's forces, seconded by a French fleet, compelled the rebellious garrison to surrender; and Knox, with the other chief conspirators, were led away to France, and sentenced to join the galley-slaves on the banks of the Loire, near the old city of Nantes.

Through the intercession of some leading men in Scotland, Knox was after awhile restored to liberty, and, with the title of chaplain to King Edward the Sixth of England, received a benefice in Berwick. Here, violating his sacerdotal vows, he availed himself of his "new-gospel" rights, and chose two concubines, a mother and her daughter, to share his domestic happiness.¹

When Queen Mary ascended the throne of England, Knox's mission in Berwick was brought abruptly to a close. He fled penniless to Dieppe, and thence made his way to Geneva, where Calvin now embraced with open arms all who waged war against the Holy See. In a short time he was fortunate enough to obtain an appointment as preacher to the British exiles in Frankfort, but here, again, his violent language involved him in grave troubles. Accused of high treason against the Emperor of Germany, the magistrates of Frankfort forbade him to preach, and Knox, ever anxious to consult for his own safety, hastened back to the embraces of his evangelical father in Geneva.

The Queen Regent of Scotland, anxious to oppose the interests of Queen Mary of England, deemed it expedient to conciliate the members of the "congregation," and to smooth down, by a general toleration, the religious difficulties which had been raised up by the new-gospel tenets. Knox resolved to avail himself of the advantages thus offered to his evangelical designs, and secretly returned to Scotland.

¹ This fact is attested by Father Baillie, Dr. Laing, Archibald Hamilton, Nichol Byrne, and other cotemporary writers. A MS. in Barberini Archives, Rome, (vii. 210), presented to the Holy See during the reign of Elizabeth, speaks of John Knox as a "Sacerdos Scotus ob incestus infamiam et alia gravissima scelera multo antea proscriptus."

Public meetings were soon held, denouncing as idolatrous the tenets of the Catholic Church; and Knox carried his insolence and boldness so far as to urge the Queen Regent herself to lend a favourable ear to his harangues.

Warned by his friends of some impending danger, he again sought refuge in Geneva. The day after his flight a summons was issued for his arrest; the accusation set forth his many deeds of misdemeanour and treason, and, on his non-appearance he was condemned and burned in effigy at the high cross of Edinburgh.

The assassins of Cardinal Beaton, however, continued silently their intrigues. Partly by the hope of plunder, partly by the prospect of high honours under a new government, many of the nobility were gained over to their views. The succession of Elizabeth to the crown of England strengthened their confidence, in aid of money and arms from across the border; and so emboldened had they become, that when some preachers were summoned before the court to answer for their behaviour in Stirling, the "Congregation of the Lord" (such was the title that was now assumed) resolved to accompany them with an armed body-guard to preserve them, it was alleged, from anticipated violence, but in reality to intimidate and coerce the Queen Regent.

The plot was now mature; the leaders of the "congregation" had all their preparations made to unsheathe the sword, and letters were addressed to Knox urging him to return once more from Geneva to Scotland, to fan by his fierce harangues the frenzy of their sworn followers. He obeyed the summons, and arrived at Leith on the 2nd of May, 1559. Two nights were spent in Edinburgh arranging the plans of future action, and then he hastened on to Dundee, the head-quarters of the conspirators. It was on the 11th of May, the day after the leading "Lords of the Congregation" had been denounced as rebels, that Knox at length publicly entered the pulpit of St. John's church, Perth, and by his sermon on idolatry sounded the tocsin of rebellion and heresy, which soon found an echo throughout all Scotland. The clergy of the church, overwhelmed with grief at the exhibition they had witnessed, and the sentiments they had heard uttered by the heretical innovator, gathered around the altar to expiate his offence, and to offer their prayers to God. The altar was surmounted by an exquisitely carved crucifix, which was held in great veneration by the faithful, and behind it was a rich painting of the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, which was now uncovered. No sooner, however, were the tapers lighted around the altar, and the prayers of the church intoned, than

the hired agents of the "congregation," who had come from Dundee well trained and prepared for every eventuality, cried out "Away with this idolatry." A stone flung at the painting of St. Bartholomew was the signal for a general attack. The followers of Knox rushed to the altar, assailed the priests, tore off their sacred vestments, broke the crucifix to pieces; the altar itself was speedily demolished; and before their fury abated, all the paintings, vestments, sacred utensils, and everything religious throughout the church was destroyed.¹ Yet, this was only the commencement of the outbreak. Associates poured in from the surrounding country to aid in the unholy work. In two days all the chapels of Perth were wrecked, the monasteries of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites were plundered and reduced to ruin; even the magnificent Charter-house, the only Carthusian establishment in the kingdom, could not be spared. The mob cried out that "no men of Belial and slaves of Jezabel" should be allowed to remain; rushing on to the noble edifice they burst open the massive gates with a large wooden cross, which they pulled out of the ground near the walls, and in a few hours the monastery was razed to the ground.

Knox, in his "History of the Reformation," does not conceal the atrocities committed in Perth by these sacrilegious plunderers; but he excuses them, and calms his own conscience, by saying that the rich stores of the monasteries presented a strong temptation to the pious burglars. He forgets to add, however, that the monasteries of the religious orders were the store-houses of the poor, and that their supplies were not intended so much for the religious, as for wayfarers, who, whether noble or plebeian, were alike charitably housed and entertained there.

The example of Perth was quickly followed by the Reformers of Cupar Fife, where a Dominican Convent for Nuns, dedicated to St. Catherine of Sienna, with its fine chapel, was ruthlessly ransacked, and reduced to a heap of ruins. On the 9th of June, 1559, Knox, accompanied with "the Lords of the Congregation," and his *rascal multitude*, as he himself lovingly styled them, went on to Crail, a small seaport only ten miles south of St. Andrew's, which was enriched with a collegiate church. Here the sermon on idolatry was repeated, followed by the same results. The fishermen of Crail soon vied with Knox's followers in the work of pillage and demolition. Altars, images, and holy things, which had for ages been consecrated

¹ Keith's "History, &c.," page 223, and "Sketches from Scenes in Scotland," by Colonel Murray.

to God, were wantonly smashed, profaned, and pilfered.¹ On the morrow, Knox, with his banditti, marched along the Fife coast, westward to the Burgh of Anstruther, which was also adorned with a noble church.² The same sentiments were here repeated by the Reformer; and the broken rows of arches long attested how well his work was done.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, finding that the storm approached, and having only 100 men at his command, fled from the city on the morning of Sunday, the 11th of June. That day Knox marched to the Cathedral of St. Andrew's, and mounting the pulpit, repeated his denunciations against idolatry, and compared his own mission to that of our Divine Lord, whilst whipping the buyers and sellers out of the temple. For three days he kept up, with unabated frantic gesticulation, a series of such inflammatory harangues. The result is easily told—"The fine cathedral, the building of which occupied 160 years—the Metropolitan Church of Scotland, in which prelates, nobles, and illustrious individuals were interred—was gutted, and reduced to a melancholy ruin, which may be justly termed *Knox's Monument*. . . . Not only did the mob spoil the Cathedral Church, but every church in the city, levelling the Priory and the Monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars. Demoniack possession had become an epidemic."³

Alarmed at the scenes of riot which had accompanied such fearful sacrilege, the royal troops were ordered to take the field for the maintenance of public order, and the defence of the lives of peaceful subjects. They marched to Cupar Moor, but there they were met by the army of the "Congregation," which now numbered three thousand fighting men, and was commanded by Lord James Stuart, the most skilful general in Scotland. The Queen Regent feared to risk a battle, and it was arranged that Commissioners should be appointed to enquire into all matters of dispute between the "Congregation" and the Crown.

In the meantime the fine Abbey of Scone was devoted to destruction. Situated about two miles north of Perth, where

¹ See Knox's own letters, ap. M'Crie, page 545, seqq. In a letter of June 23, 1559, he thus describes the manner in which he *reformed* (this is his phrase) *the Abbey of Lindores*—"Their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatry, and Mass-books we burned in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits." Kirkaldy, who was an active agent in the work, wrote on the 1st of July, 1559, to Sir Henry Percy: "The manner of proceeding is this: they pull down all manner of friars' houses, and some abbeys which willingly receive not the reformation; as to parish churches, they cleanse them of images, &c.; and command that no Masses be said in them."—"Scotch MSS., Rolls House, ap. Froude, vii., 116.

² Gordon's "Scotichronicon," page 307.

³ *Ibid.*, page 308.

now stands the castle of the Earls of Mansfield, this abbey was one of the most venerable of Scotland, and in it the Scottish Kings had been crowned from very early times. A mob from Dundee now vowed its destruction; they first plundered and sacked it; fire was then applied to the ruin, and thus amidst the frantic shouts and exultations of the first Presbyterian Elders, this historic abbey was completely destroyed. No wonder that even Knox should deem it necessary to apologise for this lawless outrage: "Neither the principal lords and gentlemen," he says, "nor even I myself, was able to stop that religious, or rather irreligious fury."

So far, however, were the "Lords of the Congregation" and Knox from seeking to allay the irreligious fury which they had so wantonly kindled, that the very day after the burning of Scone, two of the leading members of the Congregation proceeded with some followers to Stirling, to stir up the populace there to pull down its religious houses. This old burgh had some noble churches and monasteries of considerable wealth and importance. The citizens guarded the Franciscan Church, and it alone was saved. All the other churches and monasteries,¹ with the altars, paintings, statues, and sacred ornaments, were, in the language of the times, swept with the besom of destruction. About a mile from Stirling was the magnificent Royal Abbey of Cambuskenneth, beautifully situated on the north bank of the Forth. In the course of one day the whole was dismantled and reduced to a mass of ruins, except the great tower, which is still to be seen in solitary grandeur—an imposing monument amid the gorgeous surrounding scenery.² The only article the irreligious bandits were anxious to preserve was the bell of the abbey. They placed it in a boat, intending to convey it to Stirling, there to turn it to their private advantage, but its weight sank the boat, and the ancient bell of Cambuskenneth Abbey still rests in the bed of the Forth.

After three days abode at Stirling, the Presbyterian mob set forward towards the capital, "for reformation to be made there likewise," as Knox himself assures us. Half way they halted at Linlithgow, to renew their deeds of robbery and vandalism. The Queen fled in terror from Edinburgh, and the mob, anticipating the arrival of Knox, sacked all the monasteries within the city. Knox says, "*We* arrived the 29th of June," but such devastation had been made, that "*we* were the less troubled in putting order to such places." A contemporary record assures us that Edinburgh presented one

¹ Froude (vii. 116,) adds that "the Abbeyes (at Stirling), even to the very gardens, were destroyed in the presence, and by the order of Argyle and Lord James."

² Gordon's "Scotchchronicon," page 310.

vast scene of riot and plunder—" *All Kirkmen's goods and gear were spulyeit and reft fra them in every place where the samyn culd be apprehendit; for every man, for the maist pairt, that culd get any thing pertenyng to any Kirkmen, thocht the same as weel won gear.*"¹ Even the Chapel Royal had to share in the common ruin. Its paintings and costly ornaments were torn away, and cast into the fire; whilst its superb altar vessels were seized on for the private family use of the Presbyterian Elders.

Such were the first scenes enacted in the name of Presbyterian Reformation in Scotland. They rivalled and surpassed the irreligious deeds of the English Reformers; and the Protestant Bishop Keith acknowledges that "the wounds thus given to the civil, as well as ecclesiastical authority, are rather a scandal than an ornament both to our reformation and its authors."²

One who a few years later was driven from Scotland by the same storm, has vividly described the use to which the plundered monasteries were now converted. "Truly (thus writes Father Alexander Baillie in 1628), among all their deeds and devices, the casting down of the churches was the most foolish and furious work, the most shrewd and execrable turn that even Hornok himself could have done or devised. For, beyond all doubt, that great grandfather of Calvin, and old enemy of mankind, not only inspired every one of those sacrilegious hell-hounds with his flaming spirit of malice and blasphemy as he did their forefathers, Luther and Calvin, but also was then present, as master of work, busily beholding his servants and hirelings, working his will, and bringing to pass his long-desired contentment. They changed the churches, which God himself called His house of prayer, into filthy and abominable houses of sensual men, yea, and of irrational beasts; as, for instance, they made stables in Holyrood house, sheep-houses of St. Anthony's and St. Leonard's chapels, tollbooths of St. Giles', &c., which this day may be seen to the great grief and sorrow of all good Christians, to the shame and confusion of Edinburgh, and to the everlasting damnation of the doers thereof, the seditious ministers, Knox and his accomplices."³

¹ "Diurnal of Occurrents." page 269.

² "History of Church and State in Scotland," Vol. I., page 250.

³ The decay of the Churches in England was not less striking: "Systematic irreverence had intruded into the churches; carelessness and irreligion had formed an unnatural alliance with Puritanism. . . . The parish churches themselves, those amazing monuments of early piety, built by men who themselves lived in clay hovels, while they lavished their taste, their labour, and their wealth on the House of God, were still dissolving into ruin. The roofs were breaking into holes; the stained whitewash was crumbling off the damp walls, revealing the half-effaced remains of the frescoed stories of the saints; the painted glass was gone from the windows; the wind and the rain swept through the dreary aisles; while in the churchyards swine rooted up the graves."—Froude, vol. viii., page 92.

What would our Saviour say, if He were now entering in at St. Giles', and looking to bare walls and pillars clad with dust sweepings and cobwebs, instead of paintings and tapestry? and on every side beholding the restless resorting of people, treating of worldly affairs, some writing and making obligations, contracts, and discharges, others laying counts or telling over sums of money, and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandize and the laws, and too many, alas, about drinking, yea, and perhaps worse than I can imagine. . . . And turning him farther towards the west end of the Church, which is divided in a high house for the College of Justice, called the Session or Senate House, and a lower house, called the Low Tollbooth, where the bailies of the town sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of criminals enclosed in the other. And these, I mean, if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where altars were erected, and sacrifices, with continual prayers and praises were wont to be offered up to the Lord, in remembrance of that bloody sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, there now nothing is heard but banning and swearing, and every one upbraiding another. Oh, what grief and sorrow would our Lord take at the beholding of such profanation and sacrilege."¹

What little remained untouched by the first Fathers of the Kirk was sure to meet its fate from the spirit of pillage and demolition which was perpetuated in their children. "To make a dyke or fill a drain, or to erect a staring abomination of a new mansion-house, the grey ancestral tower was triumphantly blown down with gunpowder. The mean barn was supplied with its lintels and corner stones from the mouldings of the little chapel where their forefathers worshipped. It is but fifty years since an Edinburgh architect, employed to repair the nave of the Cathedral at Brechin, still used as a Parish Kirk, begged earnestly for leave to remove *that useless old tower* which darkened a window. This was *the Round Tower* of Brechin, of mysterious antiquity—the connecting link of Irish and Scotch History."²

With the monasteries of Scotland were destroyed the noble libraries, and the collection of manuscripts gathered with so much industry, and so long faithfully guarded in these asylums of science, as of religion. Much has been written of the sad use to which most precious MSS. were devoted by these worse than vandal innovators. Bale, Protestant Bishop of Ossory,

¹ "True Information," &c., by Rev. A. Baillie, Wurtzburg, 1628.

² "Quarterly Review," No. 89, page 44. "Scotichronicon," page 313.

the special friend of Knox, assures us that "a great number of those who purchased these superstitious mansions, reserved the library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots: some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships-full. I know a merchant, who shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price—a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of grey paper for the space of more than these ten years, and yet hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred by all men who love their nation as they should do." Mr. Wyatt, in his able essay on the Art of Illuminating, adds to these words his own important reflection, that "cupidity and intolerance destroyed recklessly and ignorantly. Thus, after the dissolution of the monastic establishments, persons were appointed to search out all missals, books of legends, and such *superstitious books*, and to destroy, or sell them for waste paper, reserving only their bindings, when, as was frequently the case, they were ornamented with massive gold and silver, curiously chased, and often further enriched with precious stones; and so industriously had these men done their work, destroying all books in which they considered Popish tendencies to be shown by the illumination, the use of red letters, or of the cross, or even by the—to them—mysterious diagrams of mathematical works, that when, some years later, Leland was appointed to examine the monastic libraries with a view to the preservation of what was valuable in them, he found that those who had preceded him, had left little to reward his search."¹

We have as yet barely touched on the first fruits of Knox's irreligious mission; we must reserve till the next "Record," our remarks on his subsequent career.

(To be continued.)

RUBRICAL QUESTIONS.

WE have been asked—

Is it lawful to separate the *ceremonies* of baptism from the *Sacrament*, when the infant is not in danger of death?"

We cannot better answer this question than by presenting to our readers the petition addressed by the zealous bishop of Southwark to His Holiness, through the S. Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, and the decision of the S. Congregation of

¹ "The Art of Illuminating," page 43.

the Holy Office, which was sent to him in reply, both of which are inserted in the Acts of the Diocesan Synod of Southwark, held on 15th June, 1869:—

“Most Holy Father,

“In several of the dioceses of France it is usual, even when the cause of danger of death in the child, as recognised by the ritual, does not appear to divide the *ondoyement* (or baptism with water) from the ceremonies of the sacrament, which are supplied even after some years have passed, with solemnity, especially when it is possible to assemble the relatives, and rich or noble sponsors, and other family circumstances present themselves. Thus, in my diocese, to the French missions of the islands of which French Catholics come, the case often recurs of families by whom this separation is asked on account of the custom of France, and of the necessity of securing the soul of the child until the solemnities of the sacrament can be added. Wherefore, wishing to obey the mind of the church, I ask:—

“1.—Is it lawful, with the leave of the bishop, to allow to families the separation of the ceremonies prescribed by the ritual, when the probable death of the child does not furnish cause for such separation?

“2.—When children who, not being in danger of death, have been baptized in France, are brought, must the ceremonies be supplied after an interval, since the baptism, of several months or even years?

“Feria IV., die 10 Septembris, 1863.

“In congregatione generali habita in conventu S. Mariæ supra Minervam coram EE. et RR. DD. S.R.E. Cardinalibus contra hæreticam pravitatem in tota Republica Christiana Inquisitoribus Generalibus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, et præhabito voto consultorum, iidem EE. et RR. D.D. rescribi mandarunt.

“Ad. 1. R.P.D. Episcopus stet Rituali Romano et consulat Institutionem Ecclesiasticam 98, Benedicti XIV.

“Ad. 2. Affirmative, dummodo certo constet Baptismum fuisse collatum.

“ANGELUS ARGENTI, S.R., et U.I., Notarius.

“L. ✠ S.”

THE FOLLOWING IS AN EXTRACT FROM THE “INSTITUTIO” OF BENEDICT XIV., REFERRED TO IN THE ABOVE DECISION OF THE S. CONGREGATION.

“In the first place, it is unlawful to baptize a child in a private house, without necessity. In the second place, a necessity is invented where it does not exist, the only admitted

necessity being that of the danger of the death of the child. In the third place, the pouring of the water is detached from the other ceremonies, which, save in the case of necessity, cannot be done without grievous sin, as is shown by the authors quoted by Romaguerra, ad Syn. Gerund I., iii., c. 2. In the fourth place, a way is opened to the omission, from which, perhaps, some amount of contempt is not always absent, of the holy ceremonies of baptism, which were instituted by the Apostles, and which have been always observed in the church." (A few instances are then given of special leave being granted in particular cases, to defer some of the ceremonies on account of Oriental prejudices).

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the "Monasticon" is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

805. The blessed Gormgal, the son of Dinnagaich, abbot of Armagh, and also of Cluaineoais,^w died this year.^x

806. The abbot Conmach, the son of Dubdaeth, died suddenly.^y

808. St. Torbach, abbot and bishop, and also reader of divinity and a learned scribe, died on the 16th of July, when

^wNow called Clounish, in the county of Monaghan. ^xO'Flah. *supr.* *id.* ^y*Id.*

(Continuation of Note 16, from page 452.)

complained of their grievance to the King, and the King, *i.e.*, Aedh, said that he would abide by the award of Fothadh-na-Canoine; on which occasion Fothadh passed the decision by which he exempted the clergy of Ireland for ever from expeditions and hostings, when he said:—

The church of the living God, let her alone, waste her not;
Let her right be apart, as best it ever was.
Every true monk who is of a pure conscience,
For the church to which it is due let him labour like every servant.
Every soldier from that out, who is without [religious] rule or obedience,
Is permitted to aid the great Aedh, son of Niall.
This is the true rule, neither more nor less:
Let every one serve in his vocation without murmur or complaint."

his festival is kept. He was the son of Gorman, of the family of Kinel-torbaich, *i.e.*, the O'Kelly's.^z

The abbot Toctech Hua Tigernaich, of Tirimchclair, died the same year.^a

812. Nuadhat, of Loch Vamha,^b 17 anachorite, and abbot and bishop of Armagh, went into Connaught this year, and died February the 19th.^c

814. Died Cumascac, son of Kernaigh, and œconomist of Armagh.^d

825. Died the abbot Flangus M'Loingseach.^e

826. Eogan Monasteriensis succeeded him.^f

829. Died Subneus, the son of Farnech; he enjoyed his dignity only two months; he had been abbot of Darinis.^g

Kethernac, the son of Dunchan, divinity lecturer and presbyter of Armagh, died the same year; he was honoured with the epithet of THE WISE.^h

831. Died Rectgal, the son of Subney, and a presbyter of Armagh.ⁱ

832. Died the abbot Artrigius;¹⁸ he was the son of Conchovar.^k Farannan succeeded him. And this year the Danes plundered the town thrice in one month; they carried away the reliques and all the other treasures, and obliged the abbot to seek an asylum in Munster.^l

834. Died the abbot Eogan.^m

Colgan says, that Farannan of Rath-mic-malus was chosen abbot this year;ⁿ but O'Flaherty says, that there was no change till the year 848.

835. Farannan, the abbot, happening, with his attending clergy, to be in the church of Kildare, Fethlimium, the son of Crimthan, violently entered that abbey, and seizing upon Farannan, carried him and his clergy into captivity.^o

Colgan tells us, that Diermit, being drove from his seat this year, made a progress into Connaught, to establish there the law of St. Patrick.^p

^z O'Flah. *sup.* Tr. Th. *ibid.* Act. SS. p. 373. ^aTr. Th. *ibid.* ^bLough Gaun, in the county of Longford, barony of Granard. ^cO'Flah. *sup.* Tr. Th. *ibid.* Act. SS. p. 359, 373. ^dTr. Th. *ibid.* ^eId. ^fId. p. 295, ^gO'Flah. *sup.* Tr. Th. *ibid.* ^hTr. Th. p. 295. ⁱId. ^kId. ^lOgygia p. 43. *Annal Inisfal.* ^mO'Flah. *sup.* Tr. Th. *ibid.* ⁿTr. Th. *ibid.* ^oId. ^pId.

¹⁷ The word Loch-Vamha signifies *Lake of the Cave*. The situation of this Lake has not been fully identified, though it must have been well known in the days of Colgan, who describes it as follows:—"Est in finibus Breffniæ occidentalis sive inferioris, quæ Breffne, -Hi-Ruairc appellatur, hic lacus e vicina quadam specu, unde et *Loch-namha*, *i.e.*, lacus specus appellatur, exoriens, et in eamdem sæpe prodigiose refluens: quod indigenæ observant passim contingere quando illius regionis Dynastis, eorumque filiis mortis imminet periculum."—"Acta SS." p. 373.

¹⁸ Artrigius is made by Ware to succeed Mac Longsech in 822, and sit for eleven years; but Eogan, of Monasterboice, who had the support of Nial Caille, King of Aileach, appears to have disturbed him in the possession of the see.

838. Another change happened at Armagh, Diermit Hua Tigernaich¹⁹ being this year chosen abbot in the place of Farannan; but O'Flaherty will not agree to this.^a

839. The Danes burned the town and all its sacred edifices to the ground.^r

841. Died Muredach M'Ernaigh, œconomist of Armagh.^s

844. Died the sage and excellent Ferdornach,²⁰ or Dominic, divinity lecturer of this church.^t

848. The abbot Farannan was made captive at Cloncomardy²¹ by the Danes, and was carried, with all his family, reliques, and books, to their ships at Limerick; and Diermit, called the wisest of all the doctors in Europe, was chosen to succeed the unfortunate Farannan.^u

849. A public convention was celebrated at this town by Malachy, son of Malruan, King of Ireland, the nobility of Lethcunn,^w and by Madagan, King of Ulster, with the nobles of that province; they were accompanied by the abbot Diermit and Fethgna, with the clergy of Armagh, and by Suarlech of Indedhnen,²² with the clergy of Meath.^x

850. Armagh was laid waste by the Danes of Linnduachuil,²³ on the Sunday after Easter.^y But the "Annals of Ulster" place this event on Easter-day, in 851, and the "Annals of Inisfall" remove it to the year 852.

852. The abbot Farannan died in his captivity this year, as did Diermit his successor.^z

854. Died Cathasac, the wise and very learned œconomist of Armagh; he was the son of Tigernach.^a

860. Died Murgesius, anachorite of Armagh.^b

861. Died Moel Patrick,²⁴ or Patrick, the son of Fianchon; he was a learned writer, and a bishop and anachorite, and was intended for the government of this abbey.^c

867. Died Flann,²⁵ son of Ferchar; he was œconomist of Armagh, and abbot of Linnlere.^d

^aTr. Th. ^rId. p. 295. ^sId. ^tId. ^uM'Geog. Act. SS. p. 295. Usher Ogygia. ^wThe Northern Division of Ireland. ^xTr. Th. p. 295. Id. p. 295. ^yId. ^zId. ^bId. ^cAct. SS. p. 366. ^dId.

¹⁹ The "Annals of Ulster" have, at 834, "The changing of abbots in Ardmacha, viz., Forannan of Rath-Malius, in place of Dermot Ua Tiernaig."

²⁰ S. Ferdornach is given in the "Mart. of Tallaght" under the date 10th June.

²¹ Cloncomardy: not identified.

²² Indedhnen: this place is in the territory of Bregia, not far from Slane.

²³ Linnduachuil, or Linn-Uachaille, now Magheralin, on the river Lagan, about five miles north-west of Dromore, in the county of Down.

²⁴ Moel-Patrick is supposed by Colgan (Acta SS. p. 366) to be the same as St. Patricius Ostiarius, who is styled bishop by St. Ængusius, and abbot of Armagh by the "Martyrology of Tallaght." The interpolator of William of Malmesbury speaks of him as having flourished as bishop in Ireland about the year 850.

²⁵ Linnlere, or Laein-Leire, now the old church of Lyn, on the east side of Lough Ennell, in the barony of Faltullagh, county of Westmeath.

873. Amlave, at the head of his Danes, entered Armagh, and plundered and reduced the town to ashes, and desperately wounded and massacred above a thousand of the unarmed clergy and people.^e

876. Moelcova, the son of Cronnmaclus, and who afterwards was abbot, and Moctee, anachorite, scribe, and master of the schools of Armagh, were taken prisoners by the Danes of Lochcuan.^{f g}

879. Anmire was abbot; having enjoyed the dignity for the space of nine months only, he died and was succeeded by Moelcova, the son of Crumal.^h

883. The abbot Moelcova sunk into the grave under the infirmities of old age.ⁱ

889. A tumult happened in this town on Whitsunday between the people of Kinel-eoguin^k and the Ulidians,^l which was at length appeased by the archbishop Malgibrigid, who compelled the Ulidians, for their irreverence to the church of God and to St. Patrick, to give him hostages and 210 oxen; they hung up four of the delinquents, and the other party consented to give the same satisfaction.^m

890. Gluniarm, at the head of the Danes of Dublin, despoiled this town, partly destroying the great church, and levelling to the ground divers other edifices, and carrying away captive 710 of the inhabitants.ⁿ

892. Died the blessed Mocta, anachorite and divinity lecturer of Armagh; he had been a disciple of St. Fethgna.^{o 26} The same year died Cathasac, the son of Fergus, a very devout young man, and coadjutor to the abbot; and also Comsudius, the son of Ectgath, a principal presbyter.^p

893. The Danes of Loughfoyle ravaged this town.^q

895. It suffered the same fate from the Danes of Dublin.^r

896. Died the abbot Cassach.^s

898. Died St. Kellach, the son of Sarguss, anachorite of Armagh;^t and the same year the barbarians of Lochfoyle plundered the town.^u

898-9. Died Breassal, the lecturer in divinity.^w

904. Died Cumasach, œconomist of Armagh; his father was named Alid, and his mother was Gormlathia, a daughter of Muredach, King of Ulster.^x The same year Cearnachan M'Dowlegan committed great ravages and cruelties here; he

^eO'Flah. *sup. Tr. Th. ibid.* ^fNow called the Lough of Strangford. ^gTr. Th. p. 295. ^hO'Flah. *supr. Tr. Th. id.* ⁱTr. Th. p. 296. ^kThe county of Tyrone. ^lThe county of Down. ^mTr. Th. p. 296. ⁿId. ^oO'Flah. *Tr. Th. ibid.* ^pIbid. ^qId. ^rId. ^sAnnal. Ulton. ^tTr. Th. *ibid.* ^uAnnal. Inisfal. ^wO'Flah. *sup. Tr. Th. ibid.* ^xId. and *id. ibid.*

²⁶St. Fethgna is mentioned in the "Mart. of Donegal," under 12th February: "Fethgna, successor of Patrick, head of the religion of the Gaoidhil, A.D. 872."

took a member of the house and drowned him in Loughkyrre, a pool beside the west of the town; but soon after Cearnachan was taken by Neale Glunduffe and drowned in the same Lough, for thus violating the town dedicated to the apostle of Ireland.^y

907. Cormac M'Cuillenan, King of Munster, and archbishop, about this time did bequeath to the abbey 24 ounces of gold.^z

914. Armagh was destroyed by fire.^a

919. Godfred Hua Himhair, King of the Danes in Dublin, plundered the town, sparing only the churches, the Colidei, and the sick;^b but the "Annals of Inisfall" place this event in the year 921.

922. Died Moctee of the Isle,²⁷ the son of Kernachan, and presbyter of Armagh.^c

924. Died Muredach, the son of Domnald, and coadjutor to the abbot.^d

925. Died the abbot St. Malbrigid,²⁸ he was son of Tornan.^e

^y*M'Geogh.* ^z*Keating.* ^a*Tr. Th. p. 296.* ^b*Id.* ^c*Act. SS. p. 732.* ^d*Tr. Th. p. 296.* ^e*Id.*

²⁷ Moctee, or Mochta of the Isle, *i.e.*, Inis-Mochta, now Inishinot, in a parish of the same name, in the barony of Slane, and county of Meath. The ruins of the church of Inis-Mochta are still to be seen on a spot of ground containing about two acres, which was formerly an island, and is now surrounded by low, marshy ground, which is always flooded in winter. According to O'Clery's "Irish Calendar," the feast of this saint was kept here on the 26th of March. St. Mochta of Louth is venerated on 24th March and 19th August.

²⁸ The death of this great saint is thus mentioned by the "Four Masters," A.D. 925:—"St. Maelbrighde, son of Tornan, successor of Patrick, Colum Cille, and Adamnan, head of the piety of all Ireland, and of the greater part of Europe, died, at a good old age, on the 22nd of February, in commemoration of whose death it was said:—

On the eighth of the calends of noble March,
Maelbrighde, most gifted of the brave Gaedhil [died]
Since the Divine Son of God was born
Upon the earthly world in carnal shape,
Five years and twenty, nine hundred,
To the death of Maelbrighde in evil hour.
It was not a year without events;
Premature the death of the Abbot of Ard-Macha,
Maelbrighde, head of Europe."

In the "Martyrology of Donegal," under 22nd February, we have:—"Maelbrighde, son of Dornan, successor of Patrick and of Colum Cille; a man full of the grace of God, and a vessel of the wisdom and knowledge of his time. He was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall. Saerlaith, daughter of Coulebaith, son of Baothghel, was his mother.—A.D. 925."

He was called comharb of St. Patrick, from holding the see of Armagh; comarb of St. Colum Cille from having held that of Derry; and comharb of St. Adamnan from having governed Raphoe.—See Colgan, "Act. SS." 22nd February.

926. The blessed Dubhliter,²⁰ of Kil-slepte, and presbyter of Armagh, was put to death by the Danes of Snamhaighneagh.^f

931. Amlaff, the son of Godefrid, with the Danes of Loughcuain, plundered this town on the eve of St. Martin.^g

933. Conchovar, who was presumptive heir to the throne of Oilcach,^h died this year, and was interred here with great pomp.ⁱ

936. Died Joseph and Moyle Patrick, esteemed the two sages of Ireland; they were worthy successors of St. Patrick, as abbots and bishops, anachorites, and scribes; the latter of them enjoyed the abbacy five months only.^k

943. The Danes of Dublin plundered this town.^l

945. Died Cathasach, the son of Guasan; he was lecturer of this abbey.^m

948. Died Finnachta, the son of Ectigern; he was abbot, bishop, and lecturer of Louth, and principal proctor for the church of Armagh, in the southern part of the province.ⁿ

950. Died Kelius, the anachorite of Armagh.^o

951. Died Moelpatric, the son of Coscan, lecturer of this abbey.^p

954. Died Moenach; he was lecturer of this abbey and abbot of Clonard.^q

955. Muredach of Mountcuilleand was deposed, and Dubdaleth, the second abbot of that name, was chosen in his place.^r

980. Domnall O'Neill, monarch of Ireland, having retired to this abbey, died therein very penitently.^s And Connang Hua Flannagan, the archidnach of the hospital, died the same year.^t

983. Died Muredacd Hua Flannagan, the professor of this abbey.^u

989. The people of Uriell pillaged this town, and set fire, with effect, to the houses, church, and steeple; Armagh became at this time the most melancholy spectacle in the kingdom.^w

994. Died Clerchen, the son of Leran, a presbyter of Armagh.^x

995. The town, churches, and towers having been rebuilt, were destroyed by lightning.^y

1004. King Brian Borombh, with his army, remained a whole week in this town, and, on his departure, he left a collar of

^f Tr. Th. ^g Id. ^h Or Aileach, the royal palace of Tyrconnel, in the barony of Inisowen and county of Donnegal. ⁱ Tr. Th. p. 296. ^k M^cGeogh. Tr. Th. *ibid.* O'Flah.

^l O'Flah. Tr. Th. *ibid.* ^m Tr. Th. *ibid.* ⁿ Act SS p. 736 ^o Tr. Th. *ibid.* ^p Id.

^q Id. ^r Id. ^s O'Connor's Differt. p. 255. ^t Tr. Th. *ibid.* and p. 308. ^u Id. ^w M^cGeogh.

^x Tr. Th. p. 297. ^y Id.

²⁰ Kil-slepte, or Cill-Sleibhe, now Killeavy, near Newry, in the county of Armagh. Snamh-Aigncach, now Carlingford Lough, between the counties of Louth and Down.

gold, weighing 20 ounces, as alms, on the great altar of this church.^z

1006. Died Ermedhac, or Hieremias, a scribe of this abbey.^a

1011. From the feast of All-Saints, this year, to the beginning of May, a fatal sickness raged in this town; at which time there died Kennfailed of Saul, a bishop and anachorite, Maelbrigid Macangobhann, the lecturer of divinity, Scholagius, the son of Clerchen, a famous presbyter, and innumerable seniors and students of the abbey.^b

1012. The Danes reduced the whole town to ashes.^c

1013. The bodies of King Brian Borombh, and Murchad, his son, with the heads of Conaing, his nephew, and of Mothlan, prince of the Desies, who fell in the battle of Clontarf, were brought hither with great funeral pomp from the monastery of Swords. The king was interred on the north side of the great church, in a stone coffin by itself, and Murchad, and the head of Conaing, in another coffin on the south. The clergy were for twelve nights waking the corpses, with reading of psalms and prayers, and chanting hymns for their souls; Brian's other son, Doncha, returning to Kilmainham with great prey, sent a large treasure, with jewels and other offerings to the successor of St. Patrick, and to the clergy of Armagh.^d

1015. Died Flannagan, the son of Conang, the archidnach.^e

1016. The Danes of Dublin, commanded by Sitric, the son of Amhlaoimh, burned the town this year.^f

1018. Died Cormgal, the prothonotary of this abbey.^g

1020. The whole town was consumed by fire as far as the greater fortification, in which the library only was destroyed; but in the three other parts of the city, the great church, and the church of Toen, that of Sabhall, and the old preaching church, together with the ancient chair of the masters, the students' apartments and books, with many houses and much riches, were consumed.^h

1022. Malachy, monarch of Ireland, was interred here with great funeral honour.ⁱ

1027. The holy staff of Jesus was broken.^{k 30}

^z*Annal. Inisfal. O'Flah.* ^a*Tr. Th. p. 632.* ^b*Id. p. 298.* ^c*M'Geogh.* ^d*Tr. Th. ibid. and Ann. Inisfal.* ^e*Tr. Th. ibid.* ^f*Ann. Inisfal.* ^g*Ann. Ulton,* ^h*Tr. Th. ibid. Ann. Ulton.* ⁱ*Tr. Th. ibid.* ^k*Annal. omn. sanct.*

³⁰ The *Baculum Jesu*, here called St. Patrick's crozier, is frequently mentioned in Irish history. St. Fiech's hymn speaks of St. Tassach, who gave the viaticum to St. Patrick on his death-bed. In the ancient notes to Fiech's hymn we read of him "Thessechus fuit faber aerarius S. Patricii. Fuit primus qui baculum Jesu pretioso tegumento obclerit." The "Annals of Tigernach," under the year 1027, have, "Baculum Jesu sacreilege raptum." Under 1030 another profanation of the relic is described. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," at 1080—1143, it is mentioned again. St. Bernard in his "Life of St. Malachy," speaks of it as

1028. Christian, the son of Dubhchuilinn, a principal presbyter of Armagh, died at Roscommon.¹

1033. This year many people of the town were witnesses to a miracle, viz., blood running from the shrines of St. Peter and St. Paul.^m

1037. Cathald, the son of Roderic, Lord of West Connaught, came in pilgrimage to Armagh.ⁿ

1039. Died Muredach, the archidnach, he was son of Flannagan.^o

1040. Died Donchad Hua Hanchanige, the celebrated professor.^p

1041. Died Macbeth, the son of Anmire, the chief antiquary of Armagh and of all Ireland.^q

1042. Died Moelpetrus Hua Hailechain, the divinity lecturer and head master of the students.^r

1043. Cathald died in his retreat in this abbey.^s

1046. Died Moelpatrick Hua Beloige, a man celebrated for his many virtues, and principal professor of divinity in this school.^t

1049. Dubdaleth, the son of Moelmar, and professor of divinity, was chosen archbishop, and was succeeded in the divinity chair by Aid Hua Foirreth.^u

1053. Died Dolgen, a principal presbyter.^w

1056. June the 18th, died the blessed Aid Hua Foirreth, the chief professor, aged 75 years.^x

1060. Cumuscah O'Eoradan succeeded Dubhdaleithe in the abbacy.^y

1061. Died the archidnach Conang.^z

1065. The blessed Dubthach, principal confessor of Ireland and Scotland, died here.^a The same year died Colman Hua Criochain the professor of divinity.^b

1069. Died the archidnach Flannagan, the son of Aid.^c

¹Tr. Th. *ibid.* ^m*Id.* ⁿ*Id.* ^o*Id.* ^p*Id.* ^q*Id.* ^r*Id.* ^s*Id.* ^t*Id.* ^u*Id.* ^w*Id.* ^x*Id.*
^y*Annal. Inisfal.* ^zTr. Th. *ibid.* ^a*Id.* ^b*Id.* ^c*Id.*

adorned with gold and precious stones. Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topogr. Hib.*, part III., c. 34). mentions that in his time the Baculus was transferred from Armagh to Dublin by the English; and in his "*Hib. Expugn.*" (lib. II. c. 18), he mentions that it was William Fitz-Adelm who caused this translation to be made. Campion in his "*History of Ireland*," alludes to the Baculus as being held in great veneration in 1316. The "*Black Book of Christ Church*" records its miraculous preservation in an accident that took place in 1461. As late as 1529 it was employed in administering oaths by the Deputy and Chancellor. In 1538 it was publicly burned as an instrument of superstition by the so-called Reformers, about the time when they destroyed the image of our Lady of Trim, and other objects of Catholic veneration.

Colgan (*Appendix ad acta S. Patricii*, c. 21, *Trias Th.* p. 263) has collected all that the old authorities have written concerning the history of this staff. See "*Book of Obits of the Trinity Church*," *Introd.*, page 11, seqq.

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1869.

ON PROTESTANT ASCENDENCY AND CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

LECTURE OF HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, DELIVERED
AT A MEETING OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, JULY, 1869.

JUST twelve months ago I had the happiness of addressing you in this place, and expressing the sincerest gratification at the success which your labours had obtained during the preceding scholastic year. It is to me a great pleasure to perform the same task again, especially as your Literary and Historical Society has been more successful than ever since we last met, and your labours and literary exertions call for the most ample and warm congratulations. Indeed, in the course of the year now closing, you have merited the approbation of all the friends of the Catholic University; you have maintained the high character for study, literary research, and love of religion which you had already acquired; your historical and philosophical discussions have been highly appreciated by the public, and many of your professors and other distinguished gentlemen have delivered excellent lectures for you in the presence of large and applauding audiences. Nor is it to be forgotten that in the competition for prizes, granted to your Society by an influential and learned gentleman occupying a high official position, many of you have shown an extensive and varied knowledge of history, and of its philosophy, and have given proofs of how ably and eloquently you can vindicate the cause of religion and truth. All these are matters upon which I most warmly congratulate you, hoping, at the same time, that the excellent spirit with which you are animated will develop itself more and more as

time goes on, and that in each succeeding year your labours will bear testimony to your love of literature, of country, and religion. If these anticipations be realized, your Society will not only reflect lustre on the Catholic University, but it will be a source of great and solid advantages to the country, and contribute to supply our dear fatherland with good writers, good citizens, and good lawgivers.

When addressing you last year, I complained that the right of nearly five millions of Irish Catholics to have for themselves a University, recognized and assisted by the State, was disregarded by the public authorities, and that we were left to our own exertions, whilst a little more than half a million of Anglican Protestants were provided by the public with one of the richest Universities in the world—possessed of 200,000 acres of land, and other sources of revenue, and governed by a Provost, Fellows, and Council, all exclusively Protestant.

The injustice we complained of at that time still continues to exist, and the promises which for a while were held out by some of the leading Conservative statesmen, have all ended in nothing. Having learned from the Scripture that we are not to put our trust in princes, the children of men, in whom there is no salvation, and knowing, from the experience of the past, that the cup of hope has often been dashed from the lips of the Irish Catholics, when great advantages were held out to them, we were not surprised at the result of last year's expectations, nor did we look on the rejection of our claims as an impediment in the way of further demands, or as a reason why we should abandon our rights. We ask for nothing but equality with others. We ask for Catholic education for Catholics; and being confident that this is a right, and that it is necessary for the preservation of our faith, we can consent to nothing less. No other measure will satisfy us. But, at the same time, we do not pretend to interfere with our fellow-subjects, or to prevent them from giving whatever education they wish to their own children. Indeed, our claims and the claims of the Catholic University are so moderate, and so conformable to justice and equity, that in the end they must be completely triumphant.

Though, as I said, the hopes with which we were buoyed up twelve months ago have not been realized, still everyone must admit that within that short space of time our cause has made great progress, and that we have now every reason to expect that very soon this University, and Catholic education in general, will obtain the recognition to which they have a right, and that Catholics will be put on a footing of equality

with all other classes of their fellow-citizens. That this has been the tendency of the events of the last few months no one can deny. Have not the people of this great empire declared at the hustings that religious equality must be introduced into Ireland? Has not the House of Commons declared by an immense majority that the ascendancy which was forced on us by the sword, confiscation, and penal laws, and which has inflicted unheard-of evils on this country during three centuries, shall prevail no longer? It may be, indeed, that the House of Lords will not listen to the voice of the country, and that the Church Bill, prepared by the most liberal and enlightened statesmen of the day, and adopted by the Commons, will be mutilated in the Upper House, and rendered unworthy of acceptance; but still, it cannot be denied that a great blow has been struck at the foundations of intolerance and exclusiveness, and that the whole fabric of ascendancy is reduced to such a tottering state that, even if we be disappointed this year, our wishes must be satisfied in a short time. We may add that, perhaps, a little delay will bring us a fuller measure of justice than the higher branch of the legislature is disposed to grant us at present. But, however that may be, one thing is now certain, that the statesmen in power and the people of England have made up their minds to repair the evils inflicted on Ireland during centuries of penal laws and persecution by an unholy ascendancy, and to grant us at length that full meed of justice for which we have so long sought in vain.

But it is not my intention to treat about the Church Bill this evening, or to delay you with observations regarding a question which is familiar to you all. I shall rather call your attention to the effects which that spirit of ascendancy, which shall soon be banished from the country, has produced on Catholic education in Ireland during the last three centuries. I cannot enter fully into the subject, as I do not wish to detain you too long; but I trust the few facts I shall refer to will show that, if education is not as advanced as it ought to be amongst the majority of the people of Ireland, the fault is not to be attributed to any want of love of learning, or of exertions to promote it on their part, but to the despotism with which the votaries of the dominant faction crushed every attempt that was made to promote enlightenment, unless it were made hostile to the ancient faith of the country, and decreed to allow no instruction to be given except in accordance with their own opinions and views.

To arrive at the origin of that ascendancy by which a small minority endeavoured to force its religious views, by

violence and persecution, on the great majority of the people of Ireland—in fact, to compel those who were in communion with all the Catholics of the world to break off that connexion and to renounce the cherished doctrines that had been handed down to them from the days of St. Patrick, we must go back to the first half of the sixteenth century.

After having been for many years lord of Ireland—after having published works against Luther, and acquired the title of defender of the faith—after having professed himself always an obedient, obsequious child of the Catholic Church, Henry VIII. allowed his passions to darken his intellect, and his desire of unlawful pleasures to undermine his faith. He did not, indeed, shake off altogether his allegiance to the church, until he had made many attempts to obtain its sanction for his corrupt designs. Many times he wrote to Rome, promising full submission and allegiance, if only the Holy See would yield to his foul passion, and grant the divorce which he so much desired. However, in all that regarded the violation of the law of God, and of the duties of States as well as of individuals, *non possumus* was the guiding principle of Rome then as it is at the present day. The petition of Henry was rejected, and in consequence the ruthless decree was soon issued, devoting to ruin and desecration all that was noble in the monuments of piety and literature in our country. Even the agents of the English monarch prayed that some of the chief schools and monasteries might be allowed to remain in this kingdom; and, on the 21st of May, 1539, a request was forwarded to the king, signed by the Lord Deputy Gray and the members of the Privy Council of Ireland, that six such institutions should be spared, viz.:—St. Mary's Abbey, and Christ Church, in this city; the Convent of Grace-Dieu, in the County of Dublin; and the Monasteries of Connall, Kenlis, and Jerpont, in Kildare and Kilkenny, whilst the following motive was assigned why they thus petitioned the royal clemency:—"For in these houses commonly, and in others such like, young men and children, both gentlemen's children and others (*i.e.*, the poor), are brought up in virtue and learning."—"State papers, Henry VIII.," vol. 3, p. 130.

All such pleas, however, were fruitless; about one hundred and twenty monasteries and schools were suppressed by the king's order, and those very individuals who signed the petition, just now referred to, were soon found vieing with each other in seeking a share of the spoil. The same State papers present to us two letters of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, praying first for *the very poor house* (as he describes

it) of the Friars at New Abbey, near Kilcullen, and subsequently soliciting a personal grant of the famous Nunnery of Grace-dieu, near Lusk.

This loss of existing schools, and the suppression of the monasteries, inflicted a fatal blow on learning: had not these institutions been destroyed, their inmates might have rivalled the monks of the congregations of St. Maur or Monte Casino and others in France, Italy, and Germany, and given to the world treasures of history and literature, and acquired a name for Ireland amongst the learned nations of the world. Even as it was, some of our persecuted monks—exiles, and living on the bounty of strangers—did a great deal to keep up the reputation of our country, and were it not for the labours of the Colgans, Harolds, and Waddings, and the monks of Donegal, little would now be known of our ancient history, or of the annals of our Church. If, in want and exile, these men were able to do so much, what would they not have done had they been allowed to remain in their peaceful abodes, and in possession of the literary treasures which they had inherited from their fathers?

During the reign of Elizabeth Protestant schools were set up in many parts of the kingdom, for the express purpose of proselytism, and Trinity College was founded as a bulwark of Protestantism, a rallying point for all who might wish to assail the Catholic Church, and a source of emolument to those who would abandon the faith of their fathers. The illustrious Peter Lombard, writing in the year 1600—that is to say, only a few years after the establishment of the University—thus laments the new assault made on our holy Church:—¹

“It was well known that the Irish revered men of learning and eloquence; it was therefore resolved, the more effectually to inculcate the royal tenets, to send to Ireland some ministers who were remarkable in England and Scotland for their ability and eloquence To provide instruction for the nation, and to display a greater earnestness in its regard than had hitherto been shown, for often had the erection of a university been in vain solicited from the crown; a most ample and splendid college was erected a few years ago in the vicinity of Dublin by royal decree, but at the expense of the inhabitants, in which all liberal arts are to be taught solely by heretical teachers. As such heretical masters, however, could not be had in Ireland, they were sent thither from England; and, the better to establish and propagate their tenets, they received the mission to preach the Protestant doctrines in Dublin, and were commanded, more—

¹ “De Regno Hiberniæ,” auctore Petro Lombardo, edited by Rev. Dr. Moran. 1868.

over, to exact the oath of the Queen's supremacy in religious matters from all the students whom they admitted to instruction."

The site on which this Protestant University was erected was Catholic religious property, confiscated in the reign of Henry VIII. It was rapidly enriched with other Catholic lands, till it became possessed of the property of about 200,000 acres which it now holds: building grants for its enlargement were taxed upon the citizens of Dublin or granted by the Crown:¹ rich prizes were offered to those who would renounce their faith and frequent its halls; and several benefices of our ancient Church were also, by royal grant, placed at its disposal.

Alas! the rewards thus held out have often proved too fatal to Catholics, many of whom renounced their faith in order to obtain wealth or honours, and by apostacy opened their way to preferment in the dominant church, whilst others became lukewarm or indifferent Catholics, and acted as if they cared little for the doctrines and practices of the Church.

This matter is referred to in the evidence given in the Fourth Report to Parliament of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, published in the year 1827. When examined, the Rev. Mr. Stevelly, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Belfast Academy, stated that "many zealous clergymen of the Established Church could be named, who had been, when they entered Trinity College, Roman Catholics." Now, observe with what simplicity and candour the Rev. gentleman explains this fact. "In Trinity College, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics," says he, "are admitted without signature; and they afterwards find that *the opinions of the Church of England are not so very discordant with their own views as they were led to suppose*; they find that there are very *profitable employments* which they can get into, and they begin to question whether they might *not attend to those without hurting their consciences*."

Now, may we not ask, is it not highly probable that the same interested motives, the same desire of *profitable employment* referred to by the learned professor, may still produce the same effect, and persuade many indigent or ambitious students that they could abandon the faith of their fathers without *hurting conscience*? However that may be, and whether such motives have been operative or not, it is certain

¹ According to the Calendar of Trinity College, various Parliamentary grants for building were made to that College in the 17th century, amounting to an immense sum.

that, not to go farther back than the present century, many Catholic students of Trinity College—the Phelans and O'Sullivans, the Griffins, and other young men of talent—abandoned the Church of their forefathers, and took their place among the leading dignitaries and defenders of the established ascendancy.

Whilst thus nothing was left undone to make the only University in the kingdom a bulwark of Protestantism, every effort was made to destroy the institutes for Catholic instruction, and to extinguish the last spark of science among our people. The Catholic clergy, however, on their part laboured strenuously and successfully to preserve, pure and untainted, the springs of human knowledge for their faithful flocks. In 1564, a Papal Brief was addressed to the newly-consecrated Primate, Dr. Richard Creagh, which, whilst declaring that schools were necessary for the maintenance of due order, and for the preservation of the Catholic faith, empowered him to erect such schools wheresoever he should deem fit throughout Ireland, and granted to them the rights and privileges of a University. Before, however, this great prelate could achieve his cherished work, he fell a victim to the persecution which then raged with unparalleled ferocity throughout our island, and by his heroism and sufferings during a long imprisonment, as well as by his death, which he suffered in the cause of Catholic faith, merited to be numbered among the most illustrious martyr-bishops of our Church.

Dr. Creagh had taught in the school of Limerick before his elevation to the episcopate. This school was presided over by the Rev. Peter White, and was reckoned among the most remarkable in the kingdom. Its president was Dean of Limerick, but, as Anthony à Wood assures us, he was deprived of his deanery for refusing to renounce the Catholic faith. Being forced to fly from Limerick, he repaired to Kilkenny, and for many years students flocked thither from every part of Ireland to be instructed by such a master in the various branches of science.

Similar Catholic schools were maintained in Cork, Waterford, and the other chief towns. Those of Waterford were brought specially before the public by the complaint of the Protestant schoolmaster, who, having toiled there for some time, found that his labour was in vain, and thus wrote to the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh in 1585:—"Since my coming hither I had not above thirty scholars, which was no small grief to me, especially as I was sent hither by you : and the cause why these received me was rather for fear than for any desire the people had to have their children instructed in

the fear of God and knowledge of good letters, which I soon perceived by them ; for within one month most of them took away their children from me, and sent them to other tutors in the town that were professed Papists."

In most of the schools which were thus maintained for Catholic youth, the clergy were the only teachers ; and sometimes, too, the bishops had themselves to assume that task. Thus Dr. Nicholas Skerrett, Archbishop of Tuam, though pursued by the agents of Elizabeth, privately taught school in Galway, till compelled to fly from the kingdom about the year 1584. Thus, too, the great Bishop of Leighlin, Dr. Leverous, to whom the Geraldine family was so deeply indebted, when driven from his see for refusing the oath of supremacy, taught for many years an humble school in the neighbourhood of Naas.

It may not be uninteresting to mention what course was taken by the Government when it discovered the existence of such schools.

The Members of the Regal Visitation of A.D. 1615 thus report to the Government :—

"We found in Galway a public schoolmaster, named Lynch, placed there by the citizens, who had great numbers of scholars, not only out of that province, but also out of the Pale, and other parts, resorting to him. We had daily proof, during our continuance in that city, how well his scholars profited under him, by verses and orations which they presented to us. We sent for that schoolmaster, and seriously advised him to conform to the Established religion, and, not prevailing with our advice, we enjoined him to forbear teaching ; and I, the Chancellor, did take a recognizance of him and some others of his kinsmen in that city, to the amount of £400 sterling for his Majesty's use, that from thenceforth he should forbear to teach any more without the special licence of the Lord Deputy. And as Galway is a far more public and convenient place for the keeping of a school than Tuam is, we have ordered that Mr. Lally (*the Protestant schoolmaster*) shall, at Michaelmas next, begin to teach publicly in that city." (*Publications of I. A. S.* for 1846, page 215.)

From this report we learn that the Galway School was well attended by the citizens ; that its scholars were remarkable for their proficiency ; and that there was only one fault—the refusal of the master to take the oath of royal supremacy ; this, however, sufficed to have him removed from the post which he so efficiently held, and to deprive the Catholics of Galway of the blessings of education, of which they had hitherto so eagerly availed themselves.

In Dublin, the enmity of the Government to Catholic education was not less manifest. The Most Rev. Dr. Matthews, Archbishop of this See, thus, in the year 1623, bitterly laments the sad privations which this phase of persecution entailed upon the youth of Ireland: "It is interdicted to Catholics (he writes) to teach school either in public or in private; whilst heretical masters are hired in every diocese, and are paid from the revenues of our ancient benefices to pervert our youth, and to imbue them with heresy; in fact, heresy has obstructed every avenue by which our youth can receive instruction in this kingdom, and by severe penalties and rigorous inquisitions seeks to render it impossible for any Catholic teacher to remain amongst us; and having erected a university in the city of Dublin, every artifice is made use of to attract our children to its schools; and, indeed, no scheme could be devised more iniquitous than this for the corruption of our youth."—(*"Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin,"* by Dr. Moran, vol. i.)

Shortly after the date of this letter of Dr. Matthews, a declaration was published by the bishops of the ascendancy, which shows how hostile they were not only to the interests, but also to the existence of the majority of the population of Ireland. About the year 1826, the Catholics, having given proof of their attachment to the King, and of their readiness to espouse his cause against his enemies, it was reported that his Majesty would propose some relaxation of the penal laws in their favour. To prevent this act of royal clemency, the principal Protestant dignitaries of Ireland, with the celebrated Usher at their head, published a document, in which they declared that "the religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect to both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin."—(See Mant's *"Ecclesiastical History of Ireland,"* vol. i.) A more bigoted and intolerant declaration was never published. And observe that it emanated from men who boasted of their spirit of liberality, and hypocritically pretended to grant freedom of conscience to all. Observe, also, that it was directed, not against a new sect endeavouring to creep into the country, but against the masses of the people, and against a religion established in the land for more than one thousand years, and deeply rooted in the affections of the inhabitants. This was a strange way of emancipating the mind, and promoting liberty of thought and the progress of education. Yet, if we are to believe some of the episcopal speakers in Parlia-

ment, the Catholics of Ireland firmly believe that the dignitaries of the Establishment always have been their best friends and protectors, and the poor people so well protected by Protestant Episcopal declarations, are sorely afflicted at the evils now hanging over their kind benefactors.

A momentary period of peace and calm seemed to smile upon our suffering country in 1629. Without delay Catholic schools were opened, and one especially was erected in Cook-street, which, with its adjoining chapel, attracted the public gaze. Launcelot Bulkely, the then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, urged upon the Government the necessity of immediately suppressing such hotbeds of Popery. His prayer was granted; and whilst the faithful were assembled at Mass, on St. Stephen's Day, 1629, a troop of Musketeers, headed by Dr. Bulkely in person, surrounded the Cook-street chapel, dispersed the congregation, profaned the altar, hewed down the image of St. Francis which adorned it, tore to shreds the sacred vestments and other religious ornaments, and levelled both school and chapel to the ground. I may add that these sacrilegious plunderers were, on their return, assailed by the women of Cook-street, who, with sticks and stones, inflicted due punishment on them, and compelled their Episcopal leader to seek for safety in flight. I might refer to many Catholic writers for the proof of the facts I have now narrated, but I wish rather to refer you to the Preface of the "List of Graduates of Trinity College," by Dr. Todd, the last work which proceeded from the pen of that distinguished scholar, whose lamented demise has cast a gloom over all who prize the remnants of Celtic literature, and whose remains were this morning, to the grief of all our citizens, borne to their long resting-place. In a report regarding the Diocese of Dublin, presented to the Privy Council in 1630, Dr. Bulkely particularizes several Catholic schools, both in the city and in the country parts of this diocese, with the names of the individuals, generally members of the parochial clergy, who were in charge of them. The Government, however, seem to have feared a renewal of the scenes of Cook-street, and no further attention was given to the intolerant petition of the Protestant Archbishop.

During the few years that the Confederates of 1641 enjoyed a partial triumph, a new spirit of study was awakened, and schools were erected in the principal towns. In Kilkenny, the head-quarters of the Confederation, a flourishing college was established, where every encouragement was given to the pursuit of science, and cotemporary writers assure us that even strangers and enemies expressed their admiration at

the proficiency of its scholars in every branch of polite literature.

Whilst the Puritan rage of Cromwell and his followers laid waste our country, it was only in the bogs or on the mountain tops that our Catholic people could find a home. Yet such was their thirst for knowledge, that schools sprung up even in the bogs and on the mountains, for the instruction of Catholic youth. Of one zealous Priest, the Rev. James Ford, it is recorded in particular, that he chose a little spot of more than ordinary consistency in the centre of a large bog, and there erected a wooden hut which served as a school, and numbers of children from the surrounding districts flocked to him for instruction.

The restoration of the Stuarts brought with it new trials for the Irish Catholics. Those who had fought the battles of the royal cause in Ireland or on the continent, were allowed to pine away in penury and neglect, whilst honours were lavished on the Cromwellian enemies, who were allowed to retain the ill-gotten lands of the royalists. New laws of a most vexatious kind were even enacted against the Irish Catholics. For instance, if a crime were committed in any district, whether by friend or foe, all the Catholics of that district, with their priests, were to be arrested, and transported to the Barbadoes, if the culprit was not brought to justice within fifteen days. It would be difficult to encourage the pursuits of science whilst such laws weighed down the energies of our people. And yet, whilst they were in full force, we meet with the great Archbishop of Armagh, Oliver Plunket, whose venerable name still lives in the memory of Irish Catholics, struggling to erect colleges and opening schools, to bring the pursuit of knowledge within the reach of his faithful flock.

Writing to Rome, on the 22nd of November, 1672, he states that there were in his schools at Drogheda, 150 boys, who were, for the most part, children of the Catholic nobility and gentry, with forty children of the Protestant gentry. He had many difficulties to contend against, but, he adds: "As the schools have lasted these two years and four months, so we may hope that God, through the intercession of St. Ignatius, will grant them a longer duration. But be this as it may, whilst the wind is favourable, we must unfurl the sails, and pursue our course, and when it becomes contrary or tempestuous we shall lower them, and seek for shelter in some small port concealed by a rock or a mountain." In the same letter Dr. Plunket writes:—"You may imagine what envy it creates in the Protestant teachers and clergy to see the Protestant children coming to my school." Those schools,

however, were not long allowed to diffuse the blessings of education among his flock. Before the close of 1673 they were levelled to the ground by order of the Government; and the good Primate, writing on the 15th of December in that year, cries out in anguish of heart—"what will the Catholic youth now do who are entrusted to my care?" I may add one golden maxim from the letter of this great Archbishop, a maxim which should never be out of mind when treating of this important question of education. "Catholic parents," he says, "who send their children to Protestant masters, expose their faith to great danger; for you can well understand how easy it is for young shoots to receive a wrong bend, unless they be perfectly trained from their first growth."

With the Orange dynasty, the gloomy era of persecution seemed to settle down immoveably on our poor country. Penal laws were passed in quick succession, branding our religion as treason, and annulling every right, social or religious, of the Irish Catholics. The penal laws were indeed perfect in their own evil way. Burke has well remarked that never was so complete a machinery devised by the perverted ingenuity of man for suppressing the energies of a suffering nation; and another learned writer, the Very Rev. Dr. Maziere Brady, has added the reflection that although the Bishops of the Established Church were at this time all-powerful in the Upper House of the Irish Parliament, yet scarcely ever was a voice raised by them to alleviate the lot of their persecuted fellow-subjects; on the contrary, they were continually found forging new fetters for our Catholic people, and urging on the Government to give no toleration to the religion of our fathers. Under this regime it was contrary to law for a Catholic to keep a school, and it was equally so for children to attend at such a school. At the same time it was penal for Catholic youth to seek education beyond the seas, and thus, so far as the law of the land could reach, it was made impossible for Irish youth to drink in, except at poisoned sources, that knowledge for which they yearned.

In the year 1697, a bill was proposed in the House of Lords, "*for suppression of the Irish language, and encouraging the Irish to learn English:*" fourteen members of the Episcopal Bench were present, and voted for this iniquitous measure, which, aiming at the destruction of one of the most ancient languages of Europe, has rendered so difficult the labours of the many great scholars who are endeavouring to lay open the sealed fountains of Celtic literature.

In some instances, Protestant education was forced upon the children of Irish Catholics. Thus in 1716, it was enacted,

“that the parsons and churchwardens in every parish should, together with a justice of the peace, bind any child found begging, or any other child with consent of the parent, to a Protestant master, until his age of twenty-one, or to a Protestant tradesman, until his age of twenty-four years.” It is added that if the child complained of ill-treatment, and that such complaint was found just, then the child should be “transferred to another Protestant master;” and should the child quit his Protestant master, and seek for safety in flight, any person, even the parent, harbouring such a child, incurred a penalty of £40, to be paid to the Protestant master.

On the 6th of November, 1731, an order was made by the Irish House of Lords that Walter Taylor, Mayor of the town of Galway, should furnish an account of all the private mass-houses and Popish chapels, and all commonly reputed nunneries and friaries, and what Popish schools were within that town. In his report, the mayor states, that on the information of Mr. Garnett, the Protestant master of the Free school, he had given him a warrant for the arrest of Gregory French, a Popish schoolmaster, keeping a Latin school; and similar arrests were made of eight others, whose names are given, and who are described as “Popish schoolmasters, and teachers of reading, writing, and arithmetic.”—(*Commons’ Journals*, vol. 3, page 170.) The return thus presented by the mayor elicited from that august senate a resolution to the effect, that “the insolence of the Papists throughout the nation is very great;” because, forsooth, they had the audacity to teach Latin, and instruct children in the first rudiments of knowledge.

At length, in 1733, a boon was announced to the Catholics of Ireland. The fountains of science should no longer be sealed in their regard; and ample schools were to be provided for them, through the munificence of the State. These were the so-called *Charter Schools*, and it may be well to examine somewhat in detail their origin, that we may appreciate the difficulties with which Ireland had to contend in those times whilst seeking an untainted education for its Catholic youth.

All the Protestant Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland signed a Petition to the Crown, asking for these schools, but they took care to declare at the same time, that they desired them for the express purpose of Proselytism. The preamble of their petition is as follows:—

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—“That in many parts of Ireland there are great tracts of mountainy and coarse land, of ten, twenty, or thirty miles in length, and of a considerable breadth, almost universally inhabited by Papists: and that in

most parts of the same, and more especially in the Provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, the Papists far exceed the Protestants of all sorts in number.

“That the generality of the Popish natives appear to have very little sense of knowledge of religion, but what they implicitly take from their clergy (to whose guidance, in such matters, they seem wholly to give themselves up), and thereby are kept not only in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred Majesty and Government; so that, if some effectual method be not made use of, to instruct these great numbers in the principles of religion and loyalty, there seems to be very little prospect but that superstition, idolatry, and disaffection to your Majesty and to your royal posterity, will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongst them.”

Primate Boulter, who headed this memorial, and who at this period ruled both Church and State in Ireland, has left the following record of the motives which prompted him to join in this movement of vaunted liberality to the Irish Catholics:—“The great number of Papists in the country (he thus writes), and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what may be done with their children to bring them over to our Church. I can assure you that the Papists are here so numerous, that it highly concerns us in point of interest to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to our religion; and one of the likeliest methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing and converting the young generation; for, instead of converting those that are adult, we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who go off to Popery.”¹ Thus the real object of these schools was not to confer the advantages of education upon our people, but to extend the machinery of proselytism, and to support the Established Church, which, to our own days, has been the source of every evil to our poor country.

The results of these schools may be told in a few words. They were supported by the State for one hundred years, at the average expense of several thousand pounds per annum. Everything that power or patronage could achieve was done to insure their success. Under George II., it was commanded that all vagrant children should be arrested and sent to swell the numbers in their schools: still they bore with them the curse of barrenness. The celebrated philanthropist, Howard, visited them in 1764, and again in 1767, and laid the result of his observations before a Parliamentary Committee. He states in his report that the charter-school children were “ill-fed, ill-taught, sickly, pale, miserable objects, a disgrace

¹ “Letters,” vol. ii. page 9.

to all society." Twenty years later (in 1787), another report was presented to Parliament by Sir J. Fitzpatrick, who declares that in the twenty-eight charter-schools which he had visited, "the schoolrooms were dilapidated and dirty, and the children were barbarously treated by their masters, being puny, filthy, ill-clothed, without linen, and indecent to look upon." In the beginning of the present century, Protestant children had to be admitted to these schools, as few Catholics could be induced to enter them, yet even so they could yield no fruit. The official reports, which were now more frequent, continued to disclose a most lamentable state of things; and as late as 1817, we are told that learning and religion were wholly neglected, and that the children were "in hunger, nakedness, filth, and ignorance."

Indeed, things came to so disgraceful a state that Parliament withdrew its grants, and all the charter-schools, with the exception of some few that had acquired private endowments, were left to fall into ruins, thus showing how impotent were the plans of Primate Boulter and his associates to root out Catholicity, and to establish their own system of ascendancy in this country.

The establishment of charter-schools was one of the last open attempts made with the declared intention of forcing the Catholics of Ireland to conform to the established form of worship. According as the times became more liberal, violence was abandoned, but unhappily other means were resorted to in order to obtain, by cunning or stratagem, what force and persecution had not been able to effect. I regret that the lateness of the hour will not allow me to describe at any length the efforts which were made in this century to maintain the established ascendancy by educational schemes. The first of these schemes was worked out by the so-called Kildare-street Society, which, with the aid of government grants, undertook to educate Catholics, promising not to interfere with their religion. But the cloven foot soon showed itself; attempts were made to make Catholic children read the Bible under Protestant or unauthorised teachers; books and tracts of an offensive nature were introduced into the schools and spread among Catholics,¹ and nothing was left undone to shake the authority of the Church, and to seduce the people from the faith of their fathers. These efforts were not successful: as soon as the people penetrated the designs

¹ For a specimen of Anti-Catholic Tracts, see the catalogue of the so-called Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which contains a list of books of a most offensive and anti-Christian character. The books of this Society, or some of them, are used in the schools of the Church Education Society.

of their enemies, there was a general outburst of indignation through the country ; the Catholic laity, headed by O'Connell, and the parochial clergy and the bishops, all raised their voices against the Kildare-street Society ; and, after not a long but a sharp struggle, Parliament withdrew its grants, and left that body to drag on a miserable existence scarcely noticed in the country.

The next and most formidable attempt upon the religion of this country was through the system of what is called mixed education, carried on in the National Schools and Queen's Colleges. The project of rooting out Catholicity by force or by fraud had failed. What was now to be done? Were Catholics to be allowed for themselves schools assisted by the State? That, indeed, would have been the fair solution of the difficulty. A man of a fair and liberal mind would have said, "Let Catholics have their own schools—let Protestants have also schools for themselves. Let each denomination have the care of its own children, and let all live in peace."

Sed aliter superis visum; the new plan for Ireland was that all children—Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, and Unitarians—should be brought together in the same school—that no religious instruction, properly so-called, should be given in class hours, and that the school-books should contain nothing religious, excepting those things in which all Christians agree. The religion of the masters was to be a matter of indifference, the patrons of the schools were to be at liberty to employ Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian teachers, or teachers of any other religion, or, perhaps, of no religion at all.

It would be very easy to show how unfavourable this system is to Catholics. In the first place, the Catholic Church teaches many vital doctrines which are rejected by the various sects—for example, the real presence in the Blessed Eucharist, the power of remitting sin, the infallibility of the Church, the primacy of the Pope, and others of equal importance. It also commands us to observe many precepts ; we are obliged to hear Mass, to go to confession, to fast, and to obey the precepts of the Church. Now, where can a poor Catholic child, whose parents are toiling from morning till night, and have neither time nor capacity to teach, where can he learn those doctrines and practices of his Church, if he be not allowed to learn them in school?

May not also a Protestant teacher, even without wishing to do so, whilst explaining the doctrines of common Christianity, teach many things contrary to Catholic faith? Moreover, when a boy sees that his Protestant teacher does not

make the sign of the Cross, or go to Mass, or fast, or go to confession, will he not be inclined to say : These practices, which are difficult to flesh and blood, are not observed by my master, who is a good man. I do not pretend to be more perfect than he is ; the disciple should not be above his master ; therefore, I will not submit to practices which he repudiates.

Whilst the example of the masters is calculated to produce a bad effect, the books compiled for the mixed system necessarily have the same tendency. Everything Catholic is banished from them, and poor children, who frequently do not go beyond their class-books, and scarcely ever read any other books with ease, may remain in ignorance of the most necessary Catholic doctrines and practices, and even may be induced to think that there is nothing true or valuable that is not contained in books that come to them, recommended by the highest authorities, and extolled by the Commissioners of National education. Besides, books from which you are obliged to banish every Catholic sentiment cannot be compiled by true Catholics, and thus a great impediment is put in the way of Catholic writers ; books for National Schools they cannot write as Catholics ; and they cannot publish Catholic books on their own account, because the monopoly for school-books enjoyed by the National Board forbids them to hope for any sale of their own compilations.

Indeed, the introduction of the mixed system into Ireland has been the means of preventing the growth of Catholic literature, and has enabled Protestant writers to make large fortunes by obtaining a sort of monopoly for some insignificant works which will not be remembered after a dozen years.

No one knew better than Dr. Whately, the late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the tendency of the mixed system, of which he may be considered the great founder in Ireland. In the published reports of the National Board, this dignitary continually assures the Catholics of Ireland that the national system contains nothing dangerous or detrimental to their religion, while at the same time, he was wont to proclaim in his private conversations, which have been published by his daughter, that it was inflicting a grievous wound on our religion, and shaking the faith of our people. In one place he says that "*the education supplied by the National Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Catholic Church.*" He adds, in another place, "I believe . . . that *mixed education is gradually enlightening the mass of the people, and that if we give it up, we must give up the only hope of weaning the Irish from the abuses of popery. But I cannot*

*venture openly to profess this opinion. I cannot openly support the Education Board as an instrument of conversion. I have to fight its battles with one hand, and that my best, tied behind me."*¹

Thus we are assured that mixed education, granted to us as a wonderful boon, for which we were to be eternally grateful, was in reality considered by its greatest founder and patron as nothing but a powerful engine for undermining Catholicity, shaking the religious convictions of our people, and introducing indifferentism or infidelity among them.

But as I cannot, at so late an hour, enter fully into this subject, I shall merely add, that the mixed system is condemned and reprobated by the most enlightened nations of the earth, as well as by all Catholic bishops, and by the Supreme Head of our Church. England encourages the denominational system, and will give no grant to a school in which religion is not taught. Prussia obliges every school to profess a particular creed. In France mixed education is little known, and as far as it is known, it is strongly condemned.

Catholic Belgium has mixed education in some of its universities, but the teaching in these institutions is most pestiferous, as every one knows who has read the acts of the meeting of university students, held some time ago at Liege.

Holland has mixed or neutral schools, supported at the public expense; but the Catholics have found them so dangerous that, whilst they pay the taxes for the neutral schools, they support religious schools for themselves.

But it is in the United States that we are to seek in an especial manner for an illustration of the effects of the mixed system, for it has been tried there for a long time, and on a gigantic scale. Now, what has been its results? To answer this question I will read an extract from a recent letter of Dr. M'Closkey, Archbishop of New York.

"I can answer that so far as our Catholic children are concerned, the workings of our public school system have proved, and do prove, highly detrimental to their faith and morals. So strongly has the conviction of this been impressed upon the minds both of pastors and parents, that most strenuous efforts, and even enormous sacrifices, have been made and continue to be made, in order to establish and support Catholic parochial schools. We have at the present moment in daily attendance at these schools an average number of between eighteen and twenty thousand children. The annual expense for the maintenance of these schools does not fall short of one hundred

¹ Miss Whately's "Life of her Father," first edition, p. 244-246.

thousand dollars ; while the amount expended for the purchase of lots, and erection of proper school buildings, &c., considerably exceeds a million.

“Nothing but the deepest sense of the many dangers to which the religious and moral principles of their children are exposed could prompt Catholic parents to make such great pecuniary sacrifices, or assume such onerous burdens ; for it has to be borne in mind, that while they are thus obliged through conscientious motives to support their own schools, they have at the same time to bear their share of the taxation imposed for support of the public schools.”

In another letter the Most Rev. Dr. M'Closkey states, that the Catholics of New York (who are very generally Irish, or the children of Irish,) subscribed last year 132,000 dollars for the support of their own schools, and that they have contributed a million and a quarter of dollars for sites and building of Catholic schools ; thus showing how thoroughly hostile they are to the mixed system, and firmly determined to make the greatest sacrifice in order to save their children from the scourge of mixed education.

To Dr. M'Closkey's testimony I shall add that of Dr. Bayley, the learned Bishop of Newark :—

“My own opinion is that a great deal of the crime of the country, most of the private and public dishonesty which is so prevalent, has its origin in this system of mere intellectual training without religion. What makes it worse, the family influence has been very much broken down in this country, not only by the religious indifference of the majority of parents, but by the too earnest pursuit of wealth, and the early age at which children are placed in counting-rooms, stores, and work-shops.

“Another thing which has been the cause of much injury to the national character and welfare is, that the public school system attempts too much ; over-education in one sense, by teaching the masses branches which belong only to higher education, and thus disposing them to think they know a great deal when they know very little. In a word, that superficial knowledge which is so dangerous, making the children of the poor discontented with their lot in life, indisposed to anything like hard work ; and this is one of the causes why all the professions are so over-crowded with persons who would have made very good shoemakers or carpenters, but miserable physicians, lawyers, or ministers.

“I can readily understand from its effects as exhibited in this country, why it should be a favourite (that is, the mixed merely secular education) with the modern Radical school, who

have such a hatred of the supernatural ; it does their work most effectually, and is, as I believe, the greatest enemy of the Catholic church, and of all dogmatic truth."

To the Catholic authorities which I have quoted, I shall add one or two Protestant testimonies. The Rev. Mr. Frazer, a Protestant clergyman, who was appointed by the Board of Education in England to examine into the state of education in America, treats largely in his report upon the mixed schools in the United States. At page 166 he says :—

"As to the results of the association of children of different religious beliefs in the same school, I do not feel justified in pronouncing a very strong or definite opinion. With every approach so carefully barred against sectarianism, and the whole religious teaching (such as it is) being of so absolutely neutral a tint, there is no room or pretext for quarrelling, nothing that can generate *odium theologicum*. It may result, and I think it does result, in indifferentism, in a depreciation of the value of a creed and fixed forms of faith, and in a more thorough acceptance than elsewhere of the half-truth that "He can't be wrong whose life is in the right." It struck me very forcibly—I had almost said painfully—in America how little identity in religious feelings, or unanimity in religious habits or opinions, appears to be estimated as a constituent in domestic happiness. In no place have I ever seen the principle of "agreeing to differ" in matters of religion so thoroughly woven into the tissue of society. It is not at all unusual to find two or three faiths in one family, and husband and wife separating on the Sabbath (as the Lord's-day is always called) to worship with different congregations.

"It is true that the work of the day commences with the reading of the Word of God, generally followed by prayer. It is true that decorous, if not reverent, attention is paid during both these exercises ; but the decorum struck me as rather a result or a part of a discipline than as a result of spiritual impressions ; there was no "face" as it had been the face of "an angel!" no appearance of kindled hearts. The intellectual tone of the schools is high ; the moral tone, though perhaps a little too self-conscious, is not unhealthy ; but another tone, which can only be vaguely described in words, but of which one feels oneself in the presence when it is really there, and which, for want of a better name, I must call the religious tone, one misses, and misses with regret."

Let us now hear one of the Protestant prelates of the United States, the Bishop of Tennessee, who was over lately at the Pan-Anglican Synod, and who delivered an address on education in London, from which I take the following :—

"He (the Bishop) was anxious to lay the secular system open before the meeting, because he believed it was a matter of profound interest, not simply to the Church, but to the people of England, of every name, denomination, or sect, that it should be well understood that the people of England should understand well what they were doing, and not take another leap in the dark."

Mr. Frazer, in his report, said that the intellectual tone of the schools was high, and the moral tone not altogether unhealthy, but that the religious tone was altogether absent. There was just no religion at all in it. It was secular, and took no notice of God, or of Christ, or of the Church of the Living God, or except in the most incidental way, of God's Holy Word. The intellect was stimulated to the highest degree, but the heart and the affections were left uncultivated. It was a system which trained for the business of life, not for the duties of life. As there were differences of opinion about Christianity, it was not allowed to be spoken of, and a knowledge of it was not one of the qualifications for a teacher. A man might be a Mahomedan, or a Hindo, if he were only proficient in geography, arithmetic, or the exact sciences. The teachers in the normal schools might be infidels, provided they did not openly inculcate their scepticism; and in point of fact, in the schools which were designed to train teachers only, a vast majority were not Christians.

It was quite true that in some schools—the number was comparatively small—the Bible was read, and in some the Lord's Prayer was said, but who could presume to call that Christian education? Merely reading the Bible without explanation or comment was not instruction. What would be said of a military school where the professors only read a chapter or two on military tactics, but gave no lessons, made no comments, required no drill? How could they expect mere reading of the Bible to the young would make Christian men and women? But, in the great majority of the schools, even that was not done; and so the youth of the country left the school ready in figures, skilful with the pen, well instructed in the anatomy of the body, and the mechanism of the steam-engine, but utterly ignorant of the principles of duty, truth, religion, and honour, without knowing the Ten Commandments or the Apostles' Creed. The result was stated by the Rev. Dr. Cheever, that five-sixths of the people of the United States do not attend any place of public worship. It was this which made a distinguished Prussian remark: "I came to your country to study its geography, its laws, its institutions, and I find 2,000 religions, and nobody believing in a God." He believed that this

lamentable state of things grew out of the secular system. Fox, the founder of the first reformatory for children, very well asked, "Of what use is it to a commonwealth that its rogues should know how to read, write, and cipher? Those acquirements are only so many master-keys put into their hands to break into the sanctuary of human society."

I could quote many other similar authorities, but the few I have laid before you place in sufficient relief all the evils of separating religion from instruction, and the dangers which arise from mixed education, which the great leader of the Protestant Church, Dr. Whately, and his friends, endeavoured to pawn on us as a great boon, but which in reality they intended to be a Pandora's box, destined to spread innumerable evils among us. I shall therefore merely conclude from all that has been said, that up to the present the desire of maintaining the religious ascendancy of a party has been either directly or indirectly, openly or fraudulently, a great impediment to the progress of knowledge in the mass of the people of Ireland, and has prevented the Catholics from obtaining their just rights in regard to the education of their children; I shall add that we have now ground to hope for better and brighter days, as the last knell of ascendancy seems to have been tolled, and we may expect shortly to see it completely banished from this land, on which it has inflicted so many and such overwhelming calamities.

THE CATHOLIC CEREMONIAL.¹

OUTSIDE the Catholic Church there is a general opinion that we Catholics make all devotion to consist in the performance of a certain routine of ceremonies, and are entire strangers to what is called vital religion. These ceremonies to which we are supposed to attach such excessive, or rather such superstitious value, are looked on by those outside the church as an unnecessary and worse than useless display, or as an empty pageant. Our love of them is set down as one of the damning ingredients in that bug-bear which they have conjured up, and designated by the name of "Popery." We, on the contrary, look upon our ceremonial as one of the most beautiful things in the church, one of those that most clearly mark the finger of God, and operate most efficaciously in the work of true vital religion.

¹ The following very able and interesting paper is from the pen of the Rev. M. O'Connor, S.J., to whom our readers are already so much indebted. We extract it from the esteemed American periodical. "The Catholic World."

The point, therefore, is a most important one, and well deserving our most serious consideration. To understand it rightly, let us consider the principles on which ceremonial is based, and its practical working.

It has been admitted by all nations, that worship is due to the deity; that this worship needs an external and a public expression. Not only the people of God under the old and new dispensations have admitted this, but the Turk and the Pagan of every shade have admitted and acted on it. Many have erred egregiously, and have had recourse to disgusting and execrable means to put it in practice; but the feeling itself is universal, and, therefore, may be enumerated among the first promptings of reason.

Its necessity is based on our relation to God, and on our own nature. God, as in himself infinitely perfect, as our creator, our ruler, and provider, is entitled to our acknowledgment of his perfections and of his dominion over us, to thanks for benefits conferred, to supplication for their continuance. We owe him this duty not merely as beings having souls, but as that which we are—beings, having a body and soul—as men. The feelings of the soul, especially if earnest, cannot be pent up in it. They need expression. When strong and earnest they flow over into the body, they express themselves in bodily action. Man, as such, acts with the body and the soul. Moreover, we owe God worship not merely as individuals, but as society. God made society and all that gives it charms. He is the author of the bonds that hold it together; he gave us those faculties that force us into it; he wants that in it alone are satisfied; and the powers that contribute to their satisfaction. Society, as well as the individual man, is one of those beautiful and bountiful works that call forth our admiration and demand our gratitude. Society can recognize and thank its author only by external and common public worship. The internal feeling needs something to lean on, as it were, to give itself strength and almost to give itself an existence. The internal act is, of course, the soul of true worship, but, like the soul itself of man, it needs a body in which it may become incarnate to fulfil the end of its being. Without this it has neither life nor power. It needs this to give itself intensity.

The external act becomes as it were a depository in which the soul lays what is produced at one moment, while it is adding more and more. As the iron receives in deposit the powers of each of the circles of the magnetic wire that turn and turn again around it, and is ready to discharge their combined force at any moment, so the external act catches as

it were the fire of the internal emotion, holds it until that of another is added, and enables the soul to seize again the power of those that have vanished and resume its work with redoubled vigor. Thus going on from faith to faith, from worship to worship, from virtue to virtue, all these rise higher and higher, strike their roots deeper and deeper, until the internal feeling becomes intensified and strong and as worthy of the great object to which it is directed as it can be in a mere creature.

The ceremonial is nothing else but this external expression of inward worship. It is an expression that gives it consistency and strength. It intensifies and preserves it. It transmits it from one to another, and to succeeding generations. In it society expresses itself. The individual man has his own organs of expression. The organ of the Christian body is the minister of the church. Through him she acts as a body ; she expresses herself as a unit. On this account she very properly regulates minutely, how he shall discharge this duty. This gives his actions a meaning and a value over and above, and to some degree independent of, the value they possess, as expressions of his own individual devotion.

Worship does not consist, properly speaking, in receiving instruction. This is, of course, a good thing, but it is only a means to an end. It is like the ladder to ascend, or the scaffolding used in the erection of a building. To receive it with respect and other dispositions due to the word of God, may imply faith in him, and submission to him ; but, properly speaking, in as far as it is mere instruction or information, it is not worship. Worship is our submission to God, a performance of the duty we owe him. As far as instruction shows us how, and leads us to do this in a proper manner, it is good, but in itself—as a mere expansion of the mind, or the storing of it with knowledge, it is not worship. In paying worship, we must act, not merely be acted upon ; we must do, not merely hear. For this, the ceremonial affords most useful aid ; not, of course, as far as it is a mechanical movement, which if it stop there would be useless, but inasmuch as it is the instrument of the inmost soul. Light and instruction must precede to give it significance, but when life has thus been breathed into it, it becomes itself an action, a practice of virtue, a discharge of the highest virtues, which are those that have God himself for their immediate object.

This ceremonial consists of the words that are used, and the acts that are performed. Words, said or sung, are a part of it, but only a part. Many acts often express the feelings more effectually. These are sometimes more or less natural ;

at other times they may be said to be conventional. But though arbitrary as words themselves, when they receive a determined meaning, they become capable of effectually and powerfully expressing the internal feelings of the individual and of society. Kneeling or standing erect, raising up or clasping the hands or striking the breast, an uplifted glance to heaven or a reverent bowing of the head, will express adoration, reverence, sorrow, or supplication, as well and often better than words. When you walk in a procession with torch in hand, accompanying the blessed sacrament, or to honor some other mystery of religion, you are professing your faith in it as effectually, and impressing that faith in your soul, perhaps, more deeply than when you recite the creed, just as the citizen expresses forcibly his political principles by analogous acts. These, of course in particular cases, may be acts of hypocrisy or hollow pageant, just as words may be a lie or an empty sound, but this takes nothing from their intrinsic appropriateness. Nay, acts of this kind would seem to draw the soul into what is intended to accompany them and be expressed by them more powerfully than words.

Some of the acts of this worship have, in themselves, a power and efficacy apart from any impression they may produce on the beholder. Such is the case in all the sacraments. The sacred rite, duly performed, may be compared to the spark, which, however powerless of itself, when falling on the proper material, awakens a great power of nature, that will rend mountains, and hurl into shapeless masses, the proudest works of man. The sacred rite has been chosen by omnipotence as his agent and instrument, and its power has only the limits which omnipotence has been pleased to assign. It is the same thing in the celebration of mass. The words of Christ, pronounced by his minister, effect a great change. For he who first took bread and said "This is my body," and by his infinite power made true what he said, addressing his apostles, added, "Do this"—yes, even this, great as it is—"in commemoration of me." And they "do" it, and by doing it, "show forth his death until he come." The effect follows by the power of God, no matter who is present, no matter who is instructed or edified, even though no heart beat more in unison than did the hearts of the Jews, who stood by while the great offering was made on Calvary. But other parts of the ceremonial, which, though not of equal importance, occupy more time, realize their end only when they express our feelings of reverence, or give them strength and light. Many are directed to aid the priest alone, in the proper performance of his high duties. Many, while they have this object also, are

likewise directed to instruct, and become expressions of the devotion of the people. The ceremonial therefore, first of all makes provisions for the priest. It is important for himself and for the people that he be a worthy minister of Christ ; that he discharge the duty of offering up the holy sacrifice with all the reverence, the humility, the fervor which so great an act demands. The ceremonies become a means of his doing this. In performing them properly he exercises all these virtues. The church makes him descend to the foot of the altar, and there acknowledging himself a sinner before God and the heavenly court, express by words and acts his sorrow, demand pardon before venturing to ascend the altar on which is to be laid the holy of holies. He then ascends with trembling step, and having again silently prayed for forgiveness, he intones the noble hymn, "*Gloria in Excelsis Deo.*" Whether the voices of the choir take up its thrilling notes and make the vault resound with a call to give glory to God on high, or he continue it in a subdued tone, every word he utters, every motion he is called on to make, enables him to express more and more earnestly his desire for God's honor, his homage to Christ, "alone holy, alone Lord, alone most high."

Prepared by this introduction, and having admonished the people to turn to God, he pours out in simple but touching words his supplications for our various wants. He then reads choice extracts from the sacred volume conveying the most important teachings of our holy religion. I will not stop to describe to you the ceremonies at the offertory, nor speak of the sublime "Preface" preparatory to the most sacred part of the sacrifice. Having prayed for all conditions of the church, having appealed to the blessed in heaven with whom the church on earth is in communion, he approaches the solemn act of consecration. Every word he utters, every glance, every motion, is directed to fill him with awe, with reverence, to express a demand, an act of homage, of gratitude or of invocation ; and when the sacred words are pronounced, and he stands before the incarnate God truly present, though not visible to corporal eyes, with profound inclination he expresses his adoration, while the victim is raised up, that all present may, like him, kneel down and adore. And so all through the holy sacrifice.

While these lessons are taught and put in practice by the priest, the people, before whom they are performed, learn from them to cherish similar dispositions, and to unite their spirit in the expression of his devotion. It is the same thing with all the ceremonies, which, like those alluded to, are expressive

of the feelings we should entertain for God. They frequently express them more forcibly than words could. Even ordinary feelings often become too strong for language, and seek expression in some action. The fond mother would find words too tame to express the love she bears her child. She hugs it to her bosom, and impresses warm kisses on its face. We meet a long-lost friend. Words would not express all we feel. We clasp him in our arms, and press him to our heart. The model of repentance, the prodigal, when he meets his father, forgets a part of the discourse he had resolved to pronounce; and folded in his father's arms, expresses his sorrow more forcibly in silent tears and heart-breaking sobs, and is forgiven. Even anger, which cannot find an adequate expression in the most impassioned language, seeks to manifest itself in the uplifted clenched fist, if it cannot gain its object by striking a blow. Do not tell me, then, that all this action in the church ceremonial is mummary. It is often a higher expression of devotion than words would afford.

If you wish to test this, look at a devout congregation of Catholics kneeling before the altar. The organ that had lifted up their hearts when singing the "Glory to God in the highest" is silent, or a few low notes are heard that make the silence of the congregation more sensible. No voice, scarcely a breath, is heard, when the priest, having raised his eyes to heaven, is now inclined over the sacred elements. Thousands are kneeling around in awe. A slight stroke of the bell announces that the act is done. The priest prostrates himself in silent adoration, and then elevates the consecrated host. Every head is bowed in the presence of a God. Will any one who has witnessed that scene, who has tried to enter into the feelings of that congregation, please tell me the words, or write out the speech, that would have expressed so powerfully their reverence, their adoration, their gratitude, and their love? Yes, ceremonies are a noble expression of our highest feelings. They are even more; for they intensify them, embalm them, and preserve them from evaporating. They communicate them and spread abroad, and transmit them from generation to generation.

All this is a consequence of human nature, and this is so true that it is made an objection to our system. It is said that we build too much on human nature. But if worship be made for man it must accord with his nature—not, indeed, with that which is corrupt in it, but with his nature as it came from God. Now, this need, this power, this efficacy of the expression of feeling by outward ceremony, is no effect of the fall: it is in the very nature of man. Hence we have recourse to it in everything else. What is the shake of the hand when we meet a

friend, or the salute, or the banquet to which we invite him, but a ceremony to express friendship or esteem? Look at our processions and various political demonstrations. What are they but ceremonies in which political or other feelings seek expression—an expression which we know will strengthen them, deepen them, communicate them to others by creating and giving force to what may be called a contagious influence? What are our national and party airs, our national and party festivals, but expressions of a similar character looking forward to similar results?

In these things, as I said in the beginning, the feelings of the soul seek an embodiment, that will give them consistency and duration.

No matter what the external manifestation be, even though it be merely conventional, when it expresses a feeling, it becomes an instrument for all these purposes. It becomes, as it were, a permanent part of a structure, to which another stone is added as often as the act is repeated, until the building grows up in solid beauty that defies the ravages of time. This is the case with our political or social sentiments, because it grows out of our very nature. Why then should it not be the case, or rather is it not evidently the case, with those also which are connected with religion? These external rights not only express and intensify the interior feelings, but let philosophers explain it as they may, they become as it were a depository in which they may be laid by to be recalled almost at pleasure, nay, even to be drawn out by others who wish to acquire them.

Look at that piece of bunting hanging from a flag-staff and flying before the breeze. What is it? A first glance will tell you that it is a piece of stuff purchased for a trifle a few days ago from the merchant, on whose shelves it lay unnoticed and uncared for, except as far as it was capable of producing some day a few dollars for its owner. But now it has received a new destiny. It bears the national symbols, and it is the flag of the country. And, oh! what a change has taken place! It recalls the glories of the past, the hopes of the future; it is the symbol of the majesty of the nation. The patriot heart warms in beholding it; the warrior-breast is bared to do it honor. Through a hail of fire he stands by it or bears it on, and will see unmoved a thousand of his companions strewed o'er the battle-field while this yet floats before the breeze. And when victory has crowned his efforts, he salutes it as the genius that nerved his right arm during the contest. Though torn almost to tatters, he bedews it with his tears of joy. It is his pride in life. He looks forward to descend in honor into the grave wrapped in its folds.

Wherever that flag is raised, one glance leads us to behold the genius of our country standing up before us with all her claims to our devotion and our love. Let it receive but the slightest insult, and a thrill vibrates throughout the land; every heart is wounded, every hand is ready to be raised in its defence. Yet it is, after all, but a piece of bunting, worth so many cents per yard. But by becoming a symbol, by being the object of a rite, it has become the depository of the enthusiasm of the nation. It is made capable of evoking this, of quickening and communicating it, whenever it is unfurled.

Look at our national airs: what are they? The scientific musician will find little in them that is soul-stirring; but the feelings of our fathers are deposited in them. They were the tunes in which we expressed our gladness in days of triumph, by which we were aroused on the national holiday, in which we sung our joy on all important occasions. Our love of home, of kindred, of fatherland, has been enbalméd in them; and when they fall on our ears, all these dear and stirring feelings, as if buried in their notes, are sent forth, now unlocked, and again take possession of our souls. They thus arouse the warrior and the patriot, calling out all the feelings that cluster around what is most dear.

The Swiss soldier in foreign lands was so vividly recalled to the memories of home, by the airs to which he listened in childhood, and the recollections of his native mountains, and the associations revived by them, had such power, that a special disease, called "home-sickness" was frequently the result. As this proved fatal to many, the playing or singing of such tunes was forbidden in Swiss regiments in foreign service. And who does not know the stirring effect produced on certain occasions, when Yankee Doodle or Patrick's Day has been struck up, no matter what musical professors may say of their artistic merits.

In a similar manner our feelings of devotion are consigned to some homely religious tune. They are first expressed in it. They cling around it. They become identified with it. They are recalled vividly when we hear it again. They all come back in their original freshness, with accumulated force. They are transmitted to others, and thus we inherit the treasure of the devotional feeling of preceding generations.

Though *our* being supplied with music by great artists, who are constantly changing, if not improving their compositions, deprives us in a great measure of the advantages that might arise from this source, we can feel it at times in what is allowed to retain this traditional force. Who is there that does not feel the devotion so often experienced in assisting at the bene-

diction of the blessed sacrament, or on other occasions renewed by the tones of the *Tantum Ergo* or other familiar tunes, when the performers do not destroy, or at least smother the old airs by their exquisiteness? Where the songs of the church are in more general use, the intonation of the *Miserere* or the *Stabat Mater* or the *Pange Lingua*, and many other tunes, is like the opening up of a flood-gate, through which feelings of devotion rush as it were in a torrent and take possession of a whole congregation.

What is said of songs may be applied to other rites. The feelings of the past are deposited in them; they express them, they arouse them, they communicate them. This occurs, though they may be chosen arbitrarily. What more arbitrary, generally speaking, than the meaning attached to words? The word "home," for example, for all that is in the sound, might as well have been adapted to signify anything else of the most different character. Yet now having received a definite meaning, it recalls uniformly a whole definite series of ideas and feelings. So it is with a rite—say that of anointing with oil, that of sprinkling with water, burning incense, the use of candles, or the making of the sign of the cross. Many rites were established primarily for this purpose, others had their origin in necessity or convenience or usage; but the church, anxious to make even these things a source of edification and an instrument of devotion, gave them a meaning, attached to them a lesson which they reproduce for ever after. Even those which have a certain intrinsic fitness to signify what they are established for, derive their chief efficacy in this respect from their having been chosen for the purpose, or having gradually received a social meaning, well understood in the Christian family. These have the additional advantage of speaking out, as it were, a whole instruction at a glance. The moment you look at one of these acts, a lesson is presented which could scarcely be communicated in many words, and in performing them the heart says more, and that more simply and more effectually, than it could in a long discourse.

I have referred to the flag of the country; of its being raised, and how a look at it, or a salute, powerfully expresses at once the most important emotions and lively enthusiasm. Well we do the same through the Christian's glorious standard, which is the sacred symbol of the cross. Be it of wood or of the most precious metal—be it the production of the most unskilful or the most cunning workman—it is for us the symbol of man's redemption, and around it cluster our most tender feelings of veneration and love. It is placed over our altars, over our churches; it hangs in our rooms; where Catholic

feelings can save it from insult, it is raised up in the highways, and is made to meet our eyes wherever we turn. We impress its form on our persons whenever we call on God in prayer, whenever we find ourselves exposed to temptation or danger. In that one act the faith, the hope, the love of the church for Christ and Christ crucified, are all expressed. All these feelings are imbedded in it. All are called out again whenever that sign is made. What we have heard of him from the pulpit, what we have read in our private study, what has occurred to our own minds in meditation, is all brought before us with the accompanying sentiments and feelings as soon as that sacred symbol presents itself to our eyes. All are awakened, are revived, and seized again at its glance. No wonder, then, that the Catholic loves the cross; that he loves to prostrate himself in adoration before it; that he looks to it when he seeks consolation in suffering, support in affliction, light in his difficulties, purity of spirit in his joys. Do not tell me that it is of lifeless wood or of metal, that it is but the work of the craftsman. Oh! this is like stopping the soldier in battle, to direct his attention to the price per yard of his flag, or to the name or address of the store where it was bought, while he is advancing enthusiastically under its inspiration against his country's foes. Yes; who does not know that it is of wood or metal? but to me it is the symbol of my Saviour's love. As such, I love it; as such all my most sacred feelings cling around it: I impress kisses on it; I bathe it with my tears. And when on Good Friday, the priest after bringing before us the whole scene of Calvary, having led us, in the service, to look on the death of Christ as the great turning-point in the world's history, having shown the woes of the past that were there to find a remedy, and the blessings for the future that were thence to spring forth, holds up the crucifix before the prostrate multitude, and sings out, in a solemn tone, "*Ecce lignum Crucis*," "*Behold the wood of the cross on which did hang the salvation of the world*," will we not all send up our whole souls in the deacon's answer, crying out, with him, "*Venite adoremus*," "*Come, let us adore?*" And when the priest looses his shoes, and on bare feet approaches the sacred symbol of redemption, that he may kneel down and kiss it with fondness, on the anniversary of the day on which the tragic scene was enacted; who is there that will not vie with him in kneeling and pressing the sacred symbol to his lips?

The same thing can be applied in different degrees to the various rites throughout the year, when succeeding festivals bring before us the other great mysteries of religion, or when

we are called on to express the ordinary feelings of Christian devotion. He who has studied the simple devotions of the rosary, or the way of the cross, will be astonished at the mine of devotion, of enlightened piety contained in them, and at the treasures that are drawn from them by faithful souls, simple and unpretending as they are, and puerile as they appear to the self-sufficient.

But these acts and exercises intended to express and nourish our Christian feelings, can only be appreciated where there is faith. It is only into hearts animated by faith that they can enter. It is only in such they can be aroused. A certain amount of instruction is even necessary to understand the conventional meaning of many. This instruction and training is received by the Catholic almost with his mother's milk. As he learns the meaning of words, which are still more arbitrary, and acquires a practical skill in use of language, notwithstanding its complicated laws, so he learns the meaning of the ceremonial, and is initiated into its use. With clasped hands the child kneels before the crucifix, and imprints kisses on it. Little by little he learns the history of him whose figure is nailed to that cross, knowledge grows in him with reverence and love. He goes to the church, and is struck with what he beholds. He catches reverence from those around, and infuses it into his own imitation of their mode of acting. As he learns more and more of what is there done, this reverence becomes more and more enlightened, and he grows up a devout and enlightened Christian, performing the acts expressive of worship with the same ease and intelligence with which he uses the ordinary expressions of social life. The looker-on who is without faith or instruction, who has no sympathy, and wishes to have no sympathy, with him, thinks his acts a mummery, if he do not give them a harsher name. Such a person may be compared to one who has no ear for music, to whom the enthusiasm of those who are aroused by a beautiful composition is incomprehensible; or to one who listens to an eloquent discourse in a tongue which he does not, and cares not to understand; or he is like Michol, who laughs at David dancing before the ark, because she has no sympathy with his jubilant gratitude. The Catholic ceremonial is made for Catholics. If it enable them to express and strengthen their reverence, it answers its purpose. Those who have no such feelings to be awakened cannot be surprised if it strike them without producing emotion. The ceremonial is useful, not only as an expression of feeling, it is eminently instructive and educational, if I may use the expression, by instilling and developing both the knowledge and the devotion it is intended

to express. While it teaches, it leads to act in accordance with the teaching ; properly performed, it is itself such action. It thus instils truth into the mind, and shapes the heart in accordance with it, which is the highest aim of the best education.

Some are pleased to look upon the mass of our people as very ignorant in matters of religion. If by this it be meant to say, that all are not experts in quoting texts of scripture ; that they know nothing of many controversies that appear of great importance to our separated brethren ; that they do not understand the meaning of many phrases that have become household words amongst them, though, sometimes, I fear, passing round without any very definite meaning, I am willing to acknowledge the charge. But if it be meant to say that they are ignorant of those great facts and truths of religion which it is necessary or important for men to know, I repudiate it most solemnly. Nay, I contend that there is a better knowledge of these amongst many or most Catholics who can neither read nor write, if they have only followed in the paths where the church led them, than amongst many of our opponents who are considered learned theologians ; and this they owe chiefly to this very ceremonial of which I am treating. They may know nothing of Greek particles, or of many other things good enough and usual in their place, but which God has not required any one to learn ; but they know that the incarnate God died for the salvation of man. They know the mystery of the Trinity, which is implied in that of the incarnation. They know the sinful character of man, their need of such a Redeemer. They are lead to thank him, to obey him. They know his sufferings, one by one ; they are familiar with his thorns and his nails ; they have pondered over his wounds and mangled flesh ; they penetrate into the side pierced for their love. He who knows even this much is not ignorant. Yet all this, and much more, is familiar to every one accustomed to look with faith on the crucifix. He sees in the face of the crucified One patience, resignation, compassion for sinners, love even for his enemies. He sees the consequences of sin, and beholds their remedy. Looking on this, the Catholic finds support in his trials or afflictions and moderation in his joy. Show me the volume he could ponder over and learn as much. All that he heard at his mother's knee and from the preacher's lips is brought before him in a single glance at his crucifix. All is brought up again when he makes the sign of the cross. Yet the cross, so fraught with instruction and moving appeals, is that which is presented to him a thousand times in the rites of the church, inasmuch

as it is the great pervading principle that must animate all his devotion and all his actions. It is brought before him, not in a cold way, merely teaching him a lesson. He is taught to know and to believe: he is led to adore and to confide; he is brought to invoke through it all the graces of which he stands in need. All this is done every time that he makes the sign of the cross, pronouncing the blessed words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

While many of your learned expounders of scripture are comparing text with text on these subjects, trying to remove, but scarcely removing, the doubts which they know to exist among their hearers, which they feel, perhaps, rising up in their own breasts, or what is worse, while they are proposing theories in a Christian pulpit which make nought the cross of Christ and the mystery of redemption as ever taught in the Christian family, the poor Catholic, on whom they look with contempt, is making his starting point what others are but trying to prove, and while signing himself with the cross, believing, adoring, penetrating into the depths of the love of the incarnate God, and endeavoring to shape his own soul into conformity with its teachings. And you call him ignorant. Indeed, a pure though simple faith among these people enables them to see the great truths of religion with a clearness that supplies frequently an apt reply to difficulties that seem very embarrassing to their opponents.

Yet, this is the first lesson that the Catholic child learns at his mother's knee. As he goes on, he learns more and more of God's works of mercy towards man, of his institutions for our salvation and our sanctification, and all he learns he sees reproduced in a glance in the ceremonial of the Church, which speaks to him in accents more and more eloquent, as his knowledge expands and his heart is brought more fully into conformity with God's holy teachings. In the liturgy and the various other rites of the church, she has enshrined all the great dogmas of religion. There she teaches them, there she keeps them beyond the reach of the innovator. The priest himself, the bishop, and the pope, there see them inculcated, and from thence, as from a rich treasury, draw them out to present them to the faithful. This teaching by rites in use from the beginning of the church, addresses itself to all with power, for in it they find the teaching of the saints and the sages of by-gone ages, and feel themselves breathing the same atmosphere with them. The martyrs who bore testimony to their faith with their blood, the apostolic men, who by their preaching, their labors, and their prayers, brought nations to the knowledge of Christ, the holy confessors and virgins, who,

in frail vessels, showed forth his power in every age, practised these same rites, and were therefore animated by the same faith. The church, throughout the whole world, uses them, and therefore believes as we do. What more powerful for bringing home to each one the faith of the universal, everlasting church !

There is great security for the faith of a Catholic in his receiving it through the teaching of a pastor in communion with the church of the whole world, and sanctioned by its highest authority ; but I would venture to say that there is something even more solemn in this voice of the ceremonial, which is a voice of the living and the dead—of the church of the catacombs, and of the church of this day—throughout the world. With all the force which this gives, leaning as the church does upon Christ, who died to sanctify her in truth, we are taught the great dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation ; of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ ; the plan and means of the redemption, the need in which we stand of divine grace, and the means of obtaining it. We are taught the character of the great Christian oblation, the nature and effects of the sacraments, as well as the dispositions they require, and the duties they impose.

Far be it from me to undervalue the oral teaching of the ministry. That found in the ceremonial presupposes it, and is based on it. Both are, as they should be, combined in the ministrations of the church ; but the ceremonial fixes the oral teaching. It gives the Christian system a body, as it were, in which it enables it to prolong its life beyond the moments of the passing voice. When once embodied in a rite, the impressions of oral instruction, which otherwise so easily pass away, live for ever. They are seized in their whole entirely at a glance ; they are brought down to the comprehension of the lowest ; they are put forth with a majesty that the highest may admire. Men are taught there, and what is most important they are lead to act on the teaching, and thus conform their hearts, as well as their minds, to the holy dogmas of faith, which is the best and most useful way of imparting Christian instruction. But I will be told that this teaching, however useful for those who understand it, is lost for the great mass of the people, as the language used is a dead one, which few understand. But, in the first place, it is not lost, even though the clergy alone should understand it. Is it not an important thing that the clergy themselves should have something to keep alive powerfully amongst them the one, universal and everlasting faith ? Will not all the faithful find strength in their strength, and light in their light ? If they

are kept right, the truth spread abroad by them will easily be preserved pure among the masses of the people. Almost all heresies—be it said to our shame—either had their source in the sanctuary, or could not have succeeded if they had not found support there. And is it not a great thing that he who would become a prevaricator, must cease to minister to-day, as he did yesterday, and thus give public notice, as it were, that he seeks to devour the flock which he had undertaken to feed ; that instead of keeping the deposit which was the first duty of his office, as dispenser of the mysteries of God, he is substituting some new-fangled theory of his own, palming it off as an institution of heaven? Luther can establish a new system only by ceasing to say mass. The church of Cranmer is not at ease until it has formed for itself a new liturgy. The Greeks and other Orientals by preserving their ancient rites and ceremonies, have preserved almost all their ancient dogmas, and to re-enter the church have little else to do but to submit to the authority of its supreme pastor. But apart from this, the ceremonial itself speaks to all the people in a language which all understand. The rites are themselves a language easily learned, and speaking with silent eloquence to men of every tongue. They are to some extent what the learned have been so long looking for, a universal language. In fact, when the priest raises up the host, the Irishman and the German, the Greek and the American, *see* the présence of Christ preached to them, and they kneel down and adore. When the water is poured on the head of the child that is baptised, men of every clime know that the regenerating rite is being performed. The rite once properly explained ever after expresses to them better than any combination of words, the internal change that is effected in the soul. Then, it must be remembered that the main thing in the public service is what is *done*, not what is *said*. Every moderately instructed Catholic is fully aware of what there takes place, and with this knowledge he can assist, not only devoutly but intelligently, though he may not understand or even hear one word.

The great source of mistake, in this connection, with our separated brethren, arises from the fact that they go to church merely to hear instruction, or to have words put into their mouths, in which to address Almighty God. The Catholic also often goes for instruction, and this he receives in the language which he understands. But he goes for what is even more important—he goes to take a part in the great act that is performed in God's holy temple. He knows the nature and ends of this, and the disposition required of him, and as I said before, he can perform his part though he may not even hear,

much less understand one word that is pronounced. I will suppose a case of the surrender of a large army. The vanquished soldiers march to the place appointed. They lay down their arms, they lower their flag, The victorious general, with his warriors, stands by and receives them. A speech perhaps is made. But all who are present take an intelligent part in the proceedings, though many may not hear one word that is uttered. So it is with the great action at mass. I will not have recourse to the common reply, that all that the priest says at the altar is translated and published ; that any one who desires may read and know for himself ; for though the fact be true, it is not the true solution of the difficulty. I have no hesitation in saying in assisting at the most solemn part of the celebration of the divine mysteries, it is best not to attend to the particular prayers recited by the priest, whether one hear them or not, whether he be or be not capable of understanding them. It is better to assist with an enlightened faith in the action that is performed, and then give full play to such sentiments as this faith will awaken in each individual soul. This is evidently the view of the Church. For this reason, after the offertory, that is, when the most important portion begins, the priest is made to recite almost all his part of the liturgy in a low tone, so that those present cannot hear him even if they be capable of understanding what he says. Among the Greeks a curtain is drawn across the sanctuary, so that they cannot even see him, but merely know by some signals, if I may so call them, given from time to time, in what part of the sacred act he is engaged.

The Church, by this, evidently tells us, that by an assistance in faith, each one yielding to the promptings of his own devotion will derive more profit than by following the priest's words. Indeed, the parts of the priest and people in this sacred act are so essentially distinct, that it is scarcely to be expected that the same prayers should be best for both. While the Church has minutely arranged the rites and prayers used by him who offers sacrifice, she is satisfied with awakening the faith and enlightening the devotion of others who assist ; and then leaving it to their enlightened faith what each shall say to God on such occasions. She acts like the master of the house, who prepares the banquet, where each guest finds abundance of everything agreeable to the palate, and nourishing to the body. With great care he has prescribed the parts of those who are occupied in preparing or serving it up, so that all present may receive substantial proofs of his interest ; but when this is done, he leaves the invited to partake of what is prepared, as their own tastes will prompt. It is thus that the Catholic system, which is accused of tying men down to a performance of mere routine,

is that which really gives more scope to individual liberty in public worship, while public decorum and dignity are effectually secured by an established ritual. With your extempore prayers he who utters them has indeed full scope for his feeling and his fancy, but he is liable also to their vagaries, and his hearers are at his mercy. As he weeps or rejoices, all must weep or rejoice, or he becomes to them a hindrance. Their hearts move or try to move, not as the spirit, but as the leader willeth, and not unfrequently may he lead them into paths from which their instincts will recoil. They, whose whole time is engaged in following a prescribed liturgy, must ever go on in the same groove. Whatever be the feelings or the wants or the temper of mind of each individual habitually or at the moment, the same unchanging road is chalked out for all. What they hear may be beautiful, but it may be far from being the best suited for many at that moment. Hence disgust or cold indifference is sure to follow, of which beautiful forms may be only a pompous covering. Amongst Catholics on the other hand, while the church to secure order and truth and public decorum, has carefully regulated every word and act of the priest, and presents in the celebration of the divine mysteries the most powerful incentive to faith and devotion in all its bearings, she leaves each one else who is present to assist as his own wants and dispositions may prompt.

The ingenious zeal of pious men has provided helps for all in manuals of various kinds, and each one will select what he finds best suited for himself. He will use it or interrupt its use, or drop it altogether as experience will show him to be most useful in his own case. When it is not done through apathy or listlessness, he may find it better to dispense with them all, being satisfied with a look, with vivid faith, and such other interior acts as a faithful soul will soon learn to perform with alacrity. Knowing what he himself is, and who is before him, he will not be at a loss what to say. At one time he will weep over his sins; at another he will give thanks to God; at another he will lay open his wants, or ask pardon for his transgressions. Where can he do any of these things more effectually than in the presence of him who died for our sins, and to procure for us every blessing.

And many, in fact, thus assist in silent prayer, but with more intelligent and true devotion, though they neither use a book nor hear a word, than others who are pondering over most beautiful manuals.

The danger of cold formality from the steady use of prescribed forms, and nothingelse, is so thoroughly realized by the church, and this fear is so fully justified by her experi-

ence that the priest himself is warned over and over against it. The remedy that is given him, is the practice of what might be called private individual prayer. All spiritual writers tell him that if he be not fond of this, if especially he be not careful to renew his spirit by it, in immediate preparation for the exercise of his sacred functions, they will degenerate into mere formalism. With this private preparation he will prepare and carry into them a proper spirit and will then find them a heavenly manna, having every sweet taste ; without this, he will be but as the conduit pipe, carrying to others the refreshing waters, but retaining himself none of the effects of their invigorating powers.

These remarks apply to the most sacred and most important part of the mass. If the church do not wish us even to hear them, much less require us to understand them, if she be right in believing that we may thus assist most advantageously, it is a matter of no consequence what language the priest uses in addressing the Almighty God, for he understands him, and that is enough. The rites he performs give all the instruction or admonition that is useful at that moment, and this instruction does not disturb our individual devotion. On the contrary, whatever turn it may take, it enlivens, supports, and directs it.

As to the first parts of the mass, to which these remarks are not so applicable, the "Gospels," which vary at every festival, are required to be read at least on festivals, in their own language, and explained by each pastor to his people. The "Collects," are known to be all substantially supplications for grace, to which, therefore, we may heartily answer, *Amen*, though we do not understand each word. Little else remains but the "Kyrie," the "Gloria," and the "Credo," and these, like the "Pater Noster," and a few other things sung by the priest, might be easily learned, so as to be understood by any diligent person. Indeed, I may say it is the wish of the church that all should learn them. She would be glad that all would take a part in singing them, as the people do in many countries. The study of Latin required for this is not much ; for all that I have referred to might be contained in two or three pages, and is not beyond the reach of any one, not even of those who cannot read. Many such learn it by heart, and understand what they have learned. Doing so would be but a light task in view of the many advantages gained. All might then join in the public chaunts of the church and be gainers in spiritual life, even if they did not discourse equally elegant music ; or, if our apathy compels the church to let our parts

be discharged, as it were, by deputies in the choir, we would assist and join in the beautiful sentiments which are expressed, and not merely sit inactive to receive the sweet impressions of their melodies.

But, though this would better accord with the spirit of the Church, if these parts also through our own apathy are unintelligible, the intrinsic character of the act for which we are preparing will suggest pious sentiments that will enable us to pass the time with substantial profit to our souls.

But, be it that there is some little disadvantage in having the mass in a dead language, what I have said, I think, abundantly proves at least that it is not very great. Look, on the other hand, at the immense advantages gained by keeping it uniform and without change, which implies keeping it in the language in which it was first established. By this, uniformity and steadiness are secured in the faith. The faith of every nation embalmed, as I said before, in the liturgy, is before the eyes of the universal church; it is transmitted untarnished from generation to generation. This uniform and steady liturgy becomes as an anchor to which every church is moored. As long as it clings to this it is safe. And can any one who knows the value of faith, of that faith for which legions of martyrs shed their blood, deem the little loss that is sustained, if any, by our Latin liturgy, not well compensated by the stability of faith which it secures. For this reason, though the world in the apostolic days was even more divided in language than it is now, yet in those times, as we know from all antiquity, the liturgy was celebrated only in three languages—the three languages of the cross. These are, the Hebrew, in its cognate dialects, which are but branches of the one Semitic tongue, as a homage to the ancient dispensation; the Greek, which was the language of civilization of that age, and that adopted in the New Testament; and the Latin, which was the language of the people whose capital was to be the seat of the government of the Church of the New Dispensation. In these three languages was written the inscription over the bloody sacrifice on Calvary; in these, and in no others from the beginning, was the unbloody one offered to God by the church. No others having been adopted was a clear proof that in the apostolic view it was not deemed necessary that all should understand the language used in the sacred mysteries; and, when even these ceased to be popular languages anywhere, what had always been the condition of the great number, became the condition of all.

In after ages a few exceptions, and only a few, were permitted or rather tolerated. The liturgy was allowed to be celebrated in one other language in Asia, the Armenian ; in two in Africa, the Coptic and the Ethiopic : and in one in Europe, the Slavonic. No others were used. But these were exceptional cases—they occurred at a later period, and under peculiar circumstances, showing rather the sufferance than the genuine spirit of the church, while she cordially adopted from the beginning, and ever clung to the three languages of the cross.

It is both beautiful and useful to the Catholic to assist at the divine offices in the same language, and in the main, with the same rites, in which they have been performed for eighteen hundred years. They seem like the voice of the martyrs, the confessors, the saints who have lived through these eighteen centuries. They echo their faith and their devotion. We feel that in them we are breathing the life of a church now and ever spread throughout the whole world, everywhere offering to God one sacrifice of praise.

A dignitary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country has lately written an angry letter against those of his brethren who are called "Ritualists," because they are anxious to introduce into their church many Catholic, or, as he calls them, "Romish" ceremonies. His ground of complaint is, that behind these ceremonies stand the doctrines of the Catholic Church. "Their course," he says, "means return to what the reformation cast out with indignation." "It means Romanism in all its strength and substance," and he enumerates the various doctrines which it implies, which he considers abominations. I do not wish to pronounce an opinion on the extent to which his remarks are justifiable in their application to the parties against whom he writes ; but he is certainly right in believing that behind the Catholic ritual stands Catholic doctrine, which is nothing else but Christian doctrine ; and as the reformation "cast out" many of the rites in use in the Christian family from the beginning, with them it "cast out" a great portion of the Christian dogma. The good man's charge will only make those who preserve the dogma see more clearly the value of the rites in which it is enshrined, and cling more tenaciously to dogmas thus shown to be coeval with Christianity.

Every rite has thus a lesson, and becomes an act of devotion. The cross above our churches and our altars, continually reappearing in all our ceremonies, impresses on us the incarnation, death, and atonement of Christ crucified, as the great central point of all religion. To this we are con-

stantly brought back in every prayer which concludes by asking what we demand, through Jesus Christ, the familiar closing of which, the "*per omnia sæcula sæculorum*," known to every child, calls forth from all, the heartfelt *Amen!* To this, and to what should accompany it, the Catholic is constantly directed by the ceremonial. The church bell, signed with the cross, and anointed with oil, which is a symbol of Christ, swings in the tower, and as his messenger, calls us in his name to his house—now, ringing out with joy, when some great mystery is to be commemorated—now, in deep solemn notes, to pray for one of his departed members. Three times every day it summonses us to the recital of the Angelus, in which we commemorate the great mystery of the incarnation, and invoke the merits of the Saviour's death, and ask the benefit of his resurrection. If we enter the church, the font at the door, from which we take a drop of blessed water to sprinkle our foreheads, is itself a sermon on the purity with which we should approach, and bids us cleanse our souls before we come near to him in prayer. The burning lamp speaks to us of him who is the light of the world, now dwelling on the altar, as well as of the constant fire of devotion, and pure adoration, due to the present God. The priest whom you see at the altar, clad in those quaint old vestments, tells you at a glance that you are in the presence of a worship that has come down from the remotest ages. The burning lights on the altar, which have now become an emblem of gladness, speak to you of the catacombs, in which our fathers took refuge, and preserved for us the sacred deposit, at the cost of property, of liberty, and of life.

Like old heirlooms, with their quaint old forms and their several indentations, these vestments and rites tell at the same time of their real antiquity and of the many vicissitudes through which they have passed. They are not like those imitations of the antique in use amongst some of our friends, got up by studying ancient drawings and descriptions, having all the inconvenience without anything of the venerable character of what is truly ancient. With us they are inherited through uninterrupted use from the beginning. Whatever changes have occurred in minor details, only render them more venerable, for if on the one hand we are brought back to ancient days, these are marks of the many ages through which they have passed. Everything in the rites of the church is fraught with instruction, with devotion. It enables you to know, and what is better, to practice—for while it teaches, it leads you to love and adore.

Do you wish to know the efficacy of that ceremonial? Look at those who have been nursed under its training. See the all-pervading influence of religion, that exists among them. Long and powerful discourses make men skilful talkers and ardent partisans. Those who have been reared under a divinely inspired ritual have religion deeply engraven on their hearts. It takes possession and enters into the whole nature of the man; and even when he gives way to the allurements of iniquity, it retains its hold on him. This may indeed make him appear, and be, an inconsistent object of pity or of scorn. But, happy inconsistency! For if he will not be consistent in good, far better that he be inconsistent or not consistent in evil. He would otherwise become a monster. The links by which he is yet bound to what is good, may one day draw him within the pale of that mercy to which no sinner appealed in vain, before which no sinner is too great to be pardoned.

To the Catholic, in every position, the ceremonial is light and nourishment—a plentiful source of vigor and life.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PRESENT JUBILEE.

The following questions which were proposed to the Sacred Penitentiary, Rome, will, with the answers given to them, be interesting to the clergy at the present moment:—

“Occasione Jubilaei indicti die 11^a Aprilis, 1869, dubia, quae sequuntur, S. Poenitentiariae fuerunt proposita:

“1. An inter facultates pro Jubilaeo concessas contineatur facultas absolvendi poenitentes ab haeresi? *Resp.* Affirmative, abjuratis prius, et retractatis erroribus prout de jure.

“2. An tempore Jubilaei, ille, qui vi Jubilaei ejusdem fuerit a censuris et a casibus reservatis absolutus, si iterum incidat in casus et censuras reservatas, possit secunda vice absolvi peragens iterum opera injuncta? *Resp.* Negative.

“3. An ille, qui lucratus jam fuerit prima vice Indulgentiam Jubilaei, possit eam iterum lucrari si repetat opera injuncta? *Resp.* Affirmative.

“4. An Confessarii uti possint facultatibus extraordinariis erga eum qui petat quidem absolvi et dispensari; quique

tamen non habeat voluntatem peragendi opera injuncta et lucrandi Jubilaeum? *Resp.* Negative.

"Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 1 Junii, 1869.

ANTONIUS MARIA CARD. PANEBIANCO,

Poenitentiarius Major,

L. CAN. PEIRANO,

S. P. Secretarius."

We may add in reply to queries addressed to us from various quarters, that:—

1st. The fast and other works enjoined for gaining the Indulgences of the Jubilee, must be performed within one week.

2nd. To gain these Indulgences it is not necessary to perform the enjoined works in any particular place, *ex. gr.* he who has fasted for one day in Cork, and is obliged to go to Kilkenny or elsewhere on business, may complete there the works enjoined for the Jubilee, without repeating those which he had already performed in Cork. In the same way a stranger, coming for instance to Dublin, may gain the Indulgences by performing here the various prescribed works.

3rd. The Indulgences may be gained either in the same or in different places, as many times as the various prescribed works are repeated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WHERE IS THE MISSAL OF ST. COLUMBAN?

To the Editors of the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record."

GENTLEMEN,—Undoubtedly one of the most interesting MSS. in connection with Catholic Ireland is, "*The Missal of St. Columbanus.*" The July issue of the Dublin Review, in a notice of Dr. Moran's learned Essays on the Early Irish Church, repeats a statement of Dr. Lanigan's, that Mabillon found the Missal in the Library of Bobbio, and that it was then upwards of a thousand years old. "From the Monastery at Bobbio," the D. Review goes on to say, "It was brought by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo to the Ambrosian Library, at Milan." Where is it now? It is not in that Library. Within the past month, the writer examined the ancient MSS. deposited there, and found a *copy* of the Missal of Columbanus, dating from the *tenth century*, and certified by the signature of the librarian of Bobbio, as

"the Missal of Columbanus, Bobbio." Enquiries made of the learned ecclesiastic in charge of the MSS. brought out the reply, that the *original* was probably in the Imperial Library at Paris. Diligent search made subsequently there led to disappointments, as the Imperial Library does not contain either the original work, or any MS. copy of it. The great value and interest attaching to this venerable monument of our ancient church, induces the writer to ask the question, which heads this short letter.

VIATOR.

[It must have been through inadvertence, that our esteemed correspondent relied on the statement of the Dublin Review, and enquired at the Ambrosian Library, Milan, for the *Missal of St. Columban*. The Irish MSS. in the Ambrosian Library were brought thither from Bobbio by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, before the close of the sixteenth century. It was more than a century later that the learned Mabillon, when visiting the Monastery of Bobbio, found this famous Missal of the sixth century, among the few remaining MSS. which still enriched its Library. There can be but little doubt that Mabillon bore off with him this prize, and it is probable that it is now preserved with the other MSS. of the Monastery of St. Germain, in the Imperial Library of Paris. Mabillon tells us that this MS. had no title, and it was merely for the convenience of referring to it that he gave it in his printed text, the arbitrary name of "*Sacramentarium Gallicanum*." We mention this, lest any of our readers, whilst seeking for this venerable monument of our early church, should limit their researches to a bare enquiry for the Missal of St. Columban.]

DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES.

It results from the following important Decree of the S. Congregation of Rites, which reached us just as we were going to Press, that the prayer, *De Spiritu Sancto*, which was ordered to be offered up throughout the Catholic world, in preparation for the approaching Ecumenical Council, is to be considered as *de re gravi*, and hence is to be inserted in all Masses, excepting only those of *Requiem*:—

"De Missa Spiritus Sancti quam Sanctissimus Dominus

Noster Pius Papa IX. Litteris Apostolicis in forma Brevis datis die 11 aprilis anni 1869. omnibus Ecclesiis Capitularibus et conventualibus Urbis et Orbis praeter consetam Conventualem celebrandam qualibet Feria V. injunxit, et de Collecta de eodem Spiritu Sancto in Missis quotidie addenda, sequentia Dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi exhibita fuerunt, nimirum :

“Dubium I. An praedicta Missa votiva de Spiritu Sancto debeat esse cantata vel lecta ?

“Dubium II. An huic Missae addi debeat Gloria et Credo ?

“Dubium III. An haec Missa omittenda sit in octavis privilegiatis Paschatis et Epiphaniae, itemque Nativitatis et Corporis Christi, praesertim si est lecta ?

“Dubium IV. Qua hora haec Missa celebrari debeat ?

“Dubium V. An in hac Missa unica Oratio vel plures ut in Missis votivis dici debeant ?

“Dubium VI. An sit onus impositum Canonicis vel potius Ecclesiae ?

“Dubium VII. In Ecclesiis praesertim Sanctimonialium, in quibus attentis temporum circumstantiis una Missa vix potest celebrari, quid fieri debeat ? quatenam omittenda ?

“Dubium VIII. An collecta de Spiritu Sancto debeat omitti in diebus primae et secundae Classis ?

“Haec autem dubia quum subscriptus Secretarius retulisset in Ordinariis Sacrorum Rituum Comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis Emi ac Rmi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, audito prius voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris scripto exarato typisque evulgato rescribendum censuerunt :

“Ad I. In omnibus Cathedralibus et in Collegiatis ubi quotidie canitur Missa Conventualis, cantari debet etiam Missa de Spiritu Sancto : in aliis Ecclesiis in Brevi Apostolico designatis, haec Missa debet legi vel cani prout legitur vel canitur Missa Conventualis.

“Ad II. In casu tam in Missa cum cantu quam in Missa sine cantu addatur Gloria et Credo.

“Ad III. Standum est praescriptioni Brevis, ideoque singulis Feriis V. in quibus non occurrat Duplex primae vel secundae Classis, est celebranda, etiamsi celebretur lecta.

“Ad IV. Cantetur, aut legatur post Nonam, et etiam post omnes Missas a Rubricis eadem die praescriptas.

“Ad V. In casu dici debet una tantum Oratio tam in Missa cum cantu, quam in Missa sine cantu.

“Ad VI. Est onus Ecclesiae, et haberi debet ut pars servitii choralis.

“Ad VII. Moniales non comprehendi.

“Ad VIII, Negative et in Festis primae Classis dici debet sub unica conclusione ; in Festis vero secundae Classis cum propria conclusione. Atque ita rescripserunt. Die 3. Julii 1869.

“Facta autem per me infrascriptum Secretarium de prae-missis Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae IX. relatione, Sanctitas Sua Sacrae Congregationis responsa approbavit, confirmavit ac servari mandavit. Die 8 iisdem Mense et Anno.”

C. EPISCOPUS PORTUEN. ET S. RUFINAE CARD.

PATRIZI, S. R. C. PRAEFECTUS.

Dominicus Bartholini, S. R. C.

Secretarius.

DOCUMENT.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE IX. ALLOCUTIO HABITA IN CONSISTORIO SECRETO. (25th June, 1869).

VENERABILES FRATRES.

Novam, et catholicae Ecclesiae, eiusque immunitati, liberati, et iuribus, ac vel ipsi civili societati maxime infestam legem a Subalpino Gubernio editam, ac promulgatam cum summo animi Nostri dolore in hoc amplissimo vestro consensu deplorare cogimur, Venerabiles Fratres. Atque hic Nos loquimur de lege, qua idem Gubernium, post tot ac innumeros fere ausus, et iniurias Ecclesiae, eiusque sacris ministris, rebusque illatas, Clericos militari conquisitioni subiicere non dubitavit. Ecquis non videt quam damnosa, et quam hostilis Ecclesiae sit haec lex, quae Ecclesiae ius ab ipso Christo Domino ei tributum impedit, et coarctat eligendi idoneos, ac necessarios ministros, qui ab eodem Christo ad divinam uam religionem tuendam, propagandam, ad animarum salutem usque ad consummationem saeculi procurandam constituti fuerunt ; quaeque potissimum eo unice spectare videtur, ut in hac infelicissima Italia, si fieri unquam posset, catholica Ecclesia funditus deleatur et exterminetur ?

Nobis certe verba desunt ad eiusmodi legem denuo improbandam ac detestandam. Quisque noscit, Nos pro Apostolici Nostri ministerii munere haud omisisse Nostro officio studiosissime perfungi, et omnes Venerabiles Fratres sacrorum in

Italia Antistites cum summa eorum nominis laude iustissimas suas fecisse querelas, reclamationes, et expostulationes, ut huiusmodi lex nunquam locum haberet. Atque utinam hac occasione abstinere Nos possemus, Venerabiles Fratres, a lugendis gravissimis malis et damnis, quibus sanctissima nostra religio nunc in Austriaco etiam Imperio et Hungariae Regno miserandum in modum affligitur ac divexatur. Notitiae autem, quae de Ecclesiae rebus ex Hispaniarum Regno ad Nos perveniunt, nullam consolationem, quin immo tristitiam et moerorem Nobis afferunt.

Russicum vero Gubernium pergit catholicam insectari Ecclesiam, et ab omnibus fere Dioecesibus suos, vi etiam adhibita, eiicere Episcopos, eosque in exilium pellere, propterea quod Christi hic in terris Vicarii vocem ac mandata, prout debent, audire et exequi volunt, nec sinit eosdem Episcopos ab illis Imperii finibus egredi, etiamsi maxima Ecclesiae utilitas id omnino postulet. Ac magis in dies omni modo impedit, quominus illi fideles cum Nobis et hac Apostolica Sede libere communicare queant.

Sed inter gravissimas, quibus vexamur, angustias, non mediocri certe solatio Nobis est pastoralis zelus, summopere laudandus, quo Sacrorum Antistites rem catholicam viriliter tutantur, et sanctissimae fidei nostrae principia integra servare et Ecclesiae unitatem propugnare contendunt adversus multiplices insidias et conatus, quibus impii homines suos errores propagare connituntur. Ac futurum confidimus, ut universus catholicus Clerus illustria Episcoporum suorum exempla pro viribus imitari, et aemulari conetur.

Interim istos omnes Christi, eiusque Sanctae Ecclesiae hostes etiam atque etiam monemus, ut tandem aliquando serio considerent quam terribilis sit Deus in suis, eiusque Ecclesiae, hostibus puniendis.

Nos autem non desistamus, Venerabiles Fratres, ferventissimis, humillimisque precibus misericordiarum Patrem orare et obsecrare, ut omnes miseros errantes de perditionis via ad rectum veritatis, iustitiae, salutisque tramitem reducat, utque catholicam Ecclesiam ubique terrarum novis ac splendidioribus triumphis quotidie magis exornet et augeat.

[NEW SERIES.]

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1869.

SOGARTH AROON.

LECTURE, DELIVERED ON ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1869,
BY REV. M. O'CONNOR, S.J.

WHETHER we consider this day as dedicated to religion or to patriotism, the subject on which I intend addressing you appears to me appropriate. Religion is brought home to every one by no agency more powerfully than by that of the priest. Patriotism, I hesitate not to say, has been cherished, strengthened and propagated in Ireland by no body or class more effectually than by the priesthood. The hallowed recollections of this day, therefore, make us turn naturally to him in whom religion and patriotism are embodied with so much power, to our own "Sogarth Aroon."¹ It is unnecessary to speak to you of the feelings of those who know him best—the people, with whom and for whom he lives and labors, whose good opinion is therefore most honorable. To call them respect, veneration, confidence, would be but tame words. We must see the glow of the countenance, the open hand, the warm heart, with which he is met. We must see how the wildest outburst of passion is checked, frequently subdued, how the moral feeling is evoked by his word, and even when not gaining the ascendancy, how it gives evidence of the power that is resisted. We should see what he is able to induce the people to do and to suffer, and this in the untoward circumstances of Ireland.

¹ These words signify literally, *Priest dear*. They constitute the title by which the Irish people express their fond esteem for him.

These feelings are all expressed in the words which I have chosen for the title of my lecture, not so much on account of their literal meaning, as because the feelings that exist have clustered around them and find expression in them, as is the case with many other words which derive significance more from the known character of what they refer to, than from their literal meaning.

It cannot be uninteresting to study the sources of the influence of this priest, so much loved, so much hated, so much prized, so much despised, according to the stand-point from which he is viewed, an influence which nothing hitherto has been able to destroy.

There is no doubt that it has its first root in the people's conviction of the high dignity of the essential character of his office.

The priest acts as the agent of God in regenerating the soul when it first comes into the world, in guiding and protecting it during its whole earthly career, in strengthening it when it is about to go before its God. Religion, with its sublime truths, its saving institutions, its joys, its hopes, and its consolations, is brought home to us in all our trials and necessities, in our various positions in life and in death, through his instrumentality. No wonder that with such associations he should be dear to all who value these things, if he be but true to his calling.

The Irish priest, thank God, has come up to this requirement in an eminent degree. He has been true to the God whom he served, true to the people to whom he ministered. He has been true in adversity, in many toils and stripes; true when calumny blackened him, when the persecutor dogged his steps, when banishment or death stared him in the face. He has been true to them in administering to their spiritual wants, in the discharge of the immediate duties of his calling. He has been true to them in whatever part he took in their public or private affairs. For, though the traitor, worming himself into the people's confidence, and betraying them at the critical moment, has been the great bane of Ireland from the earliest days of her history down to this very year of grace in which we live, I have yet to learn that any such were ever found among her consecrated priests, who retained their position in the Church.

But the attachment of the Irish people to their priests may be said to be special even amongst good Catholics. It must, therefore, have special causes. It is to these that we must direct our attention to-night.

The habits, and feelings, and principles of nations have

generally their roots in the distant past, though they are strengthened or modified by the present. It is in this that we must seek a full explanation of the feelings of the Irish people towards their priests.

The brightest pages in the nation's history are illumined by their lives and their deeds. When the name of Ireland was illustrious throughout the civilized world, when from all parts of Europe, youth flocked in crowds to her shores to be trained in learning and in virtue, when her sons, to use the expression of an ancient continental writer, spread themselves like swarms over the continent of Europe, carrying everywhere the torch of religion and civilization, the priests were foremost in the work.

And these days are not forgotten. Not only does history record them, they yet live in the national traditions. Those monks of old, who spent their time in prayer, in study, and in labor, spread over the hills and valleys of Ireland, so that the whole land seemed but a sanctuary from which an unceasing song of praise was ascending from earth to heaven, are remembered yet by the people, and from the ruins of their ancient abbeys they exercise an influence on the national feelings.

But to come down to the sad days that exert a more immediate influence on the present, when persecution raged, and the people were plundered and banished or slaughtered with a cruelty that has scarcely a parallel amongst civilized or savage nations, the priests were with them, soothing, consoling, encouraging, and not only sharing but foremost in their sufferings. The course then pursued by them established them in the affections of the people in a manner that centuries cannot efface.

A thrill of horror runs through the veins, when we read, as I have been lately reading, some of the details of those awful times. Men and women, and even children slaughtered in cold blood, and in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and that by thousands in one place after another—persons of every class, that escaped the sword, deprived of all they had, driven into a barren corner of the island, or, if in spite of all threats and ill usage they clung around the home of their childhood, subjected to a treatment that was scarcely less terrible than death—the extermination of the whole race coolly resolved on, and endeavoured to be carried out as far as their enemies were able—the country laid waste and become literally a howling wilderness, in which the dogs lived on the human bodies with which the land was covered by slaughter, by famine, or by pestilence, and wolves became so numerous and ravenous as to make it almost uninhabitable—and over

all this desolation, the hypocritical cry raised in thanksgiving to God for His mercies in enabling the "Saints" to execute His judgments on His enemies! Such are a few of the outlines of the picture. But horrid as are all its features, the treatment of the priests surpassed in horrors that of all the rest. Special penalties were inflicted on them, special means adopted to detect them, special cruelty exercised on them when found. It was death to protect or even to harbour them. It was penal, and if repeated, it was death to know where they were concealed, and not denounce them; yet they clung to their posts. Not to compromise their people too much, they sought refuge in the cavern, at the hill-side, in the bog, or in the forest, sometimes in the family tomb. From these they would sally out as occasion required or permitted to attend to the people, or they would administer the consolations of religion to those who came there to avail themselves of their ministry. From these same they were dragged to execution. Or, when the voice of the civilized world was raised against this barbarity, to save their lives, they were sometimes permitted or forced to expatriate themselves, though not unfrequently the captains of the vessels to whom they were consigned, were instructed to fling them overboard, when in mid sea.

Without alluding to those of whom we have no special record, we have the names of many hundreds of priests executed amidst tortures that would have disgraced the North American Indians, and thousands were driven into exile or held captives in the islands along the coast.

Yet the priests did not abandon the people. As long as it was possible, those who could conceal themselves, no matter what the risk or the sacrifice, remained at home to console and strengthen them. Many who were studying in the schools of Rome and Louvain and Salamanca, and other places, flew into the breach. Many even occupying chairs in these Universities and other honorable positions, gave up all and risked all to fly to the rescue, and went home to carry consolation to the people and share in their privations.

And when the penal laws took the place of the trooper's sword and torture, when that system was adopted which Edmund Burke has designated as "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man," the priest was the one who, above all, was aimed at. Others suffered for his sake and he for theirs, and both for what was dearer to them than life.

The priest was true to the people, and the people were true to the priest. Even when death stared them in the face, they were ready to receive and protect him. Pinched with poverty, no bribe could induce them to betray him, or if they betrayed him it was only by their indiscreet love, when the blood-hounds followed them unseen, while they sought his ministrations in the cavern or in the bog. But even then, they were ready to die with *him* whom they unwillingly betrayed. Thus Ludlow, at Castleblaney, discovered the hiding place of a priest, who had taken refuge in a cavern, and was surrounded by a few poor people, who had come there to hear Mass. The monster himself relates, in his memoirs, how he spent two days in endeavouring "to smoke them out." But they preserved life by placing their mouths near some running water that passed through the cave. When the besiegers entered, they found only one quite dead. There were fifteen others almost suffocated, yet showing some signs of life, and these were immediately despatched. But among the priest-hunters and priest-killers and priest-betrayers, you will look in vain for a truly Irish name, or if you find one such, and can trace its history, it will invariably appear that it belonged to one of those few, who first sacrificed their religion, or of those who had been seized in their infancy by the English enemy, and trained to blaspheme the religion of their fathers, and hate their native land. No bribes, no threats, no fears, no promises could induce the sons of Ireland, whose faith had not been first corrupted, to betray their priests, as none could induce these to betray or abandon their people.

It may be said that these things happened a long time ago, and have nothing to do with the present state of things, while it is of the present I am expected to speak. But it is not so long after all. The overthrow of what preceded, and the establishment by Cromwell of the new order of things, is not much more than four times as far back as I and many of you can remember. Very few intervening links connect us with it. It is not as long ago as the establishment of many of the English colonies on this continent, to whose history and proceedings friends and foes point for an explanation of the present characteristics of the population of this country, though this has received many accessions from other sources in the meantime, while the Irish Catholic people has, in a far greater degree, retained its identity and thus keeps its tradition alive, and feels the influence of the past. The effect of the proceedings of those days has been and is felt in the distribution and transmission of property, in the means adopted for the enactment and execution of laws, in all the movements of the social

body, where classes were fixed and change made more difficult by them, and all these last in a great measure to this day.

The savage ferocity of the penal laws was abandoned, but the spirit long survived in less cruel, but scarcely less annoying provisions. It may be said to survive yet in the great mass of the descendants of the Cromwellian troopers, who seized the lands and rioted in the blood of the Catholic population. Contemporary writers tell us that these men were the dregs of English Society. Not even bigotry, blind as it is, would have led an average population to the excesses of which they were guilty. Such was the deposit left in Ireland by the Cromwellian inundation. If history did not record this fact, the heartless tyranny exercised by their descendants by cruel evictions, and in many other ways, would show what blood flows in their veins. By them, or through their influence, laws without number have been enacted and yet remain in force to protect them in their property and their sports and their whims, to protect their hares and their hounds, while no effectual barrier was ever raised between their cruelty and the lives of the poor that were left at their mercy.

Nor is it so long ago since the penal laws were in force. I remember hearing from eye-witnesses many instances of the operation of these laws. Bishop England tells us that his own father was put in prison for the crime of teaching school. Father Peter O'Neill, a worthy parish priest of a parish near Youghal, who under their operation had been flogged through the streets of that town and then transported, yet survived in our day. O'Connell once proposed the health of this good old man at a public dinner at Youghal, and having given a vivid description of his sufferings, received from him an expressive though inadvertent compliment. The old man hearing the eloquent description of his own sufferings, cried out, "It is all true, but I never knew before that I suffered so much!!"

Down to our own times, priests and people have thus suffered together. They have suffered faithfully, true to one another. They were calumniated together, were robbed together, were trampled upon together, were together made outcasts and helots in their native land, the priest, through his anxiety to serve the people, bearing the brunt of the battle. No wonder that they are united in love, now that the sacred ties which arise from the essential bearing of the sacerdotal office are, if possible, rendered more sacred by a community of suffering under all kind of calumny and proscription.

It is related in the fable, that the wolves once wished to make a treaty of peace with the sheep. The first article they proposed was, that the sheep should dismiss their dogs.

"But for these," they said, "we might live in uninterrupted peace. Scarcely do we come to pay you a visit when these dogs begin to bark and to howl, and friendly communication becomes impossible." Such are the terms of peace proposed by the enemies of Irish Catholics. "These priests," they say, "are the cause of all the mischief. But for them we might dwell in uninterrupted peace. Send them away, and we shall be the best of friends." To accomplish this, and to secure the peace that it would lead to, has been the aim, and is now, in a great measure, the aim of those who control the destinies of the country, whether in or out of the government. But the people of Ireland are as unwilling now as their fathers were to accept such a peace. They know what it means, they spurn and detest it.

As proposals were made to the sheep to dismiss the dogs, attempts were made to withdraw the dogs from the care of the sheep. The priest was devoted to the people. The people divided with him what they had. When they were poor, he lived with them sharing their poverty, partaking of their scanty board, and all were contented or resigned, if not happy together. When the people had more means, the priest was amongst the first to partake of their abundance. They shared it with him with joy and pride. Then came the wolves anxious for alliance with *him*. "Why depend," they said to him, "on this precarious and humiliating means of support that makes you as a menial and a slave?" They were willing to open to him the national treasury and assign to him from it a respectable and abundant support. But the priest knew what the offer meant, and he spurned the bribe. If he must be a dependant, he preferred depending on the voluntary offerings of those whom he served, of the people whom he loved and by whom he was loved in return, rather than on those who sought to make him independent that he might cease to be identified with them, and be their natural guardian.

The priests of Ireland accepted one gift and one only, because they knew that this could not deprive them of their independence, nor deaden their interest in the people. The farmer or shopkeeper's son went to Maynooth with all the deep feelings arising from a knowledge of the injuries of his race. He prepared himself for a career in which after his short probation he would find himself as free as any man to do his best to redress them. If, during the brief time spent in college, he ate of the Queen's mutton, and saved some of the expense of his education to himself and the people, he felt that it was but a small instalment of what was due to them. He might, indeed, and no doubt did, feel ready to acknowledge

even with gratitude, and make proper return for any further instalment of justice that would be added, but it would be a poor compliment to his own manliness, or to that of the race whose blood flowed in his veins, if it were thought that this paltry grant could make him satisfied, or deaden in him the feelings created by the oppression of seven hundred years; and facts have proved that it did not. Hence, Maynooth is denounced as a failure for the chief purpose intended by the government.

But while the clergy of Ireland accepted this one grant that did not interfere with their independence, they spurned the offer to become salaried officials, and thus hirelings and slaves of the State. Nay, when lately some English statesman, to save the tottering Protestant establishment, proposed, as they expressed it, to "level up," that is, to raise the Catholic clergy to the level of the establishment by liberal allowances of public money, and others proposed to divide with them its property, the Irish bishops unanimously resolved not to accept either proposal. They knew that neither plan could be carried out without separating the priests from the people, and thus forfeiting, to some degree, their confidence, and this they valued more than silver or gold or broad domains. The Catholic clergy to-day thus show themselves as ever determined not to be separated from the people, to be one with them, to seek or accept no boon that would create a difference of interests or feelings. The people on their part cling to their priests, and will enter into no treaty with the wolves based on their dismissal. They value their labors, they appreciate their devotedness. They value first of all their ministrations in the discharge of the essential duties of their office, they value them in their application to their special wants. They know that in the priest they have a friend, in whom they can rely beyond all others, whenever counsel or aid is required, and as such they cling to him.

They look on the priest as the last and only remaining link of the glorious past. Their property has been taken from them by their enemies. Their laws and institutions have perished. Their chieftains, whose lineage and noble bearing inspired them with so much pride, are gone. Their churches, their ancient establishments of learning and charity, are levelled, or their ruins remain only to adorn the landscape; or if a few yet stand, they are worse than lost, for they have been made the homes of a hostile faith. The green fields and beautiful hills and rich valleys of their native land are there, but they are there only to mock the poverty to which the people have been reduced, for they scarcely have any share in

their teeming fertility. As it suits the fancy, the gain, the hatred or the bigotry of their enemies, they are driven into the hovels of the town, or to the poor-house, or scattered over the world. Every thing, in a word, that in other days made Ireland happy or glorious is almost gone from the people, except their noble church, and this is represented by the priest. This priest connects them with the days when a Columba civilized and evangelized the northern parts of Great Britain, when a Columbanus and his companions and followers, like shining stars, spread the light of learning and religion over France and many other countries, and made the name of their native land cherished and revered throughout the civilized world. The priest recalls the days of persecution—sad indeed if we consider all the sufferings which they brought over the land, but bright and glorious, if we consider the constancy of the martyrs, and their success in preserving and transmitting the priceless jewel of holy faith.

It was under the guidance of their priests that their battle for the faith was fought and the victory won, which makes them feel that though often in poverty and in tatters, they carry souls more noble than the descendants of the troopers who riot in ill-gotten plunder. The priest recalls all this: no wonder that he is loved.

But it is not merely on memories of the past that the respect for him is based. The battle for their faith and their morals is waged to-day, though in another form, almost as fiercely as in the days of Cromwell and the penal laws, and the priest is in the van and leads them to victory. Troopers are not going about as in former times with halberds, on which the bodies of infants are transfixed, enforcing the proclamation that doomed men to "Hell or Connaught," but delicate ladies are going round the cabins of the poor, demanding control of their children with gentle but clear hints, that "*Pa*" cannot keep any one on the estate who does not send his children to *their* school, that is, to a school where they shall be deprived of their faith. "Not keeping them on the estate," however, means levelling their cabins, driving them out on the public road, consigning them to hunger and starvation, so that the same end is reached by these delicate ladies as by the troopers of Cromwell. Bribing by situations and salaries and good places and presents, which are known to be gained by those who would fall away and are kept within the view of the thousands famishing for bread, is in full operation. The knife is not put to the throat, but the poor man is left to pine away if he be faithful, and he is made to feel effectually that apostacy would procure relief for all his misery. It is unnecessary to say that

to preserve a whole population against all this is an arduous undertaking, that hard and persevering work, nay, ingenuity of every kind is necessary for success. People talk of inculcating truth by mild persuasion, and complain of the rough harangues of Irish priests. But when the stomach is appealed to on one side, when the harrowing cries of the children asking for food, pierce a father or mother's heart, day after day, and night after night ; when a damp floor, with scarce a covering on their bodies, forms their dreary bed, when even the roof that afforded but partial shelter is about being torn down, and nothing is required to step into every comfort but to go take some bread and wine in yon building designated as a church, or even less than that, to send their children to be clothed and fed, *and taught* by her ladyship, and her daughters, or by their nominees, who under the guise of imparting education are determined to rob them of their faith, it requires something more than sweet talk on the other side, to man them for the struggle, and drive off their deceivers. Men should realize the situation of priests and people before pronouncing on the suitability of the measures that are adopted. The priests not only owe it to the strong to point out danger, they owe it to the wavering to strengthen the moral principle ; they owe it to those who may have fallen to recall them to a sense of duty, they owe it to all to quicken and bring to bear the public opinion of the humble circle in which they move, which is frequently the last resource left them in their struggle with power and with money, and this public opinion, humble though it be, backed as it is by the whispering of their own consciences, will support many who might otherwise be overcome by the base temptations which their hearts despise, but to which their misery might make them victims. It requires something more than sweet talk to induce men and women, who appear deaf to all feelings of humanity, to give up their inhuman warfare against the poor.

This will explain and justify many of those scathing appeals to which the priest finds it necessary to have recourse to protect his people. I will not say that language has not been used which in cool moments all will regret and sometimes perhaps justly blame. But all honorable men will make great allowances even for some excess of feeling, when such outrageous assaults are resisted, and will view only with contempt the whining hypocrisy of those who catch at every excited expression that escapes the victim, while they have no word of reproach for the cool, deliberate, and persevering cruelty with which wealth and every resource of legal power are brought to bear to oppress.

To the honor of Ireland, and Ireland's priests and people be it said, that in this unequal struggle they have almost universally baffled all the efforts of their enemies. It is but just to their heroism, and it is fraught with a salutary lesson to ourselves, priests or people or both, to contrast their success with our failure in this matter which ought to make our cheeks mantle with shame. Yes! Ireland, in misery and in chains, has succeeded in preserving her children much better than we have done with all our vaunted liberty and affluence, in the midst of which so many are allowed to grow up without faith, and thousands and tens of thousands of the children of our poor are taken away from us every year under the plea of educating them or reforming them or providing for them, and sold in the markets of the west to the highest bidders, and this almost without a murmur—certainly without any adequate resistance on our part. Ireland, trampled as she is in the dust, would not bear this with equal patience—would not bear it at all, no matter what the consequence. Our apathy may bring upon us the chastisement of Heaven. The very children whom we allowed to be torn from us may yet be the instruments of God's just vengeance in punishing us. One of the leaders of the mob that burned St. Augustin's Church in this city,* had been baptised within its walls, and while the flames were raging, he was rejoicing that the record of his baptism was being consumed. Those children, whom we allow to grow up without faith, may yet lead the bands that will deprive us of our liberties, perhaps of our lives, either in spite of or in accordance with the forms and the letter of law and of the Constitution, and our consciences will only tell us that we have but received our deserts.

Hard struggling on the part of the priests is often necessary in Ireland in the work of preserving the people, but they have been successful. I have known many cases where high aristocrats, noble lords, and titled ladies, who were endeavouring to pervert the people, were made to wince under the scathing lashes inflicted by the priest and retire from the contest, though they had on their side money, and property, and access to the courts of law, crammed with their friends, and the priest had on his side nothing but a stout heart and the justice of his cause with the sympathies which his defence of it was able to command from friend and foe.

This ingenuity sometimes assumes a shape that is amusing, as is often the case in Ireland, even with what in other respects is most sad and perplexing. I will mention one instance, the

* Philadelphia.

details of which I heard related by the chief actor himself. I will not undertake to defend it in every respect ; but when men are driven into straits, they will do things that ought not be scanned too closely. The occurrence illustrates the state of things in Ireland.

In a certain parish in that country there was a ranting parson who spared no pains to corrupt the faith of the poor Catholics. Money, of course, was as usual the lever of everything else. His zeal had recommended him to certain bigots at a distance, and he was supplied with large sums for the purpose of proselytizing. There being a great many poor in the parish, it was naturally to be feared, that some would be influenced by his bribes, and as the announcement of a few converts would be sure to swell the donations made to him, any amount spent in procuring them would be a good investment. In fact, two girls of more than doubtful reputation were induced to go to the Protestant Church, one Sunday, and receive communion at his hands, and these were hailed as the first fruits of the "wholesale conversions" that were promised. This gave pain to the priest. Though these parties were no great loss, besides their being made worse, they were a standing advertisement of what was to be gained by apostasy. In looking for a remedy, he concluded that the most efficacious would be to knock the bottom, if possible, out of the parson's treasury, and to do this he adopted the following plan. There was in the parish a certain number of Protestants, comparatively poor, though of course, poverty amongst them is quite a different thing from poverty among Catholics. But, compared to their brethren they were poor, and such people in those parts of Ireland are generally a very mean set. They are hangers on the gentry. Their great ambition is to be let into the kitchen, and receive small favors from "my Lord," or "my Lady," or from the butler. They are ever cringing to the great, and assuming lofty airs with their Catholic acquaintances, feeling that, though on the lowest round, they yet belong to the privileged class. They are designated in Ireland as *shoneens*, which expresses their pompous airs, and their meanness. Now, Father Murphy, for so I will call him, though that is not his name, thought that if he could compel the parson to spend the sums he had at his disposal on this class, he would deprive him in the most effectual way of the means of bribing the poor Catholics, and he knew that then there was an end of his "conversions." Looking for an opportunity of carrying this into execution, he met on the public road one of these *shoneens* named Jemmy something. The priest made him a very polite bow. "Good

morning to you," he said, with marked politeness; "Good morning, sir," said Jemmy, looking rather surprised, that the priest should recognize and salute him. "I am glad to see you, Jemmy, I have been thinking a good deal about you of late," said the priest. "Why maybe you mistake me for some one else, sir," said Jemmy. "Oh no!" said the priest, "you are Jemmy so-and-so, and I have been thinking, Jemmy," he continued, "that your condition could and ought to be bettered considerably." "Why, I am obliged to you, sir," said Jemmy, "but I don't know what you mean, or what *you* can do for me." "Oh! indeed, I am sure I can," said the priest, "but, before I go any farther, Jemmy," he added, "I want you to understand that I haven't the least notion of asking you to turn Catholic, but, I think I can put you on the way of bettering yourself, Jemmy, and you can remain as staunch a Protestant, as the parson of the parish. Now, isn't that fair, Jemmy?" said Father Murphy. "It is very fair, indeed," said Jemmy, "but, I don't know, sir, what you mean." "Well," said Father Murphy, "you heard of these two girls that went to Church last week," "Oh! yes," said Jemmy, straightening himself up, "and the whole country will soon turn also," "Well!" said the priest, "we needn't talk about that, just now; but Jemmy," he continued, "*don't you think* that the money they got, might have been laid out much better on *you*, and the likes of you." That it was a money transaction, was considered a matter of course; there was no necessity of arguing on that point, but Jemmy had not, probably, looked at the bearing of the affair on himself before. When, however, the idea was presented, he was ready at once to admit it. "Well, sir! I believe you are right, in that," he replied, "but I don't know what you mean, or what you are driving at." "Why!" said the priest, "I told you already, Jemmy, that I don't want you to *turn*, but, though you don't turn, Jemmy, do you think it would hurt you, if a report went out that you were thinking of turning?" "By the hokie!" says Jemmy, catching the plan at once, "I believe you are right sir, but how can that be done?" "Nothing is easier," said Father Murphy, "you know where I live. Come up to my house to-morrow, let somebody see you on the way. We can talk over anything you please, and I'll engage you'll not lose by it." Jemmy entered into the plan at once, and next day wended his way to the priest's house. Not far from it, he met a Catholic woman, from whom he inquired if Father Murphy was at home. "Father Murphy! why, what do you want of Father Murphy?" said the woman. "Oh!" said Jemmy "these times a man must be thinking of his soul."

"Oh! the Lord be praised!" said the woman, "who would have ever thought of Jemmy so-and-so turning Catholic." And I need not tell you, that the news soon flew through the parish. Jemmy, in the meantime, went to the priest's house, and after a long talk the priest took him out to show him the chapel, letting some passers-by see him moving in and out. He took him into the sacristy, and after some talk there, "this will be your confession, Jemmy," he said. "Yes, this will be my confession," says Jemmy, exulting in what he knew was to come. Finally, he bade adieu to the priest, with the warmest expressions of gratitude, for he knew well what was in store for him. "Now, Jemmy," the priest said to him when he was leaving, "there is one thing that I must request, and I hope you will not refuse." "Oh! by the powers!" said Jemmy, "anything you ask me sir, shall be done; I know that I am now a made man." "Well then," said the priest, "all I ask is, Jemmy, that you don't go back too cheap. Get all you can." "Oh! sir!" said Jemmy, "leave that to me," and he went home. He was not long at home when the parson, as expected, came to pay him a visit. After the usual salutations and enquiries, "Jemmy," said the parson, "I have been thinking of late a great deal about *you* and your family; you are not as well provided as I would wish, and I have a situation for you, Jemmy, where you will receive so much a week." Jemmy thought that was not bad, and inwardly thanked Father Murphy, but he remembered his injunction not to go back cheap, and he replied: "I am thankful indeed, sir, but," said he, "you know I have a large family, and it takes a great deal to support them." "Oh! never mind that," said the parson, "I have a situation for your oldest daughter also, where she will receive handsome wages." "Better and better," said Jemmy to himself, but he was resolved not to go back cheap. "But, your Reverence," he replied, "the poor girl has no clothes fit for such a place, and I am ashamed to send her as she is." "Oh! that will be settled," says the parson, "here is an order which you can take to such a shop, and she can get all the clothes she wants." The *shoneens*, by their contact with the native population, have imbibed much of their shrewdness, and Jemmy feeling that he was master of the situation turned it to good account. He found out innumerable wants.

Under one plea or another he contrived to go as deep as he could into the parson's purse, but finally had to stop when he could think of nothing more. After all this was arranged, the parson quietly remarked: "Now Jemmy," said he, "I am sorry to hear that you are weak in the faith." "Oh! well, sir!"

said Jemmy, "when a man is weak in the stomach, he cannot be strong in anything else." But *now*, sir," he says, "you can trust me" Next day, as he had promised, he called on Father Murphy, to report progress, and return his warmest thanks. Father Murphy, however was'nt done. "Now, Jemmy," he said, "since you have fared so well yourself, wouldn't it be a kind act to put your brother-in-law on the way of making a penny also?" "Oh! by the powers!" says Jemmy, "I am afraid that would be going too far." "Oh! never mind!" says the priest, "don't you think he has a better right to the money that's going, than those that have been getting it?" And it was not hard to induce him to help his brother-in-law, and he too took good care to make a dive into the parson's purse, and not to go back either cheap, and so the secret was whispered round among the *shoneens* of the parish, and all tried their hand at it, and the parson had to buy back his own people, and what was worse, it required a heavy outlay to preserve the investment. It never would have answered, if he who was to "convert" all Ireland, had not been able to preserve his own people. The result was, that the bottom was knocked out of his coffers; there was no more money to purchase poor Papists, and there was an end at that time to "conversions" in that parish. Indeed, as I am but relating what actually occurred, it may be no harm to add that the parson was so pressed by the *shoneens*, that he went deeply into debt, and was obliged to leave the country to avoid being imprisoned. Shame compelled him to leave nothing undone to prevent his own people becoming Catholics, instead of inducing the Catholics to leave the Church in masses as he had promised, and the money that he would have obtained in abundance from abroad to convert "Papists," was not to be had to retain his own, even if he had been willing to proclaim his precarious hold on them.

But the priest has not only to struggle against the enemies of the people; he is often forced to struggle with themselves. For they have not only inherited all the common ills of fallen nature, but in them, as in others, corrupt nature acquires traits and developments peculiarly their own. From these, that is from themselves, the priest is frequently called to save them, and to accomplish this it often becomes necessary to apply no gentle hand. But, although the warmth of their nature may push them into excesses, they always know that the priest's voice and hand are those of a father who loves them, and when the fire of passion has passed, they thank him that in endeavouring to restrain and protect, he did not fear to displease. The Irish priest thus holds and exercises much

power, which confessedly is not inherent in his office. It grew out of his peculiar position, and that of his people, and he holds it by a title which republicans, at least, should not dispute; he holds it through the free consent of those over whom it is exercised. His continuing to hold it, and his being supported in exercising it, is the best proof that he has been faithful to the trust under which it was granted.

Outside of the ranks of the clergy, there have been many fearless and true men, who labored for the people with zeal, or failed without a blemish. There was above all, the great O'Connell, who was a tower of strength and impregnable in his honesty. He found the people in the dust, and though he did not accomplish all he desired, he removed the brand that was stamped on their foreheads, and he taught them to look their enemies boldly in the face. Many others, if not equal yet true men, might be named. But I think I can say, without fear of contradiction, that as a class the clergy was the only body that, in supplying many good men, did not also supply a whole brood of betrayers. Statesmen betrayed them, riding into office on their shoulders, and then selling them for money or place. Hot-spoken orators betrayed them, and slipping away in the hour of the peril they had provoked, or making terms with the enemy, left the masses to bear its brunt. Many, from their own midst, with warm and honest hearts, but not with equal discretion, arousing in them an enthusiasm prompted more by their wrongs than warranted by their power or suggested by their religion, and evoking a spirit that could neither be guided nor repressed, when its dictates became unlawful, or hopeless, only plunged themselves and the whole people into deeper ruin. The blackthorn or the pike may "never miss fire," but their "fire" is not always well or lawfully directed, and they will not carry as far as rifled guns, which, in their execution, know nothing of right or wrong, and are not in the least affected by the most beautiful oratorical or poetical effusions.

The priest no more than others has been always able to obtain redress. But he neither shrunk from his post in the hour of danger, nor did his ranks supply the informers or the traitors who made other men atone for the acts they themselves had done. His hopes were not always realized, but things were seldom made worse by him, and I could quote numberless instances in which nothing was gained and much lost by disregarding his moderate counsels. But whether foiled or successful, no one can point to "spoils" which he expected for himself or his order, or to any other advantages that he obtained or was aiming at obtaining,

except what he might derive from the universal improvement in the condition of his people. No treasury was placed in his hands which the most malicious could say he was turning to his own account ; no contracts were made by him from which he could reserve fat pickings. His whole training and the spirit of his calling will, it is true, make him err, if err he will, on the side of moderation, but there is little danger of any man identified with the people, going too far in this direction in Ireland.

In all righteous struggles of the past, in which it was proper for them to take a part, the priests were foremost in the boldest movements, whenever there was a chance of success. This was so true, that they were always marked men in the estimation of the enemies of the people, and were on that account always excepted from any leniency shown to the vanquished. Though religious hatred no doubt was the leading motive of this, the part acted by the priest was the one alleged, and we cannot deny that the priest's conduct made it plausible. Had it been a good one, it would in many cases have fully justified their course.

Thus Terence O'Brien, the heroic Bishop of Emly, continued at the siege of Limerick to exhort the people with effect to the defence of their altars and firesides, though Ireton who was besieging the city offered him £40,000 in money, and permission to betake himself to any part of the world he pleased, if he would only cease. But he spurned the offer and paid the penalty of his fortitude by being hanged, quartered, and embowelled, and having his head stuck up on Thomond bridge. Even while going to the scaffold he continued the bold advocate of the people, reproaching the monster with his cruelties, and summoning him to appear for them before the judgment-seat of God, which he did in a few days, like another Antiochus acknowledging his crimes, but not with a repentance that would have obtained pardon from God.

In a similar manner, Boetius Egan, Bishop of Ross, taken prisoner by the Cromwellians, when offered his life if he would induce the Irish troops that held the Castle of Clondrohid to surrender, being led before its walls for this purpose, as soon as he came within hearing, addressed the besieged in Irish, and exhorted them to hold out, telling them that the English would soon be obliged to raise the siege. The English officer, learning the character of his address, was so exasperated that he put him to death at once, amidst the most cruel torments, which was, of course,

what he had expected. It would be endless, were I to quote similar individual examples of heroism. I have known several instances myself, when priests placed their lives and their liberties in jeopardy to protect the people. The spirit of the whole body was illustrated at the Confederation of Kilkenny, whose history is well calculated to excite feelings of pride, and at the same time of sadness—of pride for the noble stand taken by the bishops and the mass of the clergy and the flower of the people of Ireland, the former standing up for the boldest measures in which they were afterwards strengthened by the Pope's Nuncio, who came to assist in their deliberations—of sadness for the miserable termination in which bright hopes were blasted, but not through want of fidelity or courage or boldness on the part of the bishops and priests—sad particularly, because never before since the introduction of foreign domination did such an array come together; never again, I fear, can such elements of success be united, while every thing that caused them to fail exists now and with tenfold power, and to that much more is now added, and all in every probability will only acquire more power with time.

There are, as there always must be in such matters, even amongst the best, different shades of opinion amongst bishops and priests in Ireland, regarding the measures best calculated to promote the welfare of the people. I happen to have had special opportunities of knowing the real sentiments of the chief representative men of each section, and I do not hesitate to say that in sincere love for the people, in firm determination to spurn any sordid gain that could be obtained in proving false to them, in a readiness to make any sacrifice that would promote the welfare of their country, those who lead on all sides are in nothing below the standard of their most heroic predecessors, and are not surpassed by any body of men on earth.

Of the merits of the views that they maintain respectively, most of us at this distance from the scene, if we have but a little modesty, will acknowledge ourselves scarcely competent to judge, and will be satisfied with admiring and taking a just pride in the earnestness and sublime qualities by which the prominent men in each section are distinguished.

Neither now nor ever have the clergy of Ireland failed or faltered, in truth, or courage, or boldness, when any thing that it was proper for them to do was demanded by their country. But they will neither lead nor be driven in any career, the end of which is not righteous, or the means not

consistent with the principles of faith and justice, and when risks are run, this implies fair hopes of success. They kept the people from joining Luther, or walking in the path traced out for them by Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, because these rebelled against God. They will not encourage that same people to become disciples of Voltaire even for the purpose of spiting Luther or the followers of Henry and Elizabeth. They wrestled with the enemies of the people, sometimes with the people themselves to save them from corruption or oppression. They will not encourage or be silent, no matter from what quarter, or under what plea corruption is approaching, and they will not hesitate to struggle even with the people themselves when they are being drawn into what is unlawful, or are heedlessly rushing into ruin, though the basis of their complaints be well founded.

It is, however, in the unostentatious sphere of ordinary duty above all, that we must look for the display of the activity of the Irish priest, and the source of the feelings with which he is regarded. His calling and his training are both calculated to win esteem. The priest is the product of the virtue, and especially of the charity and the chastity of the people. The piety of the people has surrounded the sanctuary with a halo that attracted his youthful heart. His inherited chastity lulled every opposition to the call. Charity burning in a chaste soul urged him to follow it. This is the true history of those vocations that abound in Ireland, as is apparent to every one who has had an opportunity of studying the feelings of the youthful candidate for the ministry, before calculations of any kind have entered his soul.

Attracted to the sanctuary in this manner, the young aspirant is prepared with great care for the ministry. The standard of knowledge, which *all* are required to attain is as high, if not higher, than in any other country or communion with which I am acquainted, and I have had some opportunities of information on this subject. But what is better than knowledge the Irish priest brings to the sanctuary a heart true as steel that stands every shock. The spirit that led him to it impresses itself on his whole career. I have heard more than one stranger who became acquainted with them, say that in sound knowledge of all that is necessary or proper for their state, and in fidelity to duty, the Irish clergy are not surpassed by any body of men on earth.

Many of them adorned the most polished circles of

society, others exhibited marks of the humbler classes from whom they sprang, for whom and in the midst of whom they lived and laboured. But under frieze coats and over buttered boots they carried enlightened minds and true hearts that made them the intelligent, the skilful, the unpurchased, and unpurchasable guides and friends of the people, and enabled them to do a work that the best and the greatest might be proud of accomplishing. Such are the men to whom is committed the care of the religious welfare of the Irish people. To this they are devoted with their whole minds and hearts.

Religion is necessary for men's happiness, even in this world. Even here it is almost a remedy for every misfortune. Without religion, the balance that constitutes happiness cannot exist. With it, other things may cause a strain—there cannot be a complete toppling over. All men require it, the victim of misfortune requires it in a special manner, In its presence, misfortunes are comparatively insignificant. nay, they become the royal road to true happiness, whilst without its consolations and direction, all else is unable to satisfy the soul, and sufferings are but a foretaste of hell.

The priest, the faithful priest, is the instrument by which this power is cherished and strengthened. Its consolations are heard from his lips, its institutions are applied by his hands as the sufferer needs them. They lift up the soul bowed down by sorrow. When affliction weighs heaviest, they inspire courage and resignation. They point to God's wise and beneficent will as the great ruling principle in all things which makes heaven the goal even of suffering when sustained with resignation.

How beautiful it is to witness the result of these lessons; how touching the spirit of resignation so often displayed by Irish Catholics in the midst of the heaviest affliction, kissing the rod with which a Father chastens and leads to a higher place in heaven.

"God's will be done! God's will be praised!" is the exclamation you so often, nay, so generally hear from the poor peasant, even when affliction lays its heaviest hand upon him. The resignation, contentment, and joy with which these words are pronounced, might make him an object of envy to the votaries of pleasure.

Oh, if those who point to faults amongst our people, which could not without a miracle fail to result under the tyranny and oppression to which they have been so long subjected, would but enter into their dwellings and see the many unostentatious virtues that adorn the souls of the great

number ; if they but became familiar with their purity, their charity, with their patience and resignation, and other virtues practised faithfully by so many, they would cease to be scandalized at the few noisy outbursts of passion which force themselves on public attention, and are taken as the true characteristic of the race. They would find there a mine that would command their admiration, and make them look for the cause that can produce so much virtue. Everything that inspires these dispositions, is brought home most powerfully by the words and the ministry of the priest who holds before the eyes the sufferings of the Incarnate God.

Hence, in their sorrows and afflictions they pour out to him their whole souls, and they find comfort. Nay, scarcely is his well-known figure seen at a distance, when sorrow seems to depart or to throw off its gloom. Indeed, while he is yet at the end of the lane, the announcement that he is coming, even before he is seen, brings with it resignation and gladness, for it recalls all the holy feelings which religion would inculcate. Thus the sun yet below the horizon shoots out its rays and the heavy clouds lose their murky hues even before the orb of day has itself arisen. He enters into the comfortless cabin. Though gushing tears give vent to grief, as these pour out consolation enters, and the Christian rises above the man.

Yes ! the priest is the Irishman's great source of consolation in every shape of affliction. In poverty he lays open to him his wants, and the priest's hand and tongue are ever ready to find any remedy that can be procured. In persecution or oppression, he flies to him for succour, and if bold or persevering advocacy can find redress, it will be obtained. He is sick, and even relatives and friends abandon him, the priest alone, undeterred by the pestilential atmosphere, will enter his cabin and remain with him as long as he can render him a service in assuaging his pains or lifting up his soul to God.

In a hundred other things, the intervention of the priest is sought and its beneficial influence felt. Do differences arise between neighbours, the priest is the umpire, of whose impartiality and justice no doubt ever crosses the mind. If division arise in the family, the priest is sought as one who will pronounce a sentence consistent with justice and consideration, assuaging while he condemns, and pouring oil and endeavouring to heal the wounds he is compelled to open. Does a mother tremble for the virtue of a daughter, charmed by the serpent whose glittering spots have attracted her fancy, while she cannot believe in the poison hidden under the tongue ? It

is to the priest that she recurs, and his venerated words dispel the delusion and save her beloved child from the wiles of the charmer.

In all their perplexities there is no one else from whom they can ask counsel or aid with so much confidence. His mature judgment, his knowledge, his experience will supply him with an answer ; his influence, his acquaintance, and his skill are at their service to carry it into execution. He serves them at home, he feels an interest in them even when they are gone, and he enquires for them, and all see the unfeigned pleasure or pain by which he is animated when he hears how they fare even beyond the broad Atlantic. I have known a lady moving in the highest circles of fashion in one of our large cities, who was brought into the Church by the affectionate and touching letters of an Irish priest to a poor girl against whom it had been falsely reported at home that she had fallen away from the faith. The poor girl being unable to read asked her mistress to read the letter for her, and the fervor of faith and charity breathing in it reached the heart of the lady, and thus opened it to truth, and brought her into the Church.

The Irishman feels that in his priest, and we might add, in him alone, he has that noblest gift of Heaven, a friend that is wise and true, that will rejoice in his joys, sympathise in his sorrows, give aid or counsel in his difficulties, and where necessary chide without fear with a mother's tenderness and a father's power. He feels every noble principle of his soul strengthened, he finds himself buoyed up by the words, by the ministry of his own "Sogarth Aroon." Nay, in beholding him he feels in himself a dignity which makes him prize himself, and deservedly more than those who lord it over him, though he is but poor and they possessed of all kind of wealth. For, he feels that he is member of a Church established by God's wisdom, upheld by His power, and preserved to this day in spite of all the powers of earth and hell. He feels himself member of that Church which is spread all over the world, which has announced the name of Christ to every nation that knows Him ; a Church that covered the earth with saints and sages, that could go into the Catacombs, or seat itself on the throne of the Cæsars, and everywhere give true and therefore solid dignity to man. He feels that the priest is the link through which he is connected with that divine institution, and he thinks he beholds in him—and who will say that he is mistaken in viewing in him a standing monument of its stability, its unchangeableness, and of the power with which it announces truth and justice to the great, while it imparts dignity to the low, and consolation to the

afflicted—in looking on him, in a word, as a living embodiment of all that the soul can value, of what forms the basis of his hopes for time and eternity.

With this before him, he raises himself up to a high elevation from which he looks down with pity on the lordlings who hold indeed their broad acres, but whose souls are fed on crusts flung to them by a monarch's passions, or supplied by a fanatic's whim. These are the feelings that make his heart warm, that make his eye glisten, when he pronounces, as only he can pronounce, the words "Sogarth Aroon."

Oh! I would say to all those in whom there yet survives a spark of sympathy for the poor Irish peasant, do not deprive him if you could, do not even try to deprive him of this last ray of comfort, which has alone survived the wreck of all else. Do not deprive him of the consolations of his religion, or what would have this result sooner or later, do not try to deaden in him his confidence in his priest.

The road which you point out as leading to happiness is long and doubtful at the best, that of which you would deprive him is his last consolation on earth, but yet such that it is worth more than all the rest. With this angels hover over his abode of misery, as they did over the stable in which was born the Incarnate God. If this be taken away, the cup of his misery is filled. Yes! much as Ireland has suffered, her misery would be complete only on the day when the priest, deservedly or undeservedly, lost the confidence of the people. If he lose it through his own fault, woe to him! if by the malignity of others, the uncheered misery of a nation will bring down curses on their heads.

Men do not gather, they do not even try to gather, grapes of thorns, or figs of brambles. Had not the experience of generations justified it, did not the experience of this day confirm it, this confidence would not have been placed, or would not be continued in the priest. He could not be untrue even with the most ordinary good dispositions. The hereditary spirit of his order not only supports him, it carries him on with power in the path of duty. "*Noblesse oblige*," as the Frenchman says. It is only in the depth of baseness that this influence could be resisted. He is of the people; he lives with them; he is open to their scrutinizing gaze by day and by night, and in all ways. Their unshaken confidence is the best proof that he is now, as he ever was, the earnest, the devoted, the unpurchased and unpurchasable friend of the people. Hence their esteem and their love.

The true cause of the Irish priest's influence is thus to be found in the devotedness to the people which has ever

characterized his order, and in his being animated by the spirit of God. He watched over them with untiring care, he made himself well acquainted with their wants, their dangers, and their faults. He spared no pains to provide a remedy for all. He did this with special devotedness for the poor and the miserable, and even the intractable. He was ready to labour for them, to suffer for them, if necessary to die for them. He was ready to struggle with their enemies and their deceivers. He was ready to struggle with themselves, to displease them even for the moment when their real welfare required it. He knew that it was God whom he was bound to please, not men; no! not even those for whom he laboured. It was to Christ's model he was bound to form himself and them, not on a standard raised up at the hour. What his best exertions could accomplish, not what they demanded, was the measure of his labour. This devotedness was the source of his success.

Let the priests of our day endeavour to acquire all the graces that can adorn the priesthood, wherever they may. These can be nowhere better placed than in the sanctuary. Some may be learned as well, or better, in other lands. The whole-souled devotedness that studies with care the true wants of the people, and spares no sacrifices to provide for them, has many noble models everywhere, but as a class you will scarcely find a body that has exhibited it with more power than the Irish priesthood. Yet this is what is most important. Without this other things would be but tinsel. We may admire the snowy canvass, the tiny masts, the beautiful proportions of the bark that "walks the waters as a thing of life." When we commit ourselves to the deep, and are about to struggle with its dangers, we seek first of all the ship whose ribs and sides have been hewn out of the sturdy oak. We care not that while growing in the forest its bark was rough and its boughs crooked, nor are we repelled by many hard knots we see yet embedded in its fibre. In the hour of danger we seek safety under its strong heart and firm tissue, and think little of the rest.

May the people ever continue to value the priest. Let not sneers effect what bribery and the sword were unable to accomplish. Let their affection be greater when they see him anxious above all to do the work of God, ready to displease as he is ready to labor, and to suffer whenever their real welfare requires it. Let them pray that God shall not curse them with dumb dogs, or with dogs that will bark only as they are bid by those they are bound to guard. It is hard to say whether they who would be silent, or speak only what will tickle the ear and please for the moment, or those who openly

betray them, would be a greater misfortune. Each would deliver them a sure prey to the wolf. Let priests and people be ever ready to sacrifice every thing for the faith and the performance of the duties which faith enjoins. Let them make sure above all to transmit this in its brightness and its fullness to those who come after them, so that whatever else they gain or fail to gain, they shall not fail to transmit the sacred deposit of the faith and love for its requirements. This is the lesson which this day inculcates. From their graves unhonored perhaps by men, but on which angels look with complacency, our martyred forefathers call on us to be true in the battle in which they sacrificed all to preserve the great treasure of faith. They were true and thus victorious, for they succeeded in preserving what they prized most. To accomplish this all must be ready to labour and to make sacrifices. The spirit of sacrifice is the essential condition and the true pledge of success. This above all is what is inculcated by the lives and the labors, the works and the lessons of "Sogarth Aroon."

JOHN KNOX AND THE FIRST-FRUITS OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

(Continued from page 491).

IT was on the 29th of June, 1559, that John Knox, at the head of an armed brigade, entered the city of Edinburgh. A few days sufficed to overturn to the very foundations Our Lady's Kirk in the fields, the monastery of the grey friars, and the other monuments of ancient piety which adorned the capital and its environs.

The treasonable practices, however, of the puritan "Congregation," and the many deeds of violence and plunder perpetrated by the lawless mob gradually awakened the alarm of the citizens. Hence the ranks of the insurgents began to grow thinner every day, whilst the strength of the royalists as rapidly increased; and when at length the troops of the regent approached the city, "the saints," as Knox pitifully records, "quailed before the congregation of satan," and their leaders consulted for safety by a feigned submission, or by timely flight.

We will not dwell on the varying vicissitudes which marked the internecine struggle during the following months. The army of the kirk, composed of men "without God or honesty," as a cotemporary describes them, was unable to keep the field

against the troops of the regent, but then its leaders had their secret conclaves and their negotiations with the queen of England to console and encourage them. It was not without some difficulty, however, that Queen Elizabeth consented to become their patron.

Knox, during his stay at Geneva, and whilst imbibing at the parent source the irreligious tenets of Calvinism, had written a treatise to prove that government by woman was unlawful and contrary to the Word of God. This work was levelled against Queen Mary, who then ruled in England; but the principles which were laid down in it embraced a wider range. Elizabeth had not forgotten them, and she accordingly refused to give any aid to the Scottish covenanters till they should repudiate such principles. This was a bitter humiliation for the father of Presbyterianism, but as his interests now required it, he wrote a submissive letter to her Majesty, deprecating her wrath and praying forgiveness for his offence. The principles he had laid down, he declared, could not hold for her, for she was an exception to every rule; he added, that her whole life was a miracle, and clearly proved that she was chosen specially by God to discharge the office of queen.

The road being thus cleared for Knox and his associates, negotiations were actively carried on to procure the speedy invasion of Scotland by the English army. It was even suggested by the Presbyterian conspirators, that if it did not suit the English interests to openly declare war; a thousand men might be dispatched across the borders, and then be stigmatized as rebels by the crown of England. On receiving this proposal, even the unscrupulous Cecil was amazed;¹ nevertheless, Knox and his Scottish rebels gained their intent. They were compelled however to drink the cup of humiliation to the very dregs. Cecil required from them a formal petition to the queen for aid; he even went so far as to draw up that petition, couched in the most humiliating terms, and to forward it to them for signature. They complied, and in deference to their humble prayer Elizabeth gave orders for the English army to cross the Tweed whilst a squadron of her fleet entered the Forth.

Success now smiled on Knox and his partizans; the death of the Queen Regent of Scotland on 10th June, 1560, removed the only obstacle to their triumph, and placed the whole power of the kingdom in their hands.

It was in the name of religious liberty that the standard of revolt had been unfurled; but now that the Presbyterian

¹ "Surely I like not Knox's audacity."—"Sadler's Letters," i. 535, and see "Lingards History of England," vi. 20.

"Congregation" had gained the reins of power we seek in vain for the faintest shadow of the principles of this vaunted liberty.

On the 23rd of August, 1560, it was enacted by the Presbyterian Parliament that "all who celebrated Mass, or were present thereat, should be punished—for the first offence, with confiscation of goods; for the second, with banishment; and for the third, with death." We may learn from the pages of the latest Scottish historian, with what rigour the followers of Knox now sought to exterminate the Catholics. "About this time (he writes) proceedings were taken under the statute of 1560, against a number of persons in the west of Scotland, including John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, for celebrating Mass; and it is curious to find that the wilds of Ayrshire, which a century later were the haunts of persecuted Presbyterians, were now the resort of persecuted Catholics, who on the bleak moorlands, or beneath the shelter of some friendly rock, worshipped in secret according to the faith of their fathers. Some of the more zealous reformers, impatient of the proverbial tardiness of the law, did not hesitate to attack and disperse the "*Idolaters*" when they found them thus engaged. The Queen as well from sympathy with her Catholic subjects as from her desire to maintain the public peace, remonstrated with Knox respecting these lawless proceedings. But he not only defended but applauded them. He asserted that private individuals might even slay with their own hands idolaters and enemies of the true religion."¹ This was indeed religious liberty with a vengeance!

A few months later another act was passed, at the request of the kirk, "for demolishing all abbeys of monks and friars, and for suppressing whatsoever other monuments of idolatry were remaining in the realm;"² and, as Keith remarks, the carrying out of the act was entrusted to Moray, Arran, and others,³ whose names alone were a sufficient guarantee that the work would be done efficiently.

"Nearly two years," writes Mr. Hosack, "had elapsed since war had been declared against the monastic houses in the central counties of Scotland; but in the other districts of the country—north, south, and west—numbers of religious estab-

¹ "Mary Queen of Scots and her Accusers," by John Hosack, 1869, page 96.

² "Keith," vol. iii. page 37.

³ See "Spottiswoode," i. 372, who also adds:—"The registers of the church and bibliothèques were cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined; and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity, which was so much the worse that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of public authority."

lishments still remained—a standing reproach to all true reformers. It was now resolved that this reproach should exist no longer; and an act—it was so called by its authors—was passed for the total destruction of those remaining monuments of superstition. This barbarous edict was obeyed to the letter. All that was most venerable in architecture and valuable in art at that time in Scotland was ruthlessly assailed. The libraries and ancient records contained in the religious houses, nay, even the tombs of the dead, did not escape the general wreck. There is nothing in all history to be compared with this exhibition of fanatical fury. No invading army ever committed such merciless havoc in the territory of an enemy. No people ever before or since so deliberately destroyed, with all the formalities of law, the monuments of art and industry bequeathed to them by their own ancestors.”¹

Yet all was not smooth for Knox and his more immediate friends. He had hoped to attain the highest posts of honour in the triumphant congregation, but he was soon doomed to experience bitter disappointment. It was deemed necessary that some ministers of the kirk should bear the name of bishops, and hence the so-called *Tulchan Bishops*² were created—without ordination or consecration, but simply by the will of the congregation, and by the act of the Scottish Parliament. The friends of Knox urged his claims to be honoured with this dignity, yet he was passed over, and John Douglas was the first raised to the Tulchan Hierarchy. Knox protested in vain against this “unworthy” appointment, and though he was preacher on the occasion he refused to take further part in the ceremony.³

It was also expected that the monastic lands, and the other spoils of the ancient church would now enrich the ministers of the new gospel; but here again disappointment awaited them. Knox presented to the convention a prayer, that the patrimony of the church should be set aside for himself and his brother preachers; but his petition was treated with scorn, and declared to be the product of the excited imagination of the fervent minister. Nothing could exceed the chagrin of Knox at the disappointment, and till his death he never

¹ “Hosack,” loc. cit. page 60.

² They were called *Tulchan. bishops* as being merely an appearance, without reality. i. e., *sham bishops*. The name was derived from the practice prevalent in Scotland, when the calf was removed from the cow, of stuffing a calf’s skin with straw, and placing it near the mother cow, to induce her to let down her milk—which figure was called a *Tulchan*. Even so the new nominal bishops were created solely for the purpose of securing some votes in Parliament, and of enjoying the remnant of the revenues of the ancient sees. Gordon’s “*Scotichronicon*,” page 314.

³ “Bannatyne Mem.” page 331.

ceased to taunt the Lords of the Congregation with their ill-gotten riches, and to bewail the sad lot of the despised and plundered preachers. One passage from Knox's lament will give some idea of the bitterness of his disappointment at finding the spoils of the ancient church withdrawn by other plunderers from his grasp:—"The chief great man," he says, "that professed Christ, and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline was Lord Erskine, and no wonder. For, besides that he had a very evil woman as his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he now possesses. Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could, of so long continuance, hear the threatenings of God against thieves, and against their houses, and knowing themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore anything of that which they had long stolen and reft; there were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than those who had the greatest rents of the churches."

One great event, however, now engrossed the attention alike of Scotland and of England, and disturbed, for a while, the Lords of the Congregation in the enjoyment of their sacrilegious plunder. On the 19th of August, 1561, Mary Stuart having escaped the English fleet that was sent to intercept her, landed unobserved in the harbour of Leith. The nation hailed her return with joy, and even the most ardent Puritans, when brought into the presence of Mary Stuart, were charmed into loyal toleration by her mildness and noble deportment. Campbell, of Kingscandleugh, one of their great leaders, thus wrote from Holyrood to Lord Ochiltree:—"I fear that after the holy water of the court be sprinkled on you, ye shall become as temperate as the rest. I have been here five days, and at the first I heard every man say, let us hang the priest; but after they had been twice or thrice at the Abbey, all that fervency was past. I think there is some enchantment whereby men are bewitched."¹

One of the first facts connected with the Queen's return discloses to us the dismal character of the puritan observances introduced by Knox and his associates. The old traditionary pastimes, such as *Robin Hood* and *Queen of May*, in which the people usually sought a relaxation from labour, were interdicted by Act of Parliament under the severest penalties. In Edinburgh, however, a poor shoemaker named James Kellone

¹"Froude's History," vii. p. 366.

had engaged in the old play of Robin, in defiance of the law; he was arrested by the Provost, and sentenced to be hanged for this offence. Knox and his fellow-preachers were urged to obtain his pardon, but their only reply was that "they would do nothing but have him hanged." When the day of execution arrived, some of the citizens flew to arms, hurled down the gibbet, burst into the prison, liberated not only the condemned shoemaker, but also all the other prisoners who were confined there; and carried off the Provost and other officials as hostages, the better to ensure their own immunity from punishment. They now took advantage of the Queen's arrival to ask full pardon for their offence; they presented themselves before her as she proceeded from Leith to Holyrood, and Mary graciously acceded to their prayer.¹

No sooner had the Queen arrived at Holyrood than the "Congregation" deemed it expedient to make a display of their devoted loyalty, and hence their minstrels and musicians hastened in goodly array to serenade her Majesty. "These solemn serenaders (writes Knox in his history) were a company of most honest men, who, with instruments of music and musicians, gave their salutations at her chamber window." However, a French gentleman, M. Brantôme, who was one of the Queen's attendants, gives a somewhat different version of this vain display of Presbyterian loyalty. "There came," he says, "under her Majesty's window, five or six hundred ragamuffins of that town, who gave her a concert of the vilest fiddles and little rebecs, which are as bad as they can be in that country, and accompanied them with singing psalms, but so wretchedly out of tune and concord, that nothing could be worse. Ah! what a melody it was; what a lullaby for the night!" And Miss Strickland adds that they "disturbed the Queen's repose with such horrible dissonance, as if they had been inspired by the prince of darkness, with the design of disgusting her with the music of the Reformed Church of Scotland."²

Soon, however, the unfortunate Queen of Scots was to experience vexations of another kind from Knox and his associates. She had claimed for herself the privilege of practising religion according to the dictates of her conscience, and ordered mass to be celebrated in the royal chapel of Holyrood. Knox's adherents, however, would fain extend their intolerance to the royal palace; they forced their way into the courtyard, wildly clamouring for the death of whosoever would dare to offer up the holy sacrifice, and the cele-

¹ Miss Strickland's "Lives, &c.," iii. page 231.

² Miss Strickland's "History," loc. cit.

brant with difficulty saved himself by flight. On another occasion, when the Queen happened to be absent, Knox's followers attacked the chapel royal, and proceeded to plunder it of all its rich ornaments, till an armed force came to disperse the rioters. Knox was not even satisfied with all this, but on every occasion, in his writings and in the pulpit, assailed the Queen with the most unbridled impudence, and imputed to her idolatry and the worst of crimes. Even Hume in his History rebukes this effrontery of the Presbyterian Reformer: "He triumphed (he thus writes) in the contumelious usage of the Queen, and her religion; he let slip no opportunity which presented itself; and when occasion failed, his ingenuity created circumstances in which his malignity and malice could revel luxuriously." And here again we may be permitted to quote the words of Mr. Hosack. "The Reformers appeared to think that the surest way of converting their Sovereign was by taking every possible means of insulting her religion. Shortly after her arrival she was entertained at a banquet in Edinburgh Castle; and after the repast a child descended from the roof and presented her with a Bible. As the walls of the chamber were decorated with scenes from the Old Testament, representing the punishment of idolaters, the queen could be at no loss to understand the allusion to her religion. It was intended, on the same occasion, to have burnt a priest in effigy; but this part of the pageant was omitted through the influence of the Earl of Huntly. Knox and the preachers continued meanwhile to threaten the nation with the vengeance of heaven if idolatry was suffered to remain. We learn further from Randolph, that the question began to be mooted, whether the princess, being an idolater, was to be obeyed even in civil matters. The English envoy, who was by this time pretty well acquainted with the character of the Scots, adds the following significant reflection:—*"I think marvellously of the wisdom of God, that gave this unruly, inconstant, and cumbersome people no more substance nor power than they have, for then would they run wild."* (Hosack, page 78.)

Among the courtiers there was one specially devoted to the Queen, whom neither bribe nor menace could detach from loyalty to her service, and whose "hatred for the Reformers rivalled her own in its intensity."¹ This was an Italian named David Rizzio.² He had come to Scotland in the suite of De Moret, ambassador of Savoy, and though a young man (he

¹ Froude, viii. page 117.

² "Riccio was an able and accomplished man, thoroughly versed in the troubled politics of the day." Hosack, page 121.

was only thirty years of age), yet by his ability and devotedness to the interests of the crown, he soon earned the confidence of the Queen, and was raised to the highest posts of honour in the court. These were no merits, however, in the eyes of the Presbyterian "Congregation," who had plotted alike for the overthrow of religion and of the throne. A plot was formed for the murder of the faithful counsellor, and on the 9th of March, 1566, David Rizzio, in the very presence of the Queen, fell beneath the daggers of the assassins, whilst the outraged Sovereign exclaimed, "Ah, poor David, my good and faithful servant, may the Lord have mercy on your soul." John Knox, the first Father of Presbyterianism, was an accomplice in this murder; and in the list of those who were engaged in the horrid crime, forwarded to the Secretary of State in London by the English ambassador at the Scottish court, are registered the names of *John Knox* and *John Craig, preachers*.¹

Darnley, the weak husband of Mary, had taken a leading part with the conspirators in this murder of Rizzio. This assassination, however, was only the beginning of their deep-laid plan. They had further resolved to seize upon the Queen, and to cause her to be deposed from the throne in the approaching Parliament. Darnley betrayed these secrets of his confederates, and by aiding in the memorable flight from Holyrood, frustrated their foul design. Before twelve months had passed, their vengeance was wreaked on Darnley. Gunpowder was introduced into the cellars of the house where Darnley slept. On the night of February 9th, 1567, a fearful explosion awakened the citizens of Edinburgh from their slumbers, and in the morning the lifeless remains of Darnley were found forty yards beyond the town wall.² It became the special object of Knox and his brother preachers to persuade the world that the Queen was the author of this murder, and they resolved if possible to consummate their wickedness, by leading her to the scaffold. The English ambassador Throgmorton, "writing on the 19th of July, particularly mentions the violence of Knox, *whom nothing but the blood of the Queen could satisfy*." (Hosack, page 356.) He adds "that he himself tried, but in vain, to induce the confederate Lords to restrain the savage licence of the preachers." The record office preserves a

¹ See this document in "Tytler's History," vol. iii. page 403.

² This was not the first time that Knox had conspired against Darnley. In the "Bannatyne Memorials" we read:—"Robert Hamilton, the Protestant minister of St. Andrews, openly declared that Mr. Knox was as great a murderer as any Hamilton in Scotland, if all things were well examined; for, said Mr. Robert, he had subscribed to the death or slaughter of the Queen's husband, which should have been done in St. Johnston."

remarkable document which throws some light on this matter. It is a letter dated 2nd of January, 1570, and addressed by Knox to Cecil, warning that astute politician to ensure the death of Queen Mary: "if ye strike not at the root," he says, "the branches that appear to be broken will bud again, and that more quickly than men can believe, with greater force than we could wish." (*Ibid*, page 500.)

When Mary was forced to seek an asylum with her bitterest enemy, in England, and the Earl of Moray assumed the regency, halcyon days seemed to dawn upon Knox and his associates. The scene, however, soon changed. Moray was struck dead by an injured citizen in the streets of Linlithgow, and the loud wail of sorrow with which Knox and the kirk accompanied him to his grave clearly proved how closely united were their interests with his. Troubled times now awaited the Father of Presbyterianism. Knox had become as hateful in the eyes of the populace of Edinburgh as at one time he had been their idol. More than once he was assailed in the streets; he asked to have a body-guard assigned to him for his safety, but the prayer was contemptuously refused. Finding himself no longer safe in the capital he set out for St. Andrew's. Here, however, fresh humiliations and dangers awaited him. The mob, which he had so often flattered in his harrangues, was now the tool of the Hamiltons, and hooted him wherever he appeared. Thus the Scottish Reformer, worn out with wine and gluttony, as Laing assures us, passed the last few months of his life in bitterness, and a prey to grief and remorse, closed his wicked career in the month of November, 1571.

The immediate results of the Presbyterian movement, in which John Knox had taken so leading a part, may be easily told. Scotland, which in Catholic times could boast of a Wallace and a Bruce, and whose patriotism and love of country had been proverbial, was now become a synonym for baseness and treason. A few years before, it defied the power of England, and its alliance was courted by the greatest states of Europe; now its leaders were the tools of English intrigue, whilst its constant tumults and civil wars merited for it the pity, or the contempt of all Christendom. Morality had now become a senseless name, and recklessness and crime were the only paths to emolument and honour. The noble monuments of ancient piety had been changed to crumbling ruins, and, as if in type of the unhappy change that had fallen on the church's destinies, sadness, like a mourning pall, seemed to overspread the land:—

"Gone were the merry times of old—
 The masque, and mirth, and glee,
 And wearier was the palace then,
 Than prison needs to be.
 Forbidden were the vesper bells,—
 They broke the Sabbath calm!
 Hush'd were the notes of minstrelsy—
 They chimed not with the psalm:
 'Twas sin to smile, 'twas sin to laugh,
 'Twas sin to sport or play,
 And heavier than a hermit's fast
 Was each dull holiday.
 Was but the sound of laughter heard,
 Or tinkling of a lute,
 Or worse than all, in royal hall,
 The tread of dancing foot—
 Then to a drove of gaping clowns
 Would Knox with unction tell
 The vengeance that in days of old,
 Had fallen on Jezebel."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

WE are happy to present to our readers the following important *Resolutions*, which were unanimously adopted by the Bishops at their late Meeting in Maynooth:—

"The Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, assembled at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on Wednesday, the 18th of August, 1869, His Eminence Cardinal Cullen presiding, deem it their duty to place on record, at this important crisis, the following resolutions respecting the Education and Land questions:—

I. They reiterate their condemnation of the mixed system of Education, whether Primary, Intermediate, or University, as grievously and intrinsically dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholic youth; and they declare that to Catholics only, and under the supreme control of the Church in all things appertaining to faith and morals, can the teaching of Catholics be safely entrusted. Fully relying on the love which the Catholics of Ireland have ever cherished for their ancient faith, and on the filial obedience they have uniformly

manifested towards their pastors, the bishops call upon the clergy and the laity of their respective flocks to oppose by every constitutional means the extension or perpetuation of the mixed system, whether by the creation of new institutions, by the maintenance of old ones, or by changing Trinity College, Dublin, into a mixed college.

II. At the same time they recognise the right, as well as the duty, of Catholic parents to procure as far as possible for their children the advantages of a good secular education. Justice demands that Catholic youth should enjoy endowments and all other privileges on terms of perfect equality with the youth of other persuasions, without which equality in the matter of education, religious equality cannot be said to have any real existence.

III. The bishops, without any wish to interfere with the rights of persons of a different denomination, demand for Catholics Catholic education, which alone is consonant to their religious principles.

IV. The assembled Prelates, learning with pleasure that it is the intention of Her Majesty's present advisers to legislate for Ireland in accordance with the wishes of its people—and of this they have given good earnest—trust that the distinguished statesman now at the head of the Government will, with the aid of his able colleagues, give to Irish Catholics a complete system of secular education based upon religion; for it alone can be in keeping with the feelings and requirements of the vast majority of the nation.

V. As regards higher education, since the Protestants of this country have had a Protestant University for three hundred years, and have it still, the Catholic people of Ireland clearly have a right to a Catholic University.

VI. But should Her Majesty's Government be unwilling to increase the number of Universities in this country, the bishops declare that religious equality cannot be realized, unless the degrees, endowments, and other privileges enjoyed by their fellow-subjects of a different religion, be placed within the reach of Catholics in the fullest sense of equality. The injustice of denying to them a participation in those advantages, except at the cost of principle and conscience, is aggravated by the consideration, that whilst they contribute their share to the public funds for the support of Educational Institutions, from which conscience warns them away, they have moreover to tax themselves for the education of their children in their own colleges and university.

VII. Should it please Her Majesty's Government, therefore, to remove the many grievances to which Catholics are

subjected by existing University arrangements, and to establish one National University in this kingdom for examining candidates and conferring degrees, the Catholic people of Ireland are entitled in justice to demand that in such a University, or annexed to it :

(a) They shall have a distinct College, conducted upon purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in the privileges enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination or character.

(b) That the University honours and emoluments be accessible to Catholics equally with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

(c) That the Examinations and all other details of University arrangement be free from every influence hostile to the religious sentiments of Catholics, and that with this view the Catholic element be adequately represented upon the Senate, or other supreme University body, by persons enjoying the confidence of the Catholic bishops, priests, and people of Ireland.

VIII. The bishops also declare, that the Catholics of Ireland are justly entitled to their due proportion of the public funds hitherto set apart for education in the Royal and other Endowed Schools.

IX. The bishops furthermore declare, that a settlement of the University question, to be complete and, at the same time, in accordance with the wishes of the Catholic people of Ireland, must include the re-arrangement of the Queen's Colleges on the Denominational principle.

X. Finally, the bishops of Ireland, deeply sympathising with the sufferings of their faithful flocks, believe that the settlement of the land question is essential to the peace and welfare of the United Kingdom. They recognise the rights and the duties of landlords. They claim, in the same spirit, the rights as they recognise the duties of tenants. They believe that the comparative destitution, the chronic discontent, and the depressing discouragement of the people of Ireland, are, at this period of her history, to be attributed more to the want of a settlement of this question on fair and equitable principles than to any other cause. Therefore, in the interest of all classes, they earnestly hope that the responsible advisers of the Crown will take this most important subject into immediate consideration, and propose to Parliament such measures as may restore confidence, stimulate industry, increase national wealth, and lead to general union, contentment, and happiness.

The above Resolutions were unanimously adopted at a Meeting of all the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held at Maynooth on the 18th of August of the present year, 1869.

✠ PAUL CARDINAL CULLEN,
CHAIRMAN.

LITURGICAL DECREES.

DE JEJUNIO PRAEScripto AD LUCRANDAM
JUBILAEI INDULGENTIAM.

“Editis Litteris Apostolicis in forma Brevis die 11 Aprilis 1869, quibus SSmus D. N. Pius PP. IX omnibus Christifidelibus Indulgentiam Plenariam in forma Jubilaei occasione Oecumenici Concilii concessit, huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum infrascripta proposita sunt dubia praesertim circa jejunia, quae Christifideles servare debent, ut Indulgentiam huius Jubilaei lucrari valeant. Quibus sedulo perpensis S. Congregatio, benigne annuente Sanctissimo Domino, respondendum censuit prout respondet.

DUBIA ET RESPONSA.

I. Inconcussi juris est, operibus alias praeceptis satisfieri non posse obligationi de operibus injunctis ad acquirendas indulgentias, nisi aliud constet expresse de mente Concedentis; nihilominus pro hoc jubileo oritur dubium, quia in Litteris Apostolicis legitur: “praeter consueta quatuor anni tempora, tribus diebus etiam non continuis, nempe quarta et sexta feria, et sabbato jejunaverint.” Quaeritur, an standum sit regulae generali, ita ut ad effectum lucrandi Indulgentiam omnes dies jejunii ad quod quisque tenetur, vel dies jejunii quatuor anni temporum dumtaxat excludantur?

R. Affirmative ad primam partem: negative ad secundam.

II. An jejunia quatuor anni temporum, attenta voce illa “praeter,” ultra tria jejunia pro Jubileo expresse praescripta, habenda sint uti opus injunctum ad Indulgentiam acquirendam?

R. Negative.

III. An iis qui aut voto, aut praecepto, uti sunt Franciscanes, aut quocumque alio titulo tenentur toto anni tempore jejunare aliquo die ex diebus praescriptis pro Jubileo, suffragetur tale jejunum ad lucrandam Indulgentiam.

R. Affirmative.

IV. Cum Religiosi S. Francisci teneantur jejunare a secunda die Novembris usque ad Nativitatem Domini, quaeritur, utrum, hoc decurrente tempore, ipsi possint unico jejunio tribus praescriptis diebus facto, satisfacere duplici obligationi praecepti, tum Jubilaei?

R. Permittitur ex speciali Sanctitatis Suae indulto, dummodo esurialibus tantum cibis pro dictis tribus Jubilaei jejunii utantur, quamvis fortasse ab usu ciborum esurialium dispensationem pro dicta Quadragesima obtinuerint.

V. An idem dicendum sit pro Quadragesima Ecclesiae etiam quoad Christifideles ? *

R. Permittitur ex speciali Sanctitatis suae indulto, ut in responsione ad quartum dubium, et cum eadem conditione in ea apposita.

VI. Utrum jejeunia pro jubileo praescripta debeant esse jejunia stricte sumpta, etiam quoad qualitatem ciborum sicuti ea, quae ex Ecclesiae praecepto adimplenda sunt, quin tamen quis uti possit indultis, si quae pro jejuniis Ecclesiae obtenta fuerint ?

R. Affirmative, nisi aliquod speciale indultum, in quo etiam de Jubilaei jejunio expressa mentio fiat, obtineatur.

VII. Si quis indultum vescendi carnibus etiam pro jejuniis Jubilaei consequatur, teneturne lege de non permiscendis epulis, nempe carnibus cum piscibus ?

R. Affirmative.

VIII. An ii, qui ad statutam aetatem pro jejunii obligatione nondum pervenerint, nec non operarii, aliique, qui ob legitimam causam ad jejunia ab Ecclesia praecepta non tenentur, debeant jejunare, ut Indulgentiam Jubilaei lucrentur ?

R. Affirmative. Quod si judicio Confessarii id praestare nequiverint, Confessarius ipse poterit jejunium in alia pia opera commutare.

IX. In Litteris Apostolicis legitur “tribus diebus etiam non continuis.” Quaeritur, an in hoc Jubileo, ob dicta verba, singuli dies jejunii in diversas hebdomadas dividi possint.

R. In hoc Jubileo affirmative.

X. Attenta clausula “hac vice tantum” quaeritur, an qui in censuras et casus reservatos inciderit, una tantam vice absolvi possit, prout edixit Bened. XIV. in Constit. “Inter graviores” vel potius in hoc Jubileo toties quoties in censuras et casus reservatos incurrerit, absolvi possit ?

R. Affirmative ad primam partem : negative ad secundam.

XI. An qui privilegio Bullae Cruciatæ gaudet, hoc tantum titulo, sine alia causa, in jejuniis Jubilaei carnibus vesci possit ?

XII. An saltem vesci valeat ovis et lactiniis ?

R. ad XI. et XII. Permittitur ex speciali Sanctitatis Suae indulto, ut ii qui privilegio Bullae Cruciatæ legitime fruuntur, tantum ovis et lactiniis in jejuniis pro hoc Jubileo praescriptis uti possint, servata in ceteris jejunii ecclesiastici forma.

Datum Romae e Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum die 10 Julii 1869.”

A. CARD. BIZZARRI, Praefectus,
Pro R. P. D. Secretario,
Dominicus Sarra Pro-Substitutus.

ADDRESS TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX.

We feel great pleasure in publishing the following address of the Catholic University to his Holiness, on the occasion of the fiftieth Anniversary of his ordination :—

SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO PIO PAPÆ IX.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Nos, Rector, professores, domuum praepositi, examinatores, concionatores, et alumni hujus Universitatis Catholicae quae Te auctorem et conditorem suum esse gloriatur, Tibi ad Pedes provoluti, Deo imprimis gratias humillimas agimus, quod per tot annos Te ad ecclesiam suam gubernandam et regendam, incolumem servavit; et deinde Tibi ipsi, Sanctissime Pater, gratulamur, quod quinquagesimum sacerdotii tui annum hodie tam feliciter complexisti.

Ad Te, Beatissime Pater, nobis prae caeteris fas est gratulantibus accedere; tuis enim literis apostolicis admoniti, Episcopi Hiberniae nostrae, quae per tot casus semper in fide Catholica manet, hanc Universitatem, non sine multis laboribus, fundaverunt et usque ad hunc diem foveant et sustinent.

Omnes fere Universitates celeberrimae, quae in caeteris Europae regionibus hodie existunt, ab augustis Petri successoribus fundatae, vel certe privilegiis amplissimis ditatae sunt. Ita per omnia tempora, Sedes Apostolica se scientiae et doctrinae verae cultricem et fautricem semper praebeat.

Scriptores ipsi Ethnici quorum libros in nostra philosophiae et literarum Facultate tractamus, docent canos capillos magna reverentia adolescentibus esse venerandos. Nec nos, nec patres nostri unquam sacram sacerdotii dignitatem summo honore desiimus habere.

Quum tamen Te, Beatissime Pater, non solum ut virum canitie venerandum, et sacerdotem sanctissimum, sed ut Regem insigni providentia divina regnantem, et Christi ipsius Vicarium agnoscamus, nos, animis religione impletis, Te veneramus, ut omnium regnorum in Europa existentium regni veterrimi regem, et verbis Sancti Columbani nostri Te salutamus ut "omnium ecclesiarum in toto orbe existentium praesulem, ut pastorum pastorem, ut navis spiritualis, quae est ecclesia Dei, magistrum et gubernatorem."

Nec modo patres fidei Nostrae venerabiles, sed virgines ipsae humiles, et imprimis Brigida Virgo, sancta Hibernorum omnium Patrona, summa pietate ad Sancti Petri altare munera

sua solebant offerre. Nos quoque, Beatissime Pater, Tibi et Petro apostolorum principi ad pedes munuscula nostra exigua humillime offerre cupimus. Sint igitur tibi hae litterae et haec munuscula nostra indicio, nos, Beatissime Pater, tibi et Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae toto animo esse devotos.

Deum quoque quotidie precamur, ut haec Universitas Catholica, Tua auctoritate Apostolica nuper condita, nunquam a fide vera, neque a debito erga Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam obsequio, vel minimum in modum sit deflexura.

Denique Sanctitatis Tuae Benedictionem Apostolicam suppliciter demisseque efflagitamus, quae nobis et huic universitati nostrae bonorum omnium et pignus sit et fons perennis.

Datum Dublini ex Universitatis Catholicae aedibus,

III. Id. Aprilis, Anno Salutis MDCCCLXIX.

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

Dilectis Filiis Rectori et aliis omnibus Universitatis Catholicae Dublinensis, Dublinum.

PIUS PP. IX.

DILECTI FILII, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Tam eximia sunt filialis vestrae erga Nos devotionis, amoris et pietatis testimonia vestris in litteris expressa quas occasione quinquagesimi anniversarii diei a Sacerdotali nostra consecratione dedistis, ut ea animo Nostro maximam consolationem attulerint. Ex iis enim luculenter agnovimus qua fide et obsequio Nobis, et huic Petri Cathedrae adhaereatis majorum vestrorum illustria exempla sectantes, quam praestans vigeat in ista Universitate, quam magna cum laude Sacrorum Hiberniae Antistitum, et jucunditate cordis Nostri constitutam vidimus, et religionis et Catholicae Fidei amor, ac zelus, et quam merito ex praesentibus fructibus certam, atque uberem in dies utilitatem Catholicae Hiberniae ex Ipsa sperare debeamus. Nos equidem, Dilecti Filii, vestrorum animorum significationes et libenter accepimus, et merita laude prosequimur, ac pro filialibus oblationibus, quas etiam Vestrae erga Nos, et Beatissimum Petrum Apostolorum Principem, pietatis testes esse voluistis, gratissimum animum Nostrum paterno affectu profitemur. Dum autem Vos cohortamur, ut omnem semper operam sanctissimae Religioni Nostrae, ejusque salutari doctrinae impendere contendatis, a Deo Optimo Maximo humiliter exposcimus ut propitius super Vos coelestia sua munera effundat, et Catholicam istam Universitatem omnium bonorum

copia exornet atque augeat. Hujus autem supernae benignitatis auspicem, et praecipuae Nostrae erga Vos benevolentiae testem, Apostolicam Benedictionem Vobis, Dilecti Filii, singulis universis toto cordis affectu peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum,

Die 28 Junii, anno 1869.

Pontificatus Nostri anno Vicesimo-quarto.

PIUS PP. IX.

ADDRESS OF THE SUPERIORS, PROFESSORS,
AND STUDENTS OF ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE,
MAYNOOTH, TO OUR MOST HOLY FATHER.

SANCTISSIMO PATRI PIO IX, PONTIFICI MAXIMO.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Nos, Praeses, Propraeses, Magistri Officii, Professores, atque Alumni Romano-Catholici Collegii Sancti Patricii apud Maynooth in Hibernia, tenerrima in Sanctitatem Tuam pietate adducti, ad pedes submisce provoluti, summum nostrum in Te studium, summamque venerationem, atque integerrimam fidem profitemur; et humillime Te rogamus ut pro eximia Tua benignitate nobis permittas vehementissime Tibi et tota mente gratulari quod hic quinquagesimus jam adest annus ex quo amplissima Tu Sacerdotii dignitate insignitus es.

Nos quidem in Seminario clericorum viventes, quibus curae omnes cogitationesque in illud conferendae sunt ut quae virtutes hominem Ecclesiasticum deceant et exornent, eas diligentissime persequamur et excolamus, maximo afficimur gaudio quum mente memoriaque complectimur quanto Tu studio quantaque diligentia impulsus abhinc annos amplius quinquaginta omnium optimarum artium, sanctitatis, pietatis in Deum, ceterarumque virtutum eximiarum ista semina jeceris, quae fecundissimum nacta solum, laetificante gratia Divina, fructus uberrimos et praestantissimos reddiderunt. Quibus quidem virtutibus exornatus ita omnia Sacerdotis, Episcopi, Cardinalis munia adimplesti ut laudes omnium et admirationem excitares; ut facillime quasi divino quodam indicio constaret Te esse dignissimum qui ad sublimem ac summe venerandam Sancti Petri Cathedram ascenderes. Quod si per tot jam annos amplissimi et gravissimi muneris Tui onus sustinuisti, illud ipsum haud obscurum est signum benignissimae Dei in Te voluntatis atque auxilii potentissimi. Etenim qui cogitaverit quanta Tibi fortunae varietas in diuturno Tuo

pontificatu contigerit, quum in maximis continuisque fere periculis versatus esses, ei certe dubitandum non est quin Omnipotens Deus majore quadam cura, providentiaque plane singulari Te semper foverit et conservaverit. Neque profecto hoc mirum videbitur quum in memoria habeamus quot quamque eximia beneficia Deus in Ecclesiam Suam per Te conferre destinaverit. Nam primum Sanctitati Tuae, id quod pro Tua ipsius integerrima vita, insigni in Deum pietate, invicta fidei constantia, ardentissimo Dei gloriae atque hominum salutis promovendae studio, maxime decebat, tot servos suos qui haec novissima secula heroicarum virtutum splendore illustrarunt Sanctorum ordinibus adscribendi maxima et gratia et gloria a Deo concessa est.

Tum quis nescit quanta laetitia omnes Christi Fideles cognoverint dignitatem sanctitatemque Christiani Matrimonii a Te esse plenissime vindicatam; fallaces conclusiunculas philosophiae corruptae atque e mentitae damnatas; jura verae salubrisque libertatis definita et confirmata; insanam scelestissimorum hominum licentiam nefariamque rerum evertendarum cupiditatem percussam et reprobata.

Praecipua vero cum cura, Beatissime Pater, atque summa diligentia pessimos istos de puerorum educatione errores, qui hac aetate quam plurimos pervaserunt, iterum et saepius proscripsisti; jura Ecclesiae in hac gravissima re dirigenda et moderanda vindicasti; et pro praestantissima Apostolici Tui muneris auctoritate edocuisti quantum animarum salutis intersit atque totius Reipublicae Christianae utilitatum ut pueri verae integraeque fidei praeceptis ab ipsis statim incubulis instituantur, neve tenerae eorum mentes aut rerum divinarum negligentia aut noxiis errorum venenis corrumpantur.

Sed singula in religionem et universam Ecclesiam per Te collata beneficia enarrare non possumus. Quis est enim Fidelium ordo qui non Tuum amantissimi Patris affectum erga se exhibitum senserit? Quae est orbis terrarum regio cui non suavissima ac sapientissima Tua Ecclesiae regendae ratio saluberrime prospexerit? Quae denique res est, quae quidem ad veram hominum utilitatem felicitatemque pertineat, quam non omni ope atque acerrimo studio promovendam curaveris?

Sed inter res omnes a Te optime et praeclarissime gestas una est quae magis in dies magisque Tibi gratias, laudes admirationemque omnium vere Christianorum in posterum conciliatura est, neque ejus memoriam ulla unquam delebit oblivio. Tibi enim, Beatissime Pater, pro summa illa Tua vel a teneris annis erga Sanctissimam Dei Genitricem

Virginem Mariam veneratione, pietate, et affectu, praecipua sane contigit gloria et felicitas ut Paraclito Spiritu sic adspirante totius Ecclesiae Catholicae votis annuens supremo Tuo atque infallibili oraculo definieris Beatam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suae conceptionis fuisse ab omni originalis culpa labe praeservatam immunem. Quae quidem sollemnis Fidei definitio quum omnibus ubique terrarum Fidelibus plurimum attulerit jucunditatis, tum praecipue hanc ipsam nostram patriam mira quadam atque incredibili fere gaudio laetitiaque complevit; quippe quae ab ista Tua Sancta Romana Ecclesia omnium Ecclesiarum Matre et Magistra, Catholicae veritatis et Unitatis Centro, traducem fidei mutuata, et a Beatissimo Patrono Nostro Patricio edocta, Deiparae Virginis honorem, amplitudinem, sanctitatem, gloriam atque adeo Immaculatam Ejus Conceptionem summo semper gaudio, summoque amore colendam et conservandam suscepit.

Quod si cetera insignia Pontificatus Tui facta omittamus necesse sit, illud certe praetermittendum non est quod quum scelestissimi homines sacris omnibus aris templis religioni execrandum atque atrocissimum bellum inferentes in Te maxime et in illum Tuum antiquissimum Principatum, in quo praecipuum Rei Christianae atque etiam civilis auctoritatis robur ac firmamentum perspexerunt esse constitutum, incredibili quodam furore et insania impellerentur, Tu nullis periculis perterritus constantiae admirabilis verae animi magnitudinis atque invictae fortitudinis exemplum plane unicum et nullis unquam laudibus satis praedicandum exhibuisti.

Quod vero nunc restat ut dicamus, Beatissime Pater, quum sacrum oecumenicum omnium Episcoporum Catholici orbis concilium cum summa fidelium spe et laetitia atque piissima expectatione jamjam celebrandum convocaveris, et novas curas, novos eosque gravissimos suscepturus sis labores illud moderandi regendi atque pro suprema Tua ac divinitus instituta auctoritate confirmandi nos hoc suavissimum gratissimumque nostrae in Te pietatis officium certo non omittemus ut omnibus semper precibus, et praesertim sanctissimum Missae sacrificium offerentes Omnipotentem Deum etiam atque etiam exoremus ut diu Te saluum incolumemque conservet, et praesentissimum ejus auxilium atque singularis illa Providentia semper Tibi adsit, ut ita omnia quae Tibi in votis sint ad felicissimum exitum perducantur.

Quod ad nos attinet, illud Tibi certissimo pollicemur nullam Tibi a nobis unquam defuturam, neque in amore constantiam, neque in obsequio diligentiam neque in dignitate Tua atque juribus tuendis et vindicandis industriam.

Quum vero, Beatissime Pater, Tibi significare vellemus qui esset noster in Te animus munusculum quoddam satis exiguum haud sane exigui amoris signum ad Te deferendum curavimus, quod ut pro benignissima Tua ac paterna in nos voluntate accipere digneris venerabundi humillime rogamus ; et Beatissimos pedes iterum deosculantes Sancitatem Tuam ut nobis Apostolicae Benedictionis gratiam impertiatur suppliciter exoramus.

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.

Dilectis Filiis, Præsidi, Pro-Præsidi, Magistris Officii, Professoribus et Alumnis Collegii Romano-Catholici, Sti. Patricii, Maynooth, in Hibernia.

Dilecti Filii Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Multa Nobis suavissimas fecere significationes obsequii et amoris vestri adjectumque iis munus. Principio enim iucunda semper per se sunt parenti filiorum officia ; et quæ unitatis Catholicae spiritum praeferunt nequeunt acceptissima non esse Christi Vicario. Deinde, cum a litterarum et severiorum disciplinarum professoribus pendeat recta iuventutis institutio, et in eorum alumnis religiosae juxta ac civilis societatis spes sita sit ; eximium in utrisque studium erga hanc Sanctam Sedem sicut indubium est sanae doctrinae pietatisque pignus, sic sanctissimae religioni nostrae est auspiciatissimum. Denique recensio ipsa vestris commissa litteris singularium et illustrium eventuum, quibus Divina Providentia, frustra obnitentibus inferni potestatibus et humana malitia, postremis hisce temporibus, Ecclesiam suam vel defendit, vel miro splendore circumfudit, sic vigere fidem vestram ostendit, ut nihil quod faustum fortunatumque sit ab ea sperandum non videatur. Officia itaque vestra et dona et omina laeto gratoque excepimus animo ; nec aliud Nobis optandum reliquerunt nisi, ut egregiam hanc animi comparisonem sedulo servare nitamini, studiisque omnibus in dies fovere : adeoque Deum rogavimus, ut confirmare velit quod operatus est in vobis, copiosisque vos augere gratiae suae muneribus. Horum vero auspicem et grati animi Nostri paternæque benevolentiae testem Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die 14 Julii, 1869,

Pontificatus Nostri Anno XXIV.

PIUS P.P. IX.

MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

1070. Died another archidnach, Moelbrigid, the son of Cathasach.^d

1071. Died Christian Hua Clothocain, professor of divinity in this school, and principal doctor of all the Irish.^e

1074. On the Thursday after the feast of St. Phillip and St. James, a dreadful fire happened in this town, by which the citadel,^f and all the houses, churches, and bells were destroyed.^g

1075. Cumascacius O’Heradain died, having enjoyed the abbacy three years only.^h

1077. Died Colga Hua Heradhain, steward of the poor of Armagh.ⁱ

1081. Died M’Condabhall, a principal presbyter.^k

1091. The citadel was consumed from the middle part of it towards the west.^l

1092. The churches, with the citadel, together with a part of Trien Mor and Trien Saxon, were burned on the 29th of August.^m

1093. Another fatal fire happened this year.ⁿ

1094. The Comarba of St. Patrick made a grand visitation throughout Ireland, and during his absence the town was plundered.^o

1100. Imar was abbot; he was master to the famous St. Malachy, who was afterwards archbishop of Armagh.^{p 31}

^dTr. Th. *ibid.* ^eId. ^fThe Annals of Inisfall tell us that this conflagration happened in the year 1077, and that only part of Ardpatrick (the citadel) was destroyed.

^gTr. Th. *ibid.* ^hId. ⁱId. ^kId. ^lId. ^mId. ⁿId. ^oAnnal. Inisfal. ^pTr. Th. *ibid.*

³¹Imhar Hua N Aedhagain, or Ivar O’Hagan, was one of the teachers of the great St. Malachy of Armagh. He is thus described by St. Bernard in “Vita S. Malachiæ:—“There was a man in the city of Armagh, and that man was holy, and of exceedingly austere life, and an inexorable chastener of his body. Having a cell near the church he made it his abode, giving himself up to fastings and prayers night and day. To this man Malachy repaired, in order to fashion his life according to the model of one that had condemned himself to such a burying-alive.” He died on the 13th August, 1143, when on a pilgrimage to Rome.

1102. The blessed Mugron Hua Morgair, father of Maolmeog, and of Giolla Christ,^a chief professor of divinity of this school and of all Europe, died in the monastery of Mungaret, in the county of Limerick, on the 5th of October.^r

1103. Muirheartagh, with the people of Leathmoghannughad, encamped at Armagh, with the Connatians and Methians, and besieged the town for a fortnight, and did greatly damage it.^s

1107. Moelpatrick O'Drughan entered upon the divinity lecturership of this abbey on the feast of St. Albe.^t

1108. Died the archidach Aid; he was the son of Dubdaleth, the third bishop of Armagh, and, had he lived, would have been promoted to the comorbship of St. Patrick;^u from this and other instances it appears, that many of the clergy in Ireland, and in other countries, were married men; and to this effect Doctor Lynch, the learned author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, writes to Roderick O'Flaherty.^{w 32}

1112. The citadel, with the churches, two streets in Trian Massain, and a third in Trian Mor, were destroyed by fire; from hence it appears, that the town was formerly divided into four parts:—1. Rath Patrick, *i.e.*, the citadel. 2. Trian Mor, *i.e.*, the greater third portion. 3. Trian Massain, *i.e.*,
4. Trian Saxon, *i.e.*, the third portion of the Saxons; here the English students resided.^{x 33}

^a*Anal. Inisfal.* ^r*Tr. Th. ibid.* ^s*Annal. Inisfal.* ^t*Tr. Th. ibid.* ^u*Id. O'Flaherty ut supra.* ^w*Tr. Th. ibid.*

³²The assertion made here by our author that the Irish clergy did not practise celibacy is painfully out of place among his notices of so many saintly bishops and priests who looked upon chastity as the brightest among the sacerdotal virtues in which they strove to excel. This is not the place to refute at any length such an assertion. For our present purpose it is enough to quote a few of the enactments which were binding in this matter, in the ancient Irish church:—

a. “Si quis clericus vel superior gradus, qui uxorem habuit, et post honorem iterum eam cognoverit, sciat se adulterium commississe.” (*Canon in Missal of Columbanus I.*)

b. “Si quis autem clericus, aut diaconus vel alicujus gradus, qui laicus fuit in seculo cum filiis et filiabus, post conversionem suam iterum suam cognoverit clientelam, et filium: iterum de ea genuerit, sciat se adulterium perpetrasse, et non minus peccasse quam si at juventute sua clericus fuisset et cum puella aliena peccasset, quia post votum suum peccavit, post quam se Domino consecravit, et votum suum irritum fecit, idcirco septem annis in pane et aqua peniteat.” (*St. Columbanus, Liber, de Penitentiis mensura taxanda.*)

c. “Si clericus aut monachus, post quam se Deo voverit, ad secularem habitum iterum reversus fuerit, aut uxorem duxerit decem annis peniteat, tribus ex his in pane et aqua, et nunquam postea in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerit, Sancta Synodus, vel sedes apostolica seperavit eos a communione et convocationibus Catholicorum.” *St. Cumminian, Penitential.* See “*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*,” vol. iv.: “The Bishop of Argyle and the early Celtic Church.”

³³*Trian* means a third portion; but, like our “quarter” it came to signify “a district, without any reference to proportion. In the case of Armagh, however, the numerical import of the word was observed, for there were only the *Trian Mor*, or “Great Ward;” *Trian Masain*, or Masan’s Ward; and *Trian Saxon*, or

1113. Died Flannagan, the son of Moelisa, who, had he lived, would have succeeded to the abbacy.^y

1116. The abbey, with twenty other buildings, was this year consumed by fire.^z

1121. Two streets in Trian Massain, from the gate of Rathene to the cross of St. Brigid, were burned;^a and in the month of December, a great tempest blew down the roof of the tower.^b

1126. The great church of St. Peter and St. Paul, rebuilt by Imar Hua Hoedhagain, who was abbot in the year 1100, was consecrated on the 21st of October; the abbot had a cell near to the church, where he continued in fasting and prayer day and night.^c

1132. The blessed Moelbrigid, the son of Dolghen, principal presbyter, and the most celebrated elder of all Ireland, died August the 27th, in the 52nd year of his priesthood, and 80th of his age.^d

1133. Died Conang, the archidnach, he was the son of Dubdal.^e

1134. The abbot Imar having undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome died there; he was succeeded by St. Gilda Macabeus, or Mochaibeo.^f

1136. Died the blessed Moelisa Moelcolumb, a celebrated antiquary and librarian of this abbey.^g

1137. This town was destroyed by lightning.^h

1138. The blessed Moelpatrick Hua Drugain, the wisest doctor of the Irish, and first professor in this house, the most learned man of all Western Europe, and equally remarkable for his piety and religion, died on the 2nd of January, in his pilgrimage, in the abbey of Monainsheigh, in the county of Tipperary.ⁱ The same year Christian O'Morgair,³⁴ bishop of Clogher, was buried here under the great altar.^k

1140. The lecturer O'Kotherny died.^l

1142. Cathasach Hua Kirchaorach, professor of divinity, and the most learned of the Irish, died.^m

1149. Macratheus, the benign and venerable elder of the clergy of Armagh, died this year.ⁿ

^yTr. Th. *ibid.* p. 300. ^zId. ^aId. ^bId. ^cId. p. 303. ^dId. ^eId. ^fId. ^gId. p. 304. ^hId. p. 663. ⁱId. pp. 281, 304. ^kWar. Bishops. ^lAnnal. Inisfal. ^mTr. Th. p. 305. ⁿId. p. 306.

“English Ward.” The *Trian Saxan* was the region embraced by Upper English and Abbey streets, and from it *English street* probably derived its name. The *Trian Massain* seems to have included Market-street, and the adjacent parts of Thomas and Scotch-streets. The *Trian Mor* probably included Irish-street, Callan-street, and the western region of the town. (Reeves’ Churches of Armagh.)

³⁴Christian, or Gillacreest O'Morgair, was the brother of St. Malachy of Armagh.

1150. On the 24th of November, fire destroyed that part of the town which is called Trian-mor, from the middle and northern part.^o

1152. Died Fergal Hua Ferchubhuis, some time professor of divinity in this abbey, and also lecturer in the church of St. Columba, in Armagh.^p

1155. Died Marian O'Moel-chierain, archidnach of Armagh, a friendly and hospitable man to both the clergy and laity.^q

1156. Died Turlogh the great, monarch of Ireland; he founded a new professorship of divinity in this abbey.^r

1159. Abel and Gilda Muredach, two anachorites of Armagh, died this year.^s

1162. In a synod held in Claonadh^t it was decreed that no person should be admitted professor of divinity in any church in Ireland, who had not studied at this university.^u

1164. Part of the town was burnt.^w

1166. The whole town, from the cross of St. Columb, on both sides, to that of St. Owen, and from thence to the cross at the gate of Rathene, was consumed by fire, the church dedicated to the Saints Peter and Paul excepted.^x

1167. Died Moel Michael O'Dothecain an excellent presbyter.^y³⁵

1169. Roderic O'Conchobhair, King of Conaught, to advance learning in this university, granted to the head master of the school an additional pension annually of ten oxen, and bound his successors to fulfill the said grant, on condition that a public school should be there kept open for all scholars from every part of Ireland and Scotland.^z

1173. This town was plundered.^a

1174. Florence O'Gorman, head moderator of this school, and of all the schools in Ireland, a man well skilled in divinity, and deeply learned in all the sciences, died on the 20th of March, in the 70th year of his age; he had studied

^o *Tr. Th. p. 306.* ^p *Id. p. 308.* ^q *Id.* ^r *O'Halloran, v. 2, p. 316.* ^s *Tr. Th. p. 309.*

^t *Now called Clane, in the county of Kildare.* ^u *Annal. Inisfal. id. ibid.* ^w *Id.* ^x *Id.*

^y *Id.* ^z *Id. p. 110.* ^a *Annal. Inisfal.*

³⁵ Primate Conchovar M'Conchailleadh died at Semene, near Chamberry, on his return from Rome. In 1854, his saintly successor, Primate Dixon, on his return from Rome, whither he had gone to assist at the definition of the Immaculate Conception, said Mass at the shrine S. Conchovar, in the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, at Semene. He brought back to Armagh a considerable portion of the holy confessor's remains. The hymn sung in praise of S. Conchovar, or, as he is called, S. Cornelius, begins as follows:—

Ave Pater gloriose,
Salve Præsul pretiose
Quoandam Pater Illandice
Nunc decus Sabaudiae.

(See Dr. Dixon's Journey to Rome, &c., 1855.)

for twenty-one years in France and England, and governed the schools of Ireland for the course of twenty years.^b On the 31st of March died the abbot St. Giolla Mochadbeo, in the 70th year of his age; he was a faithful servant of Christ.^c The same year the abbot Conchovar M'Conchailleadh was chosen archbishop.^d

1178. Sir John de Courcey plundered this town, and the archdeacon of the abbey, Thomas O'Corcoran, was barbarously murdered.^e

1179. The whole town, with the churches and chapels, and the reliques of St. Brigid, were consumed by an accidental fire.^f Notwithstanding this severe visitation, William Fitz Adelm did plunder the abbey of St. Patrick's crosier, and carried it to Dublin.^g

1184. Philip of Worcester, procurator, or chief governor of the kingdom, with a great army, did ravage this town during the continued space of six days.^h

1188. Died Martin O'Brolaigh, or O'Brolachan, the professor of divinity; he was esteemed to be the most learned Irishman of his time.ⁱ

1189. John de Courcey plundered the town; the same year it was consumed by fire from cross Brigid to her chapel.^k

1195. This abbey, with all the churches, and great part of the Rath, was destroyed by fire.^l

1199. De Courcey again plundered the town, and set on fire every church and house therein.^m

1203. Died the abbot Moelisa O'Dorigh of Tirconnell.ⁿ

1206. Hugh de Lacie, the younger, for ten days and nights plundered the town and abbey, for which he soon felt the vengeance of the Saints of Ireland.^o

1208. On the vigil of St. Brigid, the town was again plundered by de Lacie.^p

1373. The King, Edward III. granted to James Bellen a carrucate of land, with the appurtenances, in the Curragh, near Dundalk, part of the possessions of this abbey then seized in the King's hands, the said abbot and convent being mere Irish, and spending their rents and profits for the support and entertainment of the Irish; the said Bellen to hold the same during life, if they continued so long in the King's hands.^q

1375. Nicholas was abbot, when an inquisition was taken concerning the said seizure, and the jury finding that the

^b *Annal. Lagenia, and Inisfal. Tr. Th. p. 110.* ^c *Annal Inisfal. Tr. Th. ibid. Act SS. p. 200.* ^d *Tr. Th. p. 210.* ^e *Annal. Inisfal.* ^f *Id. ibid. Annal. Inisfal.* ^g *Annal. Inisfal.* ^h *War. Annals.* ⁱ *Tr. Th. p. 310.* ^k *Annal. Inisfal.* ^l *Id.* ^m *Id.* ⁿ *Tr. Th. p. 501.* ^o *Annal. Inisfal. M'Geog.* ^p *Annal. Inisfal. Harris Collect. v. 3.*

abbot and convent were good and faithful subjects, the lands were restored.^r

1397. Died the abbot Nicholas O'Luchecan.^s

1539. Patrick O'Hagan was abbot. By an inquisition taken this year, the abbot was found to be seized of the site of the abbey; twelve gardens within the town; the third-part of the townland of Dromcote; the sixth-part of the townland of Tyrnarnunagell; the fourth-part of the townland of Tullaghloyst; the fourth-part of the townland of Enaghboy; the third-part of the townland of Aghanoyce; the third-part of the townland of Tullaghelmayne; and the sixth-part of the townland of Downalloghe; all near the town of Armagh; and a parcel of land called Knock Ederyn, lying near to the abbey; these were the mensal lands belonging thereto. He was seized also of the townlands of Ballyleanmore, Clawdoughe, Killemeke, Ballyleanbegge, Dromvolly, the third part of Ancagh, in the parish of Clonkarney; Ballyneydarragh, Drountee, Lourgowergh, Ballyvically, Downlyr, Cavanaghan, Prosna-whyghe, in the parish of Clonkoughrose; Crecanmore, Fallee, Correacleigh, Aghagoran, Tassaagh, Tearrarlee, Crewroe, in the parish of Tueaghy, all in the same county.

The lands of Cloghan, Corraghe, Cloghum, Tullough O'Sarran, Aughan O'Cloyghy, Crossereen, Moulegournagh, near Armagh, towards Clonall; and all the tithes of the said lands, and of ten shillings Irish money, annually at the feast of All Saints, out of each of the townlands above mentioned; and the abbot and his convent, with all their servants and officers, had yearly on the feast of St. Philip and St. James, an entertainment provided them out of all the aforesaid lands. The abbot was also seized of a grange, containing the two townlands of Corheenane, in the parish of Tynan, and the townland of Clonarb, in the said parish; and the advowson of the church, and a townland belonging thereto, called Mauger-grene, in the parish of Clankan, and the annual rent of twenty-one shillings and fourpence out of Daughleernhan, in the said parish, on the feast of All Saints.^t

James O'Donelly was the last prior, for an inquisition taken the first of November, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, 1557, finds that he had surrendered the abbey, being then seized of the site thereof, whereon there was a large church, some stone chambers, a dormitory, with cellars beneath it, an hall, a storehouse, a great court, a cemetery, garden and orchard. A parcel of land called Garry, Templemurry, and Garrynenamus; a parcel containing — acres in Knockadrain,

Dromcoote, Lurgaboyourah, Aghamoote, the grange of the townland of Lurgaboy in Clanconnaghy, townland of Drom-nemuickee, Tallynemallorooagh, Mullinesillagh, grange of Bally M'Cally in Clanconnoghy, Broaghucclough. Leatery, Inclonconnoghy, Lurgalachtnemingle, Tullaghbofin, grange of Sessiaghneogrechanphy, Carnevanaghran, townland of Riesky-roddeh, Foallee, Fullynory, Tyranegargill, Aghanore, Knockenbog, Lurgaboylighragh, Seskinultagh, Agheter Toyl, alias Knock Toyl, Cornegillagh, Broaghcullen, Dromenecheghy, townland of Shancaragh, Lismore, Dromentee, Cavenaghgroah, Tulloghboreagh, Drumlirk in Mullatmesilligh, Carnasinagher, Knockeddershrogh de Foalle cum Knocknegressegh, Tullaghlosky, Tullyclinane, Aghagonnell, Knockatreely, Carrigenare, Aghavallagh, Coolaghill and the grange, alias Aghacarragh; grange of Tobbersuawght, Doonlish, alias Portsuisin, Mullaghdromerbeh; grange of Odenegreanan, Rieskenefedoge, Annaghboy, Dunollogh, Tyregarve, Lurgaboy, Knockanroe, Knocknespedoge, Ballymaccally, Knockancrimmar, Dromenecheir, Cloonrecleigh, Ballendarragh, Lisreagh, Dromentee, Annaghnullogs, Cavenaghroah, Clanconnoghy, Donebanevan, Carnvannaghan, Taghabugg, Tullytrassenmore, Tullytrassenbeg, Lisnegree; grange of Aghnecloigh, Corcarnan, Natingontagheighteragh, Nortingtonowtragh, Ballyloyanbeg. Lissechackagh in Clancarny, Armagh, Knochsheelly, Aghnecloigh, Toorenebabbouny, Damwolly, Carneshikan, Lisnenarme, Mullaghfalskagmore, Tullanecask, Moyneforfoge, Leggegaranroe, Grange in Clancarny, Cloonequoigger, Lismore, Aghteebrianroe, Cavanecranny, Kilmacrugh, Carrigduffe. Grange of Annagh, Barebane, Cavanehanlone, Teadanarde, Knocnecarnan, Lanedarge, Leggegararoe, Clonekah, Lisbane.

Part of Mullodromart, Knochnemurrane, Contrasnagh, Mullahnefermore, Mullatnirmore; grange of Knocknegarvanboy, Cravanecreuroeeyhtrah, Mullarlogko, Cavanecruoeontrah, Odenmore; grange of Kilmachugh, Lanebeg, Aghisterkynbeg, Breaghfunshogy; grange of Crewroe, Tassahowtragh, Annagh, Clonskaulane, Aghnegloghfyn, Cargaghontragh; grange of Lurgushanhill, Lurgakeile, Knocktamogh, Knockbraddogh, Tassaghevihragh, Crosseduffe, Mullaghfintullagh, Leghahowig, Carricknebreek, Drummorne, Ballintassa, and grange of Ball. in Toughaggy, Mullaghaghmegoorane, Altercormock, Knockanenyn, Gortreih, Knocktomoggy, Lisnekenoyll, Clonecally, Knocknerane, Ballyloganmore, Lugnelolliah, Aghinegooran, Ballyloganbeg, Tawenlentragh, Knockinerogie, Toorecladdagh, Cabanekeragh, Lisdooreghy, alias Slutoorclaghan, Lobbendemphy, Tully Ivinbeg, Tooreneurghygh, Knockecraudy, Crosscreene; grange of Knockonummer,

Knockandally, Anaghagh, Sessioghmore; grange of Aghne-cloigh, Stroighnebrack, Knocketeemore, Clonebar, Altilyofin, Tannagh, Grangeballymarramacquoid, Cladagh, Cabane-kaulone, Legagaranroe, Tuwysueban, Lissneu, Killspurtane, Deryederlawole, Ballyboy, Litterlonn, Clancarny, Deridorough, Cronoghill, Cowtragh, Geengeaghbeg; grange of Magharagreenan, Fallin, Knockacapple, Cortinman; grange of Cloghnancorragh, Grangeaghmore; grange of Corturobe, Kilmachugh, Mullaghtuirbeg; grange of Cloghan, Knockacarney, Tyrarly, Taghaboy, Cloghancorragh; grange of Tyrarly, Dromawell, Cloghcorragh, Aghteeconchor, Dromcogh, Dromdoiffe, Mullaghnecrewroederge; grange of Aghinegoorran, Lurgeshankill, Merimichael, Luggemonyn, Knocknegap-pull, Lisbarran; grange of Tullyfaran, Grangeoghmore and Grange, Knockmeevy, Drumnekunshen, Altooglass, Dromaghemeclée, Coolonan, Lissedawell, Tullybronyduffe; grange of Croscreen, Tully Ivinmar, Greanmore and Grange, Tannagh-nemingell, Knockelough, Knockelough, Knockneinlough, Tannaghgarve, Boleregh, Corcleagh and the Grange, Litterloane, Knockneglibeg, Amisnegananagh, Drumnott, Tevedoone, Conjeitragh, Kilnagospagh, Leaghteedawly, Cavan, Amniganagh in the Fews, Monemore, Garvaghy, Alte-neyan, Cavanroagh.

The abbot was also seized of all the tithes growing and accruing from the said lands, and Sessiogh, Lurgaboy, Ballyvanran, and Knoetanty in Clanchoncy. He was also seized of the lands of Dromarge, alias Dooghmuinterdogan, Coolcummary, Jengooda, Tinenesken, Balliboe, Cavan, Tullyasnech, Tiretragh, Tirenasagart, and Down.^u

By an inquisition taken the first year of King James, 1603, it appears that the abbot was also seized of a third part of a quarter of land near Newton, in the county of Tyrone, called the Grange, containing a ploughland of the yearly value of one shilling; that he was also seized of a carrucate of land at the Curragh, by the rent of twelve pence yearly, payable to the heirs of Theobald de Verdon, to wit, to Thomas Furneval, who married Joan, the daughter of the said Theobald.^w

This abbey, and all the possessions thereunto belonging, were granted, in May, 1612, to Sir Toby Caufield, Knight, at the rent of five pounds Irish.^x

^u*King*, p. 252. ^w*Id.* p. 333. ^x*Lodge*, vol. 3. p. 86. n.

(To be continued).

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

OF

IRELAND.

The fifteenth session of the University was inaugurated on Wednesday, October 28th, 1868, in the University church. The Bishops of Cloyne, of Ferns, of Kilmore, of Dromore, of Down and Connor, and of Limerick, were present. The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Dublin attended in state, wearing his robes of office.

The Very Rev. Rector delivered the following inaugural address:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN—

To-day we inaugurate the fifteenth Session of this University.

The year just passed, like many which preceded it, has been a year of disappointment; but hope disappointed is not a new thing to the Catholics of Ireland. How often were our fathers disappointed in their hopes of Emancipation, before they at last wrested that meed of justice from an unwilling parliament and a bigoted king! How often have we, as well as those who went before us, cried out against the monster grievance of the Established Church, and thought our cries were about to be heard; but the evil continued, and it was reserved for the present time to see that iniquitous institution crumbling to its fall! And so also, in vain have we expected that justice in the matter of higher education would be done to Irish Catholics; that the Educational Ascendency so long maintained in the University of Dublin would be done away with; and that we should be given educational privileges on Catholic principles, such as have been so long enjoyed by our Protestant fellow countrymen! In vain have we heard on the one hand the late Chief Secretary for Ireland declaring that "*University Education in this country is in a most unsatisfactory position*"; and on the other hand, to no purpose, so far, has the present distinguished leader of the Opposition, Mr. Gladstone, said, that "*the state of higher education in Ireland is such as to call for a speedy interference on the part of Parliament*". In vain have we listened to the declarations from both of the great parties, which by turns rule this Empire. Nothing has been done to remove the admitted grievance, and another precious year has been allowed to slip away while the admittedly just claims of our Catholic youth, and the claims of their parents, and the claims of their Catholic country, remain unheeded.

Neither can it be said, that the number of these claimants is small. Were they but two or three, they ought not to be treated with injustice. But their number is, under the circumstances, considerable. We have heard a great deal of the success of the Queen's Colleges, and of the large number of students who frequent their halls. Now, the Vice-Chancellor of the Queen's University informs us, that the number of Catholic students who attended lectures in the *three* Queen's Colleges during last session was 181. And in our *one* University College the number of students who frequented our halls during same period was 161! I make no mention of 100 young men, who during the same period passed our matriculation examination before a University examiner, and pursued their higher studies in one or other of the numerous Colleges, 27 in number, connected with this University.

Now what is the *status quo* unjustly maintained to the injury of this large number of the rising generation of Irishmen, and of their families and friends? They, and many other young men of great promise, are refused all University privileges, unless they seek them at the risk of most important spiritual interests, in other words, at the sacrifice of conscience. Our Catholic country is deprived of the advantages she would receive from the encouragement of an educational system which the great masses of her sons could use without religious qualms. All this time the Protestant University of Trinity College is maintained in its position of proud preëminence, with landed property to the extent of 199,573 acres, or about the hundredth part of the acreage of Ireland; property, valued according to a very reduced standard at over £92,000 a year. The members of the Established Church in Ireland enjoy the advantages of that University with its net income of over £64,000 a-year. These vast resources are applied to the maintenance of an essentially Protestant University; an institution of which all the heads, the provost, vice-provost, fellows, scholars on the foundation, etc., are, and must be members of the Established Church, nearly all of them being Anglican clergymen. Two of the Protestant clergymen thus placed at the head of education in Catholic Ireland, enjoy an income greater than the whole sum expended annually upon this Catholic University, which, because it is Catholic, and in accordance consequently with the feelings of our people, will not be given one shilling of the public money.

And here in this public place I may be allowed to say that when we complain that no grant of public money is made to this University, we do so, not as if to assert the principle of educational endowments. For my part, I believe that it is the duty of an enlightened government to encourage learning by pecuniary grants and other rewards such as under every Christian government have been the appanage of knowledge; and I believe that even in a mixed community like ours this rule is applicable. But our complaint is not precisely that this rule is not applied to us. We complain that the rule is not applied equally to all classes; that the Catholic University of Ire-

land, which represents the feelings of the great mass of our people is unrecognized, while the Anglican University is richly endowed; and we say, either place both on a footing of equality, or leave both to their own resources.

Again: when there is question of the endowment of a Catholic University, it must never be forgotten that we do not ask the State to aid us in the ecclesiastical or religious department of our work. For we are willing to carry on entirely in our own way, and solely at our own expense, the theological and dogmatic teachings of our University. But literary and scientific learning has, we maintain, the same right to encouragement in our Catholic University as elsewhere.

However, I may be asked, what right have we of this institution, more than others, to complain? I answer, because this institution is a University; and the favours lavished upon the other University of this city, while we are treated with neglect or contumely, render most difficult the progress, or even the existence of an institution such as ours. And still that we are labouring, as a University ought to labour, in the cause of higher education, cannot, I venture to say, be denied. I speak the more freely on this subject, because in this matter the merit is due, not to me, but to my learned colleagues. For instance, in the one Faculty of Medicine, which is less embarrassed by obstacles than our other departments, our Medical School, since its opening in 1855, has sent out 164 medical practitioners, of whom 33 are serving in the army, 13 in the navy, 8 in the Oriental and Peninsular and other services, and 110 are engaged in civil practice at home, in the colonies, or in America. Again: within a comparatively short period, one of our pupils, Mr. James Kelleher, took the sixth place in mathematics, out of 304 competitors for the Indian Civil Service, and at the first annual examination he was fifth of all the competitors. His examination, I have reason to know, was fully equal to a good first-class in mathematics in the University of Oxford; and still he got no instructions save in our halls and in the preparatory school of the worthy Carmelite Fathers of this city. Again: the names of two sons of our late lamented fellow-countryman, John B. Dillon, and the name of a pupil of the Catholic University School in Waterford, will be announced to you to-day, as the successful competitors for mathematical honours. We are willing to submit their papers to the impartial judgment of any scientific scholar, convinced that their answering will be judged equal to that of students of their standing in any of the most far-famed Universities.

At the beginning of last Session the first Exhibition in Classics was awarded to Mr. Henry I. D'Arcy, of Portarlington. The examination for this Exhibition, which is one of those founded by the laity of the county and city of Limerick, is the same as, and not inferior to, the Examination for the Classical Tripes, or for a University Scholarship at Cambridge. *Here, as there, the subjects*

of examination are simply the Greek and Latin languages, no particular authors being fixed. We may appeal to the 43 classical papers in our *Calendar* of the present year, for proof that in variety of authors, in difficulty of philological questions, in the subjects for composition, both in prose and verse, and in the knowledge of history required for this exhibition, and for other exhibitions and prizes, we are not behind the most distinguished of our neighbours.

Assuredly it is hard that these young men should, at their very entrance into life, find civil disabilities imposed upon them on account of the religious opinions held by themselves or their parents!

On the other hand, it is hard that the sense of justice inherent in the breasts of our English fellow-subjects, and now exhibiting itself in the general outcry against the monster grievance of the Established Church in Ireland, should be estranged from us and from our demands for educational equality, by the statements of persons who are unacquainted with the true state of things. For instance, on the 17th of this month the chief journal of England published a leading article, in which we find the following extraordinary assertions:

First, *That the Queen's University is one of the happiest and most promising applications of the system of the London University.* Every one knows that the system of the former is *essentially* Collegiate, the students of the three Queen's Colleges,—not of some indefinite number of Colleges, as the *Times* hints,—forming its body of students, whereas the University of London is *essentially* non-Collegiate.

Secondly, The *Times* says: *That the students of other institutions (besides the Queen's Colleges) can apply for the Degrees of the Queen's University, and that it (the Queen's University) pays for good results in learning of all sorts, however obtained.* Every one knows that the Supplemental Charter of 1866, by which this privilege, such as it would have been, had been granted, was set aside by the injunction of the Master of the Rolls.

Thirdly, The British public is told: *That students of various creeds live together in the Queen's Colleges.* Every one who has ever seen the buildings of the Queen's Colleges knows that there are no chambers in any one of the Queen's Colleges, save for a few officials; that the Queen's Colleges' Act distinctly provides for separate residences for the various creeds! So much for the means by which the *Times* tells us that the "prejudices of the College students must be softened, and they must learn mutual respect"!

Fourthly, We are asked to believe that *an institution must on the whole meet the wants of Catholics, when they resort to it in nearly the same numbers as members of the Established Church, who in the population of Ireland are only one-seventh of their number, and who have, moreover, the University of Dublin almost exclusively to themselves.*

In fine, as the conclusion from all these statements, we are told that *if a merely Roman Catholic University had received the power*

of conferring Degrees, a new type of education would have been established, wholly alien from that which prevails in England and among the more liberal classes in Ireland. In other words, because a University system is said to exist in Ireland which does not exist here; and because the existing system has been accepted by Irish Catholics, that is to say by 181 persons last year, who could get none to suit them better; therefore the Catholic people of Ireland are not to be given the system they desire: the system which prevails in England, and which the *Times* thinks is "*wholly alien*" from our *beau ideal*, is to be forced upon us; and in this most important matter of the education of their children, Irishmen and Irishwomen are to be governed, not according to their own convictions, but according to the wishes of the people of England, which has been trained under that "*wholly alien*" system, and represented by the *Times*!

While our just claims are thus disregarded, and the state of things misrepresented—I hope I may say unintentionally misrepresented—in England, the greatest sympathy is felt in France and Belgium for us and the cause of Catholic Education. Within the last few months I have had an opportunity of seeing the most distinguished prelates and other leading persons in those countries. Among these persons I may mention the late Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Dechamps, who at this moment is preparing a work on Education, in which the principles for which we contend will be fully and, as is his wont, ably vindicated; his most reverend brother, the Archbishop of Mechlin; the eloquent Bishop of Poitiers, who has so nobly vindicated the rights of our Holy Father the Pope; the intrepid assertor of the rights of Catholics in Geneva, and bishop of that city, Mgr. Mermillod; the Cardinal Archbishops of Rouen, of Bordeaux, and of Besançon, and others. All these distinguished men take the greatest interest in our struggles for pure Catholic Education, and with one voice encourage us to persevere. They know the miseries entailed upon their own countries by non-Catholic and infidel systems of education; and with common accord they tell us, that if Ireland is to remain Catholic and Christian, we must, without flinching, uphold the banner of Catholic Education. I have reserved for the last place the name of the illustrious Bishop of Orleans, Mgr. Dupanloup, to whom Ireland already owes so much. He entered most warmly into our cause, and his pen will, I expect, shortly be used in those soul-stirring words, peculiarly his, declaring the wrongs inflicted upon our Catholic people, by refusing them the privileges attached to Higher Education, unless they seek it in a Protestant University, or in institutions which their religion condemns. These grievances the eloquent prelate will expose to the eyes of Catholic Europe.

He has also promised his valuable assistance in a work which, it is hoped, will not only redound to the glory of Ireland and to the advancement of learning, but will help to prove that this

Catholic University is not unworthy of the place denied to it at home, but given to it by the common Father of Christendom.

For some years past the study of the Celtic language and of Celtic antiquities has received considerable development in France and in other parts of the continent. As an indication of this fact, I need only refer to the learned articles which, from time to time, have appeared in the *Correspondant*, from the pen of M. Villemarqué, from that of Matthew Arnold in the *Cornhill Magazine*, and from other distinguished writers in other periodicals, and also to the Celtic Museum, founded at St. Germain by his Imperial Majesty Napoleon the Third. Now there is in the hands of this University a work of unequalled interest to the lovers of Celtic archaeology, the MS. Glossaries of our lamented Professor O'Curry, the labour of his life. This indefatigable labourer in the field of Irish antiquity, during his life-long and laborious researches, found, from time to time, many most ancient Celtic words, a large number of which were, on account of their great antiquity, unknown even to him, and not to be found in existing dictionaries. These words he carefully noted down, with their context, until at last, by a comparison of parallel passages, he was able to elucidate the enormous number, not of fifteen thousand, as was first supposed, but of thirty thousand Celtic words—a prodigious vocabulary, it will be admitted, of one of the most ancient languages. It was by means of this collection that O'Curry, and others led on by him, have been enabled, of late years, to render such great services to Irish antiquarian researches under the Brehon Laws' Commission, and elsewhere. Now, the publication of such a work could not fail to be of the greatest value to students of philology and to archaeologists. These most valuable MS. remains of our late Professor O'Curry, our Irish scribe, Mr. O'Looney, under the direction of my learned colleague, Doctor Sullivan, has copied and set in order.

I mentioned to the Bishop of Orleans that our University possesses this invaluable Celtic work. The prelate is a distinguished member of the illustrious *Académie Française*, which labours so assiduously, not only in France, but throughout the world, for the promotion of literature and science, and through the influence of that learned body, most anxious as it is for the promotion of Celtic studies, Mgr. Dupanloup hopes to get the French government to undertake next winter the publication of the Irish Glossaries of our late Professor O'Curry.

Through the same influence of the Bishop of Orleans and the Academy, I hope to bring favourably before his Imperial Majesty a project which I have long cherished, but which the opposition offered to this University has hitherto hindered us from executing, and to obtain his aid in realizing it. I mean the foundation of one or more chairs of the Irish language, ancient and modern, and of the antiquities and history of our country. We should thus have a full Irish department in connection with the Faculty of Arts in the Catholic University of Ireland.

The Degree of Bachelor of Divinity was then conferred on the Rev. John Pimor of the Society of Mary.

The proceedings concluded with an address by the Bishop of Cloyne, of which the following is the conclusion:

* * * The Church cannot give up the mission of watching over the thoughts, the words, and actions of her children, to direct them from all the ways of sin, that their reward in heaven may be every day increasing. And because science may be turned to good or bad account, and because learning may be either useful or dangerous, the Church is obliged to look after university education, intermediate education, and even primary education. Why? Because the moment the learner goes beyond the mechanical part of the alphabet, or the multiplication table, that very instant commences the danger of education. Thus, for instance, a Catholic child is placed under the care of one who does not share his religious convictions, and he gives as a spelling lesson or a writing lesson to that child, that "Popery is damnable and idolatrous". Then commences the danger of the learner. The Socinian takes up a Christian, who believes in the Unity and Trinity of God—a Christian Catholic or Protestant—and the Socinian asks the child, "Can three be one, can one be three?" The answer is, "Oh, not at all". He appeals to the intelligence of the child; he perverts the intelligence of the child, and by a simple question in a very elementary part of arithmetical teaching, he infuses into the mind of that child his own dangerous principles. If you take the departments of chemistry, astronomy, anatomy, metaphysics, or any of the branches of learning which had been found so dangerous on the continent, what would you find if the teaching were not based on religion? A man, for instance, might be teaching geography, and undermining the Catholic conviction of the youthful learner. The demonstrator in anatomy, with his scalpel in his hand, might prove to his own satisfaction and that of his pupil, that there was no soul in man. So from one department of learning to another, unless placed under the safeguard of religion, there is no security for the student from the time he takes the primer into his hand until he quits the halls of the University, carrying with him whatever honours he might have been able to achieve. Now, in every department it had ever been the anxious wish of the Catholic Church that learning should be promoted. Go back to the middle ages. The Catholic Church twice converted the world; she converted the pagan world of Rome—she converted the pagan world of the German invaders, who dismembered amongst themselves the provinces of the Roman Empire. She took them up by degrees, and by her own gentle influence, year after year she gathered them all again within her bosom, and when she had made them converts, she began to make them scholars, and in a short time achieved a great end, which no other power was able to accomplish. Her colleges and institutions brought back again the learning of Greece and Rome. The Catholic Church grudged not to

her children in any part of the world a full development of their intellectual faculties. She wished that whatever talents God had blessed you with, might be made available for your advancement in life, and your greater glory in heaven hereafter. But the Church has another mission, and that mission is, that there is one thing necessary, that you seek the kingdom of God and His justice. Hence she never wishes to have the *aroma scientiarum* separated from the curriculum of studies either in the halls of the University or in any of the inferior schools. On that account, great as the difficulties were, great as the discouragement was, and all the other elements of opposition which were so clearly stated by the respected Rector, the Catholic bishops of Ireland resolved to appeal to the faith of the clergy and the people of Ireland, to forward and sustain such an institution as that in which we are now assembled. Thank God, up to the present moment, if it has had its difficulties, it has had its successes. One thing it has achieved: according to a calculation made here a while ago, at least one hundred medical practitioners are scattered over Ireland, having imbibed here, and taken with them to the remotest localities in which they are now placed, the Christian practices which will guarantee that there will be no injury to body or soul—that medicine and surgery will be practised according to the principles laid down by the law of God and the law of the Church. That is in itself up to the present moment an immense advantage to the public at large, and we may hope that it will be multiplied year after year, until, at length the whole country will feel in the medical department alone to the full extent all the advantages it derives from this institution. The Catholic University is provided with a staff of professors of which any institution may be proud. I do not intend to pay them a compliment to which they are not entitled; but I believe I may say with perfect truth that in Dublin or elsewhere it would be difficult to find a school superior to the School of Medicine in Cecilia Street. On them is imposed a very serious responsibility. You, young gentlemen, owe it to your parents at home who sent you here, perhaps at considerable expense, to coöperate with your professors, and derive from the teaching here all the advantages within your reach. And professors, students, and all concerned, citizens of Dublin, priests, and bishops of Ireland, all, without exception, I say, owe a duty to the Catholic University. A certain amount of responsibility is placed upon us—that the University must be made a success. That success is attainable, and whatever discouragement may have accompanied the beginning—whatever difficulties we have still to encounter—success is attainable, and success is before you. All you want, as the Reverend Rector said, is “a clear stage, and no favour”—either an endowment for the Catholic University, or disendowment for all.



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